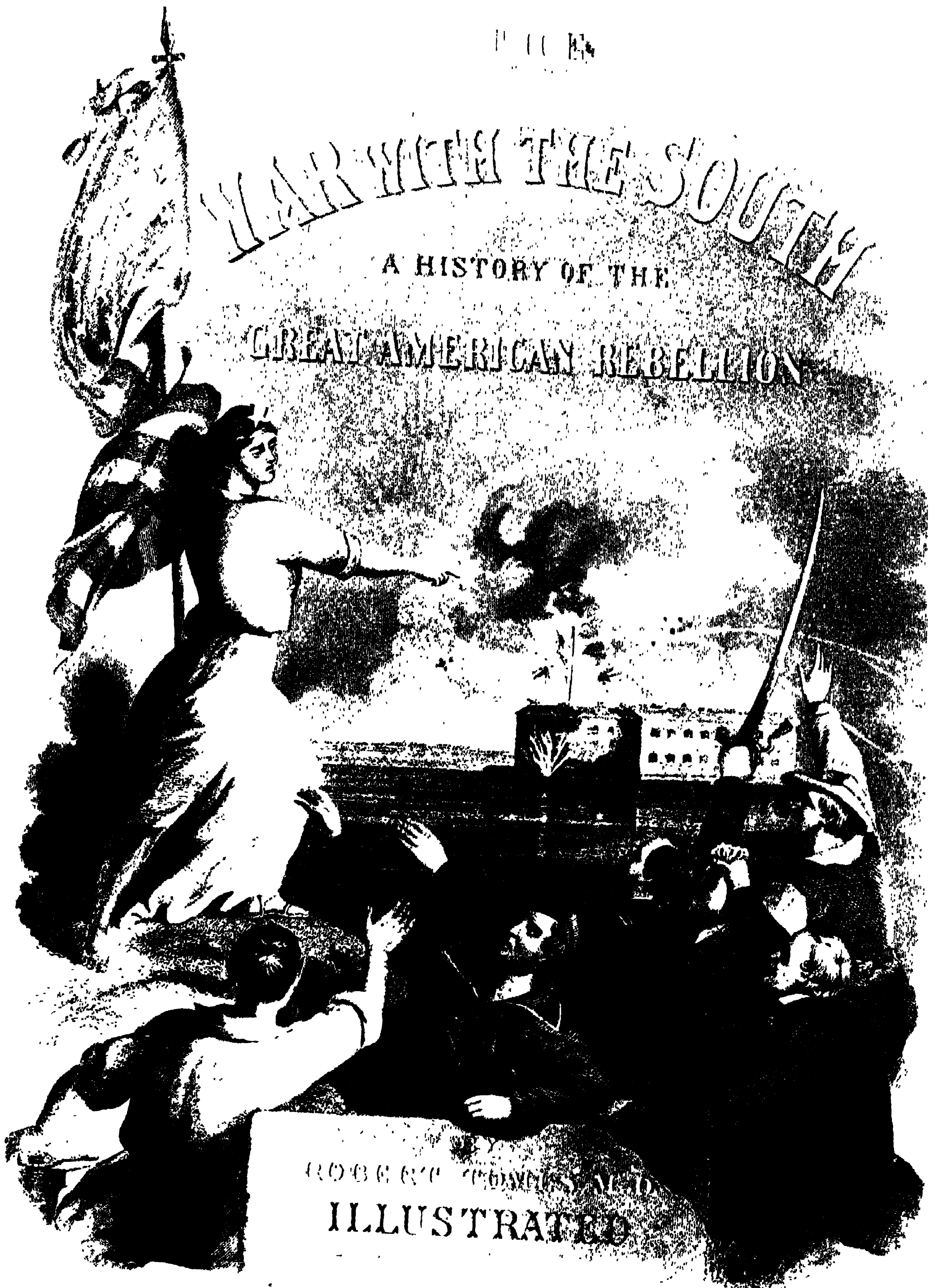



WAR WITH THE SOUTH
A HISTORY OF THE
GREAT AMERICAN REBELLION
BY
ROBERT TOMES, M.D.
ILLUSTRATED

WAR WITH THE SOUTH

A HISTORY OF

THE GREAT AMERICAN REBELLION

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF LEADING STATESMEN

AND

DISTINGUISHED NAVAL AND MILITARY COMMANDERS, ETC.

BY ROBERT TOMES, M.D.

CONTINUED FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 1864 TO THE END OF THE WAR

BY BENJAMIN G. SMITH, ESQ.

VOLUME I.



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PREFACE.

WHEN the first numbers of this work were issued, nothing appeared more certain than that the civil war, the history of which it was intended faithfully to record, would be of short duration, and that a single volume would be amply sufficient to comprise all that a faithful detail of events would require. A few of the more far-sighted persons in the community thought the contest might last twelve or eighteen months, but none were bold enough to hazard the conjecture that it would be prolonged through four eventful years. The distinguished Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, confidently promised the extinction of the rebellion in sixty days. But as month after month and year after year elapsed, and the scene of warlike operations extended over a constantly widening area, with an ever-increasing earnestness in the two sections of the country arrayed against each other, it became apparent that not one volume, nor even two, would suffice for a complete history of the war. Happily, the end came at last, and though not altogether unexpected by those who knew the actual exhaustion of the South, with a suddenness almost as startling—so accustomed had the public mind become to a state of war—as the first burst of hostilities in the bombardment of Fort Sumter. When the "makers of history" ceased, the writers of it began to see a termination of their labors, and only then could the publishers set limits to the extent of the work.

It is hoped, now that the work is complete, the reading public will find that the intention of making it a faithful and impartial history has been in a great measure accomplished. That it is not free from some of the defects inseparable from all contemporary history is not claimed for it. Many years must elapse, and perhaps all the participants in the great National struggle will have passed from the scene before a perfect history of the great civil war will be

given to the world, or before even the truth will be ascertained with regard to many important facts, and the springs of action of many of the most distinguished actors on either side. A perfect history was probably never written. The greatest of English historians, Macaulay, said: "There are poems which we should be inclined to designate as faultless, or as disfigured only by blemishes which pass unnoticed in the general blaze of excellence. There are speeches, some speeches of Demosthenes particularly, in which it would be impossible to alter a word without altering it for the worse. But we are acquainted with no history which approaches to our notion of what a history ought to be; with no history which does not widely depart, either on the right hand or on the left, from the exact line." If this is true with regard to history in general, how great must be the difficulty attendant on the task of eliminating the truth from documents and reports, the authors of which, belonging to one or the other party, are almost certain to be interested in concealing one set of facts and giving excessive prominence to another! It is believed, however, that this task, difficult as it was, has been accomplished with a great degree of success, and that the impartiality which should characterize the records of the historian has been in this work freely exercised.

In conclusion, let the hope be expressed that, dreadful as was the fratricidal contest, it will not be the task of posterity to record that it was without beneficial results, but rather that as it was like a destructive tropical tempest in its approach and during its continuance, the times which succeeded it resembled the calm which settles upon the face of nature when the storm has passed, and that the subsequent career of the Great Republic was one of uninterrupted prosperity and peaceful progress.

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A HISTORY OF THE

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CHAPTER I.

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MANY of the political leaders of the extreme Southern States of the American Union had long since boldly asserted that each individual State possessed a sovereignty paramount to that of the united commonwealth of the Republic of the United States of America. Some of these men, deluded by the artful sophistries of the subtle Calhoun, the apostle of the doctrine of "State Rights," in avowing their political heresy, gave expression, it is believed, to an honest conviction. Others, however, influenced by personal interests, sought only to gratify their ambition or to soothe their disappointment by creating a faction from which they hoped to obtain favors they had failed in extorting from the country. In the mean time the people of the Southern States, with the exception perhaps of those of South Carolina, who had been misled by the persuasive plausibilities of their favorite Calhoun, continued to cherish a patriotic sentiment of attachment to the Union.

While the partisan leaders of the South were enabled, through the conciliatory concessions of Northern politicians, to wield the political power of the country to their own purposes of personal and sectional advantage, they

shrewdly disguised their selfish designs beneath a mask of traditional regard for the Constitution of the United States. When, however, the North began to grow restless under its subservience to Southern domination, and to manifest a desire for emancipation, the partisan leaders of the South became anxious lest they should lose the political mastery by which they had so long governed a nation in the interests of a faction. Alarmed by these evidences of Northern independence, the Southern leaders asserted their theory of State sovereignty with increased audacity, and threatened to evoke its exercise to the destruction of the Union. They thus hoped to frighten the Northern people, who were known to be fondly devoted to the united country, into renewed submission to Southern control.

The North had, in the mean time, been rapidly gaining in power through the natural increase of population and an immense European immigration. The South had striven to balance this growing ascendancy by an increase of slave States. By artful party combinations, and skillful management of Northern politicians, the partisan leaders of the South for awhile succeeded in their purpose. Texas was annexed at the expense of a war with Mexico, and established a slave State; an intrigue, though it proved abortive, was set on foot to force Spain into the sale of servile Cuba; and finally the Missouri Compromise act was abrogated, for the purpose of admitting the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas as slaveholding States. The Northern people became alarmed at these continued encroachments of the South, and resolutely prepared to check them. In spite of the virtual abrogation of the Missouri Compromise act, by which the new Territory was thrown open to slavery, Kansas, through the efforts of the advocates of free soil, was filled with Northern settlers, and became by the votes of its inhabitants a free State. This, however, was not effected without a struggle. The neighboring slave States had sent in armed bands to resist the Northern immigration, and a bloody strife ensued, which greatly stirred the antagonistic interests and sentiments of the Northern and Southern States.

It was in the course of this bitter contention that the Republican party was formed, to resist the further extension of slavery. It soon gathered to its standard such a force as to threaten a successful opposition to the oldest and most powerful political combinations.

Fully organized, the Republican party met in convention at Philadelphia on the 17th of June, and 1856. nominated John C. Fremont, the eminent explorer, for President. Though a native of South Carolina, he was known to be strongly opposed to the extension of slavery, and in favor of free labor. He, however, objected to any interference with the rights of the Southern States secured to them by the Constitution of the United States, as he thus declared in a letter addressed to some leading members of the Republican party: "I heartily concur," he

wrote, "in all movements which have for their object to repair the mischiefs arising from the violation of good faith in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. I am opposed to slavery in the abstract and upon principle, sustained and made habitual by long-settled convictions. While I feel inflexible in the belief that it ought not to be interfered with where it exists under the shield of State sovereignty, I am as inflexibly opposed to its extension on this continent beyond its present limits." This was probably not only a fair exposition of his individual opinion, on the exciting question of slavery, but of that of the great mass of the Republican party.

The political contest for the Presidency which ensued upon the nomination of Fremont was one of the most stirring of our periodical excitements. The result was the triumph of the candidate of the Democratic party, James Buchanan, for whom the whole South, with the exception of Maryland, whose choice was for Fillmore, had cast its vote. Fremont, however, had received the large suffrage of one hundred and fourteen out of the whole electoral vote of three hundred and six. New York, Ohio, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, and the six New England States were arrayed in favor of the Republican candidate. By the election of their favorite, Mr. Buchanan, the Southern leaders were apparently soothed, and they settled into a temporary political contentment. In the course of the electoral contest, some had audaciously declared that in case of the election of the Republican candidate, the slave States would exercise their self-asserted sovereignty, and secede from the Union. This threat, however, deemed but the angry effusion of political contention, or a mere electioneering *ruse*, was little heeded.

Though exulting in the triumph of the election of their favorite, Buchanan, of whose sympathy with their political views they did not seem to doubt, and by whose elevation to power they had apparently established the security of their own, the political leaders of the South soon began to show evident symptoms of restless discontent. The already acquired and growing strength of the Republican party darkened their prospect of continued domination; the issue of the Kansas struggle had resulted in the defeat of their hope of securing another slave State; freer expositions* of the evils of their cherished institution, and the insurrectionary attempt at Harper's Ferry, aroused their fears; and the audacious prophecies of Republican leaders, who foretold an "irrepressible conflict," threatened them with a resolute opposition. They now began to be hopeless of future triumphs, and prepared, some by open appeals to sectional prejudice, and others by secret means, to dissolve the Union. It was during the year 1858 that Jefferson Davis, 1858. United States senator, since President of the self-styled Confederate States, boldly avowed, in a speech at Jackson, Mississippi, these insurrection-

* For example, the publication of Helper's "Impending Crisis."

ary sentiments, which prove that the late rebellion, of which he was the master spirit, had been with him for a long time a "foregone conclusion:" "If an abolitionist," he said, "be chosen President of the United States, you will have presented to you the question of whether you will permit the Government to pass into the hands of your avowed and implacable enemies? Without pausing for an answer, I will state my own belief to be that such a result would be a species of revolution by which the purposes of the Government would be destroyed and the observance of its mere forms entitled to no respect. In that event, in such a manner as should be most expedient, I should deem it your duty to provide for your safety outside of the Union, with those who have already shown the will, and would have acquired the power, to deprive you of your birthright, and to reduce you to worse than the colonial dependence of your fathers."

The Southern press, too, began to urge emphatically the right of secession, and the advantage to the States of the South of separation from the Union. To gain the sympathy of the people, who had yet a traditional reverence for the Government founded by Washington and the patriots of the Revolution, incessant appeals were made alternately to their fears, their passions, and their cupidity. The principles of the Republican party and its leaders were studiously misstated. Their objects were declared to be the abolition of slavery, which they were determined to accomplish, at any hazard to the lives and property of the Southern people. The inhabitants of the sea-ports were deluded with the magnificent prospects of a direct trade with Europe, by which the dwindling cities of the South would be swollen into the importance of Tyre and Carthage, and enriched with the wealth of the whole commercial world. The cupidity, too, and pride of the poorer population, the "mean whites," the Pariahs of the South, who, without property and without enterprise to acquire it, had nothing to fear from the abolition of slavery, or to hope from the promotion of commerce, were aroused by the promise of the re-establishment of the slave-trade, by which the Lazarus of the pine barren would be enabled to count his negroes with the Dives of the rice jungle. The hazards, moreover, of casting off the protection of the powerful Government of the United States and incurring the interposition of its contemned authority were conjured away by the confident assurances that Great Britain and France would eagerly embrace the cause and seek the alliance of the "Cotton kingdom," to which European trade would be forced to do homage.

The people of the South were thus artfully being seduced from their allegiance to the Union while their leaders were conspiring to destroy it. The President, Buchanan, bound in close ties of political sympathy with the prominent partisans of the Southern States, had selected from among them the chief members of his cabinet, to whose guid-

ance he yielded his feeble will, which they seemed to bend unresistingly to their own purposes. The treasury, the army, the navy, and the state, either under the control of Southern conspirators directly, or indirectly through the perhaps unconscious connivance of Northern political allies, were administered to the advantage of a rebellion which had been long contemplated. The public moneys were illegally appropriated for Southern purposes, the ships of war were dispatched to remote parts of the world, munitions of war were profusely distributed among the States of the South, and the offices of the Government both at home and abroad were filled by confederates of the conspirators of the slave States.

In the mean time, the Republican party, with increased strength, was preparing to join in the struggle for political ascendancy with renewed hope. Its undoubted power became so manifest, that the more impatient of the Southern leaders lost all hope of successful opposition within the Union, and began to prepare for open resistance.

South Carolina, with her loyalty to the Union long since weakened by false theories and seditious practices, was the first to move toward secession. On the
1859. 30th of November a resolution was offered in the House of Representatives of South Carolina, that "South Carolina is ready to enter, together with other slaveholding States, or such as desire prompt action, into the formation of a Southern confederacy;" and the governor was requested to forward the resolution to the various Southern States. To this succeeded other action toward the same object.

1860. In the following January, Mr. Memminger, a prominent politician of the State, presented himself at Richmond, as the commissioner of South Carolina to Virginia, and delivered a long speech, in the course of which he argued that the guarantees of the Constitution of the United States were powerless to protect the South, and that it must demand new guarantees if the Union was to be preserved.

Some of the more impatient of the politicians of South Carolina had anticipated by many years in their rhetorical effusions, this grave action of their State. In 1856, Preston Brooks, a member of the United States Congress from South Carolina, whose emphasis of action was made manifest by his murderous attack upon Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts, delivered these characteristic words to some of his fellow-citizens who were honoring him with a public banquet:

"I tell you, fellow-citizens, from the bottom of my heart, that the only mode which I can think of for meeting the issue is just to tear the Constitution of the United States, trample it under foot, and form a Southern confederacy, every State of which shall be a slaveholding State. I believe it as I stand in the face of my Maker—I believe it on my responsibility to you, as your honored representative, that the only hope of the South is in the South, and that the only available means of making

that hope effective is to cut asunder the bonds that tie us together, and take our separate position in the family of nations." These sentiments found a ready echo among the seditiously disposed people of South Carolina.

The period for the electoral struggle for the Presidency was approaching. The conventions for the nomination of candidates had met. The Democratic National Convention assembled on the 25th of April, at Charleston, in
1860. South Carolina. Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, was elected president, and a platform was adopted. This, however, did not concede to the South all it claimed as "necessary guarantees for the preservation of the Union," and the Southern delegates withdrawing, organized a Southern convention, which, met on the 3d of May, but after many ineffectual attempts, failing to agree upon a candidate for the Presidency, adjourned to meet at Richmond. The Democratic National Convention had also adjourned to meet at Baltimore, on the 18th of June. On reassembling, a large number of delegates again withdrew. Those remaining nominated Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, for President, and Benjamin Fitzpatrick, of Alabama, for Vice-President. The seceders met and nominated John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, then Vice-President of the United States, for President, and for Vice-President, Joseph Lane, of Oregon. These nominations were afterward confirmed by the convention at Richmond. In the mean time a convention, styling itself the "Constitutional Union," met at Baltimore on the 9th of May, and nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, for President, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President.

Again, at Chicago, on the 16th of May, the delegates of that now imposing party, the National Republican, met in convention and nominated Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, for President, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, for Vice-President.

The leaders of the South had evidently determined to forego the advantage of their usual political combinations with their fellow-partisans of the North, by whose aid they could alone hope to secure their prescriptive importance in the Union. They were willing thus to weaken by division those who were still inclined to succor them in an unavoidable struggle with a party whose power if established they professed to consider fatal to their rights. It would seem that disunion with them was a predetermined act, and that they wished the success of the National Republicans, whom they persisted in denouncing as abolitionists, to justify their contemplated Southern rebellion to the people of the South, whose sensitive anxieties for the security of their slave interests might be readily excited to an angry resistance to the constitutional authorities of the United States. The division of the Democratic party, from which certainly the Southern leaders could have no fears of an invasion of their constitutional rights, threw the election into the power of the Republicans, whom





A. Lincoln

they professed to dread as the avowed enemies of the institutions of the South. The result, easily foreseen, soon occurred. As it became evident that Lincoln would be elected, the conspirators of the South, some of whom were in the highest places of the States and of the Union, began, through message, speech, and the press, to denounce the Republican candidate as an abolitionist, whose purpose, at the head of a powerful party, was to interfere with Southern slavery, and by incendiary appeals to excite the people to resistance. In South Carolina, the conspirators, confident of the sympathy of the misguided people, did not hesitate to declare their rebellious purposes. On the day before the Presidential election, the governor of South Carolina delivered a message to the Legislature, in which he boldly avowed the principles of secession, and recommended the appointment of delegates to a convention to be assembled for the purpose of dissolving all connection with the United States.

Even in Virginia, Governor Letcher, at that early date, did not fear to suggest treason, and declared in his message to the Legislature: "It is useless to attempt to conceal the fact, that in the present temper of the Southern people, it [alluding to the probable election of Lincoln] can not and will not be submitted to. * * * The idea of permitting such a man to have the control and direction of the army and navy of the United States, and the appointment of high judicial and executive officers, postmasters included, can not be entertained by the South for a moment." On November the 6th the election took place, and Abraham Lincoln, as was foreseen, was elected President of the United States. His principles and character will be best illustrated by a cursory history of his life and political career.

CHAPTER II.

Birth of Lincoln.—His Ancestry.—Humble Parentage.—Early Education.—Small Accomplishments extensively Utilized.—Handling of the Axe.—Death of his Mother.—Study of the Bible.—Second Marriage of his Father.—Young Lincoln's earliest Literary Acquirements.—Later pursuits of Learning.—Bodily Development and Accomplishments.—First Trip on a Flat Boat.—A Migration to Illinois.—A feat of "Splitting Rails."—A Hand on a Flat Boat.—Reward of Industry and Integrity.—General Manager of a Shop and Mill.—A Volunteer in the Black Hawk War.—A sudden and unexpected Promotion.—Return to Civil Life.—A Candidate for the Legislature.—A Partnership in a Shop.—Failure.—An extemporaneous Surveyor.—Elected Member of the Legislature.—Good opinion of his Constituents.—Reading Law.—Admission to the Bar.—Professional Success.—Prominent among the Politicians.—A Canvass of the State.—Elected Whig Member of Congress.—His Votes and Opinions on the Slave Question.—Return to practice as a Lawyer.—Member of Whig National Convention.—A Champion of the Republican Party. Nominated a United States Senator.—Canvass of the State.—Contest with Douglas.—A Victory and a Defeat.—His candid Answers to Questions on Slavery.—Nominated for the Presidency.—Enthusiasm of his Party.—An exciting Canvass.—Elected President.—Sudden Elevation.—"Honest Abe."—Character and Manners.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN was born in Hardin County, Kentucky, on the 12th of February, 1809. From the dark and confused traditions of an humble ancestry, a mole-eyed investigator has traced back the lineage of our President to some forefathers who emigrated from England to America, and settled in Berks County, Pennsylvania, where they were engaged in the tranquil pursuit of farming, and known as peaceful members of the "Society of Friends." One of them, however, the great-grandfather of Abraham Lincoln, removed to Virginia, where his grandson, Thomas Lincoln, the father of the President, was born. The family soon migrated to Kentucky. Here Thomas, Abraham's father, being left poor and uneducated, led the life of an itinerant laborer, ready to put his shoulder to any work that promised a fair day's wages. He, however, on marrying Nancy Hanks, in 1806, gave up his migratory habits, and located himself in Hardin County, where our President was born. Without property and without education, Thomas Lincoln found himself in the unenviable position of one of those "poor whites" who in a society based on slavery are contemned alike by the negro and his master. He therefore determined to emigrate to a free State, where personal labor was deemed no humiliation and honest poverty no disgrace. He accordingly moved, in the autumn of 1816, to Spencer County, Indiana, when his son Abraham had reached the age of eight years. The youth had already, while in Kentucky, picked up some stray scraps of learning, and could not only read and cipher, but write. This rare accomplishment of the juvenile scholar proved invaluable to the Lincoln family and the illiterate neighbors of their forest home in Indiana. They had left relatives and friends in Kentucky, and were naturally desirous of keeping up a correspondence with them. Young Abraham Lincoln's services were accordingly put into requisition as the secretary, not only of

his father, who could barely sign his name, and of his mother, who, "though a ready reader, had not been taught the accomplishment of writing," but of many of the other rude settlers of the wilderness. He thus early acquired a facility of expression which proved of good service to him in after years, and aided his future advancement in life.

This, however, was only the occupation of his rare intervals of leisure. He more frequently handled the axe than the pen. A log-house was to be built, and his father's land to be cleared of its forest growth of oaks and hickories. Abraham was young, but well-grown, and wondrously strong for his age, and took to the rude labor with instinctive readiness. "An axe was at once placed in his hands, and from that time until he attained his twenty-third year, when not employed in labor on the farm, he was almost constantly wielding that most useful instrument."*

In 1818, young Lincoln lost his mother, a pious woman of the Baptist persuasion, who had taken care that no Sunday should pass without having a chapter of the Bible read either by herself or one of her children. Her son is said thus to have acquired a familiarity with the words and principles of the Scriptures, which made an abiding impression upon his memory and conduct. His father, however, soon provided himself with another wife, by marrying a Mrs. Sally Johnston, of Kentucky, who proved a worthy substitute to her notable predecessor. Schooling was too dear, and the necessity of hard work too pressing, to allow of much devotion to study, and Abraham was left chiefly to his own unaided exertions for his education. With barely a year's instruction in all, he succeeded, by diligently reading the few books that fell in his way, in developing his naturally vigorous understanding, and preparing himself for the success which has marked his life. His earliest literary acquisitions, after his spelling-book and the Bible, were a stray copy of Esop's Fables, which he conned until he learned it by heart; the Pilgrim's Progress, Franklin's Autobiography, Weems' picturesque Life of Washington, and Riley's wondrous narrative of travel. At the age of fifteen he earned, by three days work, in reaping a distant neighbor's corn, Ramsay's History of the Revolution, and soon after crowned his arduous pursuit of literature with the acquisition of a copy of Plutarch's Lives. "He studied English grammar after he was twenty-three years of age; at twenty-five he mastered enough of geometry, trigonometry, and mensuration to enable him to take the field as a surveyor; and he studied the six books of Euclid after he had served a term in Congress, and when he was forty years of age, amid the pressure of an extensive legal practice, and of frequent demands upon his time by the public."*

In the mean time, while young Lincoln was striving against every disad-

* "Life of Abraham Lincoln." New York, 1860.

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vantage for mental progress, he was advancing rapidly in physical stature and robustness. His rough backwoods life was hardening his muscle and knitting his stalwart frame, so that he soon became not only foremost in felling a tree or "splitting a rail," but the most noted among his comrades in feats of wrestling, leaping, and throwing the bar. His spirit of independence and adventure was displayed in a trip on a flat-boat to New Orleans, which he made at the age of nineteen, as one of the hands.

The fame of the broad prairies of Illinois, with their seductive promise of cheap lands and natural richness of soil, had reached the Lincoln family, and tempted them to seek its "fresh fields and pastures new." Accordingly, in the spring of 1830, Thomas Lincoln, with his wife and children, abandoned his home in Indiana and journeyed to the new land of promise. Ox-carts loaded with the women folk, the household goods, the farming utensils, and provision of corn and bacon for the journey, and driven by the patriarch and his son, our future President, carried all the hopes and fortunes of the Lincolns to their new home. After a slow and long journey through an unfrequented country, picturesque to the eye with its diversified scenery, but trying to the endurance of the traveler with its mountain acclivities, its deep water-courses, and perplexing forests, they finally arrived in Illinois. Here the Lincolns settled in Macon County, where the strong arm and skilled labor of Abraham, now one-and-twenty years of age, were at once put to service. The summer was mostly spent in building the log-house, as a protection against the storms and frosts of the approaching autumn and winter. The next step was to prepare the bit of prairie which had fallen to the lot of the Lincolns, for a crop of Indian corn. It was now that Abraham accomplished that memorable feat of "splitting the rails" for the ten-acre field, which has subsequently been cultivated to such advantage by the fertilizing rhetoric of political orators.

The winter compelling an intermission of labor on the farm, and the severity of the season restricting the means of livelihood at home, young Lincoln was induced to accept the offer of a neighbor and assist in taking a flat-boat from Beardstown, on the Illinois River, to New Orleans. Having performed this service greatly to the satisfaction of his employer, he was rewarded by him with the appointment of general manager of his shop and mill in New Salem. He had been thus occupied for several months, when, on the breaking out of the Black Hawk war in 1832, he joined a company of volunteers. Lincoln was at once chosen the captain, an unexpected elevation, which he declared gave him more pleasure than any subsequent honor which has fallen to his lot. The war being soon brought to a close, Lincoln returned to civil life, after the brief military career of three months.

On reaching New Salem, he was induced to offer himself as a "Whig" candidate for the Legislature, but was defeated by his Democratic opponent. He

now formed a partnership, and buying a stock of goods on credit, opened a country store. He was also appointed postmaster at New Salem. The business, however, not proving successful, nor the office remunerative, he was soon in such pecuniary straits as to be forced to close his doors. His next effort for a livelihood was as an extemporaneous assistant surveyor, for which he readily prepared himself by obtaining a field compass, a chain, and a treatise on surveying.

In 1834, Lincoln was elected a member of the Legislature of Illinois. Although reticent of speech, he by the faithful discharge of his duties, and his personal and political rectitude of conduct, won so much of the good opinion of his constituents that they re-elected him for three successive terms.

Even while practicing as a surveyor, Lincoln had been in the habit of reading books on law. After entering the Legislature, he began to study them with increased attention, and in 1836 had made such progress that he was admitted to the bar. In April of the following year he became a partner of a Mr. John F. Stuart, and removed to Springfield, where he began the practice of his profession. His success as a lawyer was immediate, and he soon attained to such eminence, that he ranked among the chief legal practitioners of the neighborhood. His forte was in the management of jury cases. Though laboriously occupied with his profession, Lincoln took a prominent lead in politics. His sympathies were with the Whigs, and having been chosen a candidate for Presidential elector in 1844, he canvassed the whole State of Illinois and a portion of Indiana in favor of Henry Clay. In 1846 he was elected by the Whigs a member of Congress, and in December, 1847, took his seat in the House of Representatives. Though opposed to the annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico, which had been then brought to a triumphant close by the conquest of the Mexican capital, Lincoln never failed to recognize the good service of our soldiers, and to join in all the congressional votes of acknowledgment and reward.

At an early period Lincoln had manifested those opinions on slavery which secured for him the nomination of the Republican party, and elevated him to his future high position. In a protest which is recorded upon the journal of the Illinois Legislature on the 3d of March, 1837, he united with a fellow-member in saying that: "They believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy; but that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate its evils.

"They believe that the Congress of the United States has no power, under the Constitution, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different States.

"They believe that the Congress of the United States has the power under the Constitution to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; but that the power ought not to be exercised unless at the request of the people of said District."

His action while in Congress, as after his election to the Presidency, was ever in strict accordance with the scrupulous regard thus early expressed for all constitutional obligations in respect to Southern slavery, but he surely never failed to do his utmost to restrict within its legal bounds an institution which he did not favor. He showed his resolute opposition to its extension by voting, while in Congress, no less than forty-two times for the Wilmot proviso. His action on other questions was in harmony with his professed Whig principles, and a protective tariff, river and harbor improvements, and the sale of the public lands at a low valuation, received his support and vote.

Lincoln, having served in Congress but a single term, returned to the practice of his profession in Springfield. In 1848, however, he was a member of the Whig National Convention, and warmly concurred in the nomination of General Zachary Taylor for the Presidency. In 1849 he was the Whig candidate for the United States Senate, but as the majority of the Legislature of Illinois was Democratic, was beaten by his competitor, General Shields.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused Lincoln once more to active political effort, and he came forward as a champion of the new Republican party organized to resist the extension of slavery. In the canvass for the choice of a senator in the place of General Shields, he sustained Judge Trumbull, and to his spirited efforts was attributed the triumph of that Republican candidate. So prominent had he now become as a leader of the new party, that in the Republican National Convention of 1856, which nominated John C. Fremont for President, Lincoln was pressed by the delegates from the State of Illinois as a nominee for the Vice-Presidency.

Being nominated on the 2d of June, 1858, by the Republican party of his State, candidate for the United States Senate, in opposition to Douglas, Lincoln canvassed Illinois together with his eminent competitor. Having already, in the struggle between Trumbull and Shields, tested his powers with the "Little Giant," as the partisans of Douglas fondly termed him, in allusion to his combined loftiness of intellect and smallness of stature, Lincoln did not hesitate to challenge his doughty antagonist to another encounter. The political contest which ensued became memorable, and Lincoln exhibited, as a free-soil combatant, such pluck and bottom that he was hailed by the Republicans of Illinois as their favorite champion. They claimed that he had victoriously sustained their principles against the stoutest leader of their antagonists. He, however, with all his vigor of fight, did not succeed in his immediate purpose of gaining the prize of the senatorship. The popular vote, it is true, proclaimed him victor, but his competitor, Douglas, received the suffrage of the State Senate in consequence of the unequal apportionment law of Illinois, which gave the Democrats an undue share of its members. Lincoln, however, had se-



cured for himself, among the expanding Republican party, an importance which obtained for him the nomination for the Presidency, and finally his elevation to that high office.

How far his political views upon the question of slavery did really justify a defiance of the authority of his government, as pretended by those seeking pretexts for rebellion, his own words will prove. In the course of his political contest for the senatorship, Douglas proposed certain questions to him, which are here given, with Lincoln's answers, which present a candid exposition of his opinions.

"*Question* 1. I desire to know whether Lincoln to-day stands pledged, as he did in 1854, in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law?

Answer. I do not now, nor ever did, stand pledged in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law.

Q. 2. I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to-day, as he did in 1854, against the admission of any more slave States into the Union, even if the people want them?

A. I do not now, nor ever did, stand pledged against the admission of any more slave States into the Union.

Q. 3. I want to know whether he stands pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union, with such a constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make?

A. I do not stand pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union, with such a constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make.

Q. 4. I want to know whether he stands to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia?

A. I do not stand to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Q. 5. I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different States?

A. I do not stand pledged to the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different States.

Q. 6. I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the Territories of the United States, north as well as south of the Missouri Compromise line?

A. I am impliedly, if not expressly, pledged to a belief in the *right* and *duty* of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States' Territories.

Q. 7. I desire him to answer whether he is opposed to the acquisition of any new territory, unless slavery is first prohibited therein?

A. I am not generally opposed to honest acquisition of territory; and, in any given case, I would or would not oppose such acquisition, according as I might think such acquisition would or would not aggravate the slavery question among ourselves.

Now, my friends, it will be perceived, upon an examination of these questions and answers, that so far I have only answered that I was not *pledged* to this, that, or the other. The Judge has not framed his interrogatories to ask me anything more than this, and I have

answered in strict accordance with the interrogatories, and have answered truly that I am not *pledged* at all upon any of the points to which I have answered. But I am not disposed to hang upon the exact form of his interrogatory. I am rather disposed to take up at least some of these questions, and state what I really think upon them.

As to the first one, in regard to the Fugitive Slave law, I have never hesitated to say, and I do not now hesitate to say, that I think, under the Constitution of the United States, the people of the Southern States are entitled to a Congressional Fugitive Slave law. Having said that, I have had nothing to say in regard to the existing Fugitive Slave law, further than that I think it should have been framed so as to be free from some of the objections that pertain to it, without lessening its efficiency. And inasmuch as we are not now in an agitation in regard to an alteration or modification of that law, I would not be the man to introduce it as a new subject of agitation upon the general question of slavery.

In regard to the other question, of whether I am pledged to the admission of any more slave States into the Union, I state to you very frankly, that I would be exceedingly sorry ever to be put in a position of having to pass upon that question. I should be exceedingly glad to know that there would never be another slave State admitted into the Union; but I must add that, if slavery shall be kept out of the Territories during the territorial existence of any one given Territory, and then the people shall, having a fair chance and a clear field, when they come to adopt the Constitution, do such an extraordinary thing as to adopt a slave constitution, uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them, I see no alternative, if we own the country, but to admit them into the Union.

The third interrogatory is answered by the answer to the second, it being, as I conceive, the same as the second.

The fourth one is in regard to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. In relation to that, I have my mind very distinctly made up. I should be exceedingly glad to see slavery abolished in the District of Columbia. I believe that Congress possesses the constitutional power to abolish it. Yet, as a member of Congress, I should not, with my present views, be in favor of *endeavoring* to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, unless it would be upon these conditions: *First*, that the abolition should be gradual. *Second*, that it should be on a vote of the majority of qualified voters in the District; and *third*, that compensation should be made to unwilling owners. With these three conditions, I confess I would be exceedingly glad to see Congress abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and, in the language of Henry Clay, 'sweep from our capital that foul blot upon our nation.'

In regard to the fifth interrogatory, I must say here, that as to the question of the abolition of the slave-trade between the different States, I can truly

answer, as I have, that I am *pledged* to nothing about it. It is a subject to which I have not given that mature consideration that would make me feel authorized to state a position so as to hold myself entirely bound by it. In other words, that question has never been prominently enough before me to induce me to investigate whether we really have the constitutional power to do it. I could investigate it if I had sufficient time to bring myself to a conclusion upon that subject; but I have not done so, and I say so frankly to you here, and to Judge Douglas. I must say, however, that if I should be of opinion that Congress does possess the constitutional power to abolish the slave-trade among the different States, I should still not be in favor of the exercise of that power unless upon some conservative principle, as I conceive it, akin to what I have said in relation to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

My answer as to whether I desire that slavery should be prohibited in all the Territories of the United States, is full and explicit within itself, and can not be made clearer by any comments of mine. So I suppose in regard to the question whether I am opposed to the acquisition of any more territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein, my answer is such that I could add nothing by way of illustration, or making myself better understood, than the answer which I have placed in writing."

1860. On the 16th of May, the Republican National Convention met at Chicago. After two ballots, which resulted in no choice, Lincoln was chosen on the third, receiving three hundred and fifty-four of the whole four hundred and sixty-five votes.* The election was then made unanimous. The party responded enthusiastically to the choice, and began at once to stir the country with an exciting canvass. The "Wide Awakes," unarmed but uniformed armies of voters, mustered and led by bands of music, were paraded through the streets in marching order by day, and in torchlight processions at night. Illuminated banners, gigantic flags, and posters made the names of Lincoln and Hamlin familiar to every eye and ear. Republican orators, of whom Seward, himself the leading competitor with Lincoln for the nomination of President, was the chief, posted from State to State, city to city, and throughout the rural districts, gathering great crowds and arousing them by their fervid rhetoric to resist the encroachments of slavery, and rally to the standard of the party organized to oppose it.

The divided Democrats and the so-called Unionists were not less demonstrative and industrious in making appeals by means of party emblems, processions, "monster" meetings, and political speeches. The country was never so agitated and party spirit so envenomed. Mutterings, in the mean time,

* The whole number of votes was 465, of which 233 were necessary to a choice. On the first ballot, Seward received 173½, Lincoln 102, Cameron 50½, and Bates 48; the rest were scattered. On the second ballot, Seward received 184½, and Lincoln 181; on the third, Lincoln had 354, Seward 109½, Dayton 1, and McLean ½ a vote.

of disaffection came from the South anticipating defeat, but were either not listened to, or scouted as the grumbling of impotent discontent. The clamor of party drowned all but its own voice.

In consequence of the dissensions and divisions of the Democratic party, the Republicans succeeded in electing their candidate. Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States,
1860. having received the electoral vote of seventeen States—California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Wisconsin—while the electoral vote of eleven States was given to Breckinridge, of three to Bell, and of two to Douglas. The whole popular vote, however, was only 1,857,610 for the Republican candidate, while that for the other three combined amounted to 2,804,560.

Lincoln, by his election, became at once, from a comparatively obscure person, whose name before his nomination was hardly known beyond the limits of the State of Illinois, the most prominent man in the country. Though acknowledged in his own State as an acute lawyer and skillful politician, he had never been recognized by the country at large as a leading statesman. He had, however, acquired in Illinois such a repute for political and personal integrity, that the people of the North, of all parties, disgusted with the corruption in high places, readily accepted him as a chief magistrate, upon whom they might rely for a strict adherence to his constitutional obligations. The "honest Abe" of his partisans would prove, it was believed, the worthy President of the great Republic.

Personally, Lincoln, who in character and manner had the unreserved and popular characteristics of the Western man, had no pretensions to the stately dignity we are apt to associate with the office of President. Retaining the informal habits of his early life, he was easily accessible, yielding without reserve his ready social sympathy to the first comer. A tall, gaunt man, with bending shoulders like an overweighted Atlas, nearly six feet and a half in height, and of great physical vigor, developed by the rude labor of his earlier, and strengthened by the simple habits of his later years, he was the representative of the sturdy democracy of the country. With none of the pretentious refinements of a fastidious culture, he yet had a naturally vigorous understanding, carefully improved by legal and political study. A certain logical acumen appeared characteristic of his mind, and tracing with untiring pertinacity the windings of an argument, he succeeded in distinguishing the plausible from the true. His mental like his moral character had generally a natural bias for truth, and the nation, in those days of political crime, confidently trusted in his honesty.

CHAPTER III.

The Election of Lincoln a signal and pretext of Insurrection.—The news hailed with joy in South Carolina.—Secession Meetings.—Sympathy of Slave States.—Offer of Aid from Virginia.—Secession Movement in New Orleans.—A Call for an Army in South Carolina.—Resignation of the United States Senators from South Carolina.—Tendency to Rebellion in the other Slave States.—Action of the Legislature of Georgia.—Florida hails the "Gallant Palmetto Flag."—The Governor of Alabama advises to prepare for Secession.—Conventions ordered.—Increase of the Secession Mania in South Carolina.—Flying of the Palmetto Flag, and excited enthusiasm of the People.—An infectious example. Arming of Georgia.—Commissioners from Mississippi.—Mutual Counsel and Advice.—Arming of the Southern People.—Purchases of Arms from the North.—Increased Barbarity at the South.—Feeling at the North.—Trust in the sentiment of Union.—Hope from Congress and the President.—Disappointment.—President Buchanan's Message.

THE election of Lincoln was made the
1860. signal in the South, as it was the pretext, for the open defiance of the authority of the Federal Government. The intelligence of the fact was received at Charleston, S. C., with undisguised joy, and the citizens gave vent to their enthusiasm in "long-continued cheering for a Southern confederacy." Meetings were held, where local orators delivered stirring speeches, in which they declared that Southern independence could only be secured by the secession of South Carolina, and were rapturously applauded. The conspirators of the different Southern States interchanged expressions of sympathy and offers of mutual service. From Virginia, even at that early period, came a proffer to South Carolina of a volunteer corps to aid her in her projected rebellion. In New Orleans, placards were posted on the walls of the city inviting the citizens to military organization, and soon "minute-men" were mustered in every cotton State.

On the 10th of November a bill was introduced in the Legislature of South Carolina for calling out and equipping an army of ten thousand volunteers, and on the same day was ordered an election for delegates to a convention to take action on the question of secession. This was followed by the resignation by the South Carolina senators of their seats in the Senate of the United States, which was accepted with enthusiasm. Finally, on November 13th, the Legislature adjourned *sine die*, when its preparatory acts of secession were honored by a torch-light procession in the capital of the State.

The other cotton States, though less precipitate than South Carolina in legislative action, gave early indications of their tendency to insurrection. The Legislature of Georgia refused to order the election of a senator to fill a vacancy in the United States Senate. The Governor of Florida sent a telegraphic greeting to the Governor of South Carolina, declaring that "Florida is with the gallant Palmetto flag." The Governor of Alabama advised his fellow-citizens to prepare for secession, and gave notice of his intention to order an election of

delegates to a State convention. An extra session of the Legislature of Virginia was called to "take into consideration the condition of public affairs." At the same time great meetings were held at New Orleans, Augusta, Montgomery, Vicksburg, and other Southern cities, in favor of disunion. Each day brought with it a fresh development of the secession mania. The citizens of Charleston gathered in crowds to "inaugurate the revolution." The palmetto flag, the symbol of the State, was hoisted upon tall poles of pine erected for the purpose, and flung out from every public building, hotel, and private residence. Men, women, and children flaunted secession badges, and yielded unresistingly to the common madness.

In the meanwhile the example of South Carolina was infecting her neighbors. The Legislature of Georgia voted
Nov. an appropriation of a million of
18. dollars "to arm and equip the State," and ordered an election of delegates to a convention. The Legislature
Nov. of North Carolina refused to elect
30. a United States Senator. The Legislature of Mississippi authorized the
Nov. governor to appoint commissioners
29. to visit the slaveholding States, to devise means in co-operation for "their common defense and safety." The Leg-
Dec. islature of Florida unanimously
1. passed the bill calling for a convention. The Legislature of Georgia again, unable to check its impatience,
Dec. made a further advance toward re-
3. bellion by considering a resolution to invite a conference of the Southern States, for mutual counsel in regard to the best means of resistance to the North.

The people of the slave States were daily arming themselves for an anticipated encounter with the Federal authorities they were provoking. Immense purchases of arms and ammunition were made at New York, Boston, and Hartford. The rage against the unsympathetic citizens of the North, who by an unhappy fate chanced to be exposed to their insults and violence, was manifested with increased barbarity.

The loyal citizens of the country, though alarmed by these rebellious indications of the slave States, yet trusted to the sentiment of union to check, and the power as well as the disposition of the Federal Government to repress them.
Some looked to Congress, now in **Dec.**
session, for a ready compliance with **3.**
measures of conciliation and compromise, by which Southern discontent might be soothed by Northern concession. Others trusting in the power of Government, hoped that the chief magistrate, now that his weak will and vacillating purposes could be steadied and directed by congressional resolution, would bind with the fetters of authority the rebellion before it should be aroused in its might.

The message of Buchanan, however, soon dissipated these hopes. Instead of
a dignified vindication of authority, **Dec.**
it was an ill-concealed attempt at a justification of its contemners, and an open declaration of their impunity. This remarkable document will be always considered a not inefficient promoter of

rebellion, and is now recorded as an important fact in its history.

PRESIDENT BUCHANAN'S MESSAGE.

"FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

"Throughout the year since our last meeting, the country has been eminently prosperous in all its material interests. The general health has been excellent, our harvests have been abundant, and plenty smiles throughout the land. Our commerce and manufactures have been prosecuted with energy and industry, and have yielded fair and ample returns. In short, no nation in the tide of time has ever presented a spectacle of greater material prosperity than we have done until within a very recent period.

"Why is it, then, that discontent now so extensively prevails, and the Union of the States, which is the source of all these blessings, is threatened with destruction? The long-continued and intemperate interference of the Northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern States has at length produced its natural effects. The different sections of the Union are now arrayed against each other, and the time has arrived, so much dreaded by the Father of his Country, when hostile geographical parties have been formed. I have long foreseen and often forewarned my countrymen of the now impending danger. This does not proceed solely from the claims on the part of Congress or the Territorial Legislature to exclude slavery from the Territories, nor from the efforts of different States to defeat the execution of the Fugitive Slave law.

"All or any of these evils might have been endured by the South without danger to the Union (as others have been), in the hope that time and reflection might apply the remedy. The immediate peril arises not so much from these causes, as from the fact that the incessant and violent agitation of the slavery question throughout the North for the last quarter of a century, has at length produced its malign influence on the slaves, and inspired them with vague notions of freedom. Hence a sense of security no longer exists around the family altar. This feeling of peace at home has given place to apprehensions of servile insurrection. Many a matron throughout the South retires at night in dread of what may befall herself and her children before the morning. Should this apprehension of domestic danger, whether real or imaginary, extend and intensify itself until it shall pervade the masses of the Southern people, then disunion will become inevitable. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and has been implanted in the heart of man by his Creator for the wisest purpose; and no political union, however fraught with blessings and benefits in all other respects, can long continue, if the necessary consequence be to render the homes and the firesides of nearly half the parties to it habitually and hopelessly insecure. Sooner or later the bonds of such a union must be severed. It is my conviction that this fatal period has not yet arrived; and my

prayer to God is, that he would preserve the Constitution and the Union throughout all generations.

"But let us take warning in time, and remove the cause of danger. It can not be denied that for five-and-twenty years the agitation at the North against slavery in the South has been incessant. In 1835, pictorial handbills and inflammatory appeals were circulated extensively throughout the South, of a character to excite the passions of the slaves; and, in the language of Gen. Jackson, 'to stimulate them to insurrection, and produce all the horrors of a servile war.' This agitation has ever since been continued by the public press, by the proceedings of State and county conventions, and by abolition sermons and lectures. The time of Congress has been occupied in violent speeches on this never-ending subject, and appeals in pamphlet and other forms, indorsed by distinguished names, have been sent forth from this central point, and spread broadcast over the Union.

"How easy would it be for the American people to settle the slavery question forever, and to restore peace and harmony to this distracted country!

"They, and they alone, can do it. All that is necessary to accomplish the object, and all for which the slave States have ever contended, is to be let alone and permitted to manage their domestic institutions in their own way. As sovereign States, they, and they alone, are responsible before God and the world for the slavery existing among them. For this, the people of the North are not more responsible, and have no more right to interfere, than with similar institutions in Russia or in Brazil. Upon their good sense and patriotic forbearance I confess I still greatly rely. Without their aid, it is beyond the power of any President, no matter what may be his own political proclivities, to restore peace and harmony among the States. Wisely limited and restrained as is his power, under our Constitution and laws, he alone can accomplish but little, for good or for evil, on such a momentous question.

"And this brings me to observe that the election of any one of our fellow-citizens to the office of President does not of itself afford just cause for dissolving the Union. This is more especially true if his election has been effected by a mere plurality, and not a majority, of the people, and has resulted from transient and temporary causes, which may probably never again occur. In order to justify a resort to revolutionary resistance, the Federal Government must be guilty of 'a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise' of powers not granted by the Constitution. The late Presidential election, however, has been held in strict conformity with its express provisions. How, then, can the result justify a revolution to destroy this very Constitution? Reason, justice, a regard for the Constitution, all require that we shall wait for some overt and dangerous act on the part of the President-elect before resorting to such a remedy.

"It is said, however, that the ante-

cedents of the President-elect have been sufficient to justify the fears of the South that he will attempt to invade their constitutional rights. But are such apprehensions of contingent danger in the future sufficient to justify the immediate destruction of the noblest system of government ever devised by mortals? From the very nature of his office, and its high responsibilities, he must necessarily be conservative. The stern duty of administering the vast and complicated concerns of this Government affords in itself a guarantee that he will not attempt any violation of a clear constitutional right. After all, he is no more than the chief executive officer of the Government. His province is not to make, but to execute, the laws; and it is a remarkable fact in our history, that, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the Anti-Slavery party, no single act has ever passed Congress, unless we may possibly except the Missouri Compromise, impairing in the slightest degree the rights of the South to their property in slaves. And it may also be observed, judging from the present indications, that no probability exists of the passage of such an act, by a majority of both Houses, either in the present or the next Congress. Surely, under these circumstances, we ought to be restrained from present action by the precept of Him who spake as never man spake, that 'sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.' The day of evil may never come, unless we shall rashly bring it upon ourselves.

"It is alleged as one cause for immediate secession, that the Southern States are denied equal rights with the other States in the common Territories. But by what authority are these denied? Not by Congress, which has never passed, and I believe never will pass, any act to exclude slavery from these Territories; and certainly not by the Supreme Court, which has solemnly decided that slaves are property, and, like all other property, their owners have a right to take them into the common Territories, and hold them there under the protection of the Constitution.

"So far, then, as Congress is concerned, the objection is not to anything they have already done, but to what they may do hereafter. It will surely be admitted that this apprehension of future danger is no good reason for an immediate dissolution of the Union. It is true that the Territorial Legislature of Kansas, on the 23d of February, 1860, passed in great haste an act, over the veto of the governor, declaring that slavery 'is, and shall be, forever prohibited in this Territory.' Such an act, however, plainly violating the rights of property secured by the Constitution, will surely be declared void by the judiciary whenever it shall be presented in a legal form.

"Only three days after my inauguration, the Supreme Court of the United States solemnly adjudged that the power did not exist in a Territorial Legislature. Yet such has been the factious temper of the times, that the correctness of this decision has been extensively impugned before the people, and the question has

given rise to angry political conflicts throughout the country. Those who have appealed from this judgment of our highest constitutional tribunal to popular assemblies would, if they could, invest a Territorial Legislature with power to annul the sacred rights of property. This power Congress is expressly forbidden, by the Federal Constitution, to exercise. Every State Legislature in the Union is forbidden, by its own Constitution, to exercise it. It can not be exercised in any State except by the people, in their highest sovereign capacity, when framing or amending their State Constitution.

"In like manner it can only be exercised by the people of a Territory represented in a convention of delegates, for the purpose of framing a constitution, preparatory to admission as a State into the Union. Then, and not until then, are they invested with power to decide the question, whether slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits. This is an act of sovereign authority, and not of subordinate territorial legislation. Were it otherwise, then indeed would the equality of the States in the Territories be destroyed, and the right of property in slaves would depend, not upon the guarantees of the Constitution, but upon the shifting majorities of an irresponsible Territorial Legislature. Such a doctrine, from its intrinsic unsoundness, can not long influence any considerable portion of our people, much less can it afford a good reason for a dissolution of the Union.

"The most palpable violations of constitutional duty which have yet been committed, consist in the acts of different State legislatures to defeat the execution of the Fugitive Slave law. It ought to be remembered, however, that for these acts neither Congress nor any President can justly be held responsible. Having been passed in violation of the Federal Constitution, they are, therefore, null and void. All the courts, both State and national, before whom the question has arisen, have from the beginning declared the Fugitive Slave law to be constitutional. The single exception is that of a State court in Wisconsin; and this has not only been reversed by the proper appellate tribunal, but has met with such universal reprobation that there can be no danger from it as a precedent. The validity of this law has been established over and over again by the Supreme Court of the United States with perfect unanimity. It is founded upon an express provision of the Constitution, requiring that fugitive slaves who escape from service in one State to another shall be 'delivered up' to their masters. Without this provision, it is a well-known historical fact that the Constitution itself could never have been adopted by the Convention.

"In one form or other, under the acts of 1793 and 1850, both being substantially the same, the Fugitive Slave law has been the law of the land from the days of Washington until the present moment. Here, then, a clear case is presented, in which it will be the duty of the next President, as it has been my

own, to act with vigor in executing this supreme law against the conflicting enactments of State legislatures. Should he fail in the performance of this high duty, he will then have manifested a disregard of the Constitution and laws, to the great injury of the people of nearly one half of the States of the Union. But are we to presume in advance that he will thus violate his duty? This would be at war with every principle of justice and of Christian charity. Let us wait for the overt act. The Fugitive Slave law has been carried into execution in every contested case since the commencement of the present administration; though often, it is to be regretted, with great loss and inconvenience to the master, and with considerable expense to the Government. Let us trust that the State legislatures will repeal their unconstitutional and obnoxious enactments. Unless this shall be done without any necessary delay, it is impossible for any human power to save the Union.

"The Southern States, standing on the basis of the Constitution, have a right to demand this act of justice from the States of the North. Should it be refused, then the Constitution, to which all the States are parties, will have been willfully violated by one portion of them in a provision essential to the domestic security and happiness of the remainder. In that event, the injured States, after having first used all peaceful and constitutional means to obtain redress, would be justified in revolutionary resistance to the Government of the Union.

"I have purposely confined my remarks to revolutionary resistance, because it has been claimed within the last few years that any State, whenever this shall be its sovereign will and pleasure, may secede from the Union, in accordance with the Constitution, and without any violation of the constitutional rights of the other members of the confederacy. That, as each became parties to the Union by a vote of its own people assembled in convention, so any one of them may retire from the Union in a similar manner by the vote of such a convention.

"In order to justify secession as a constitutional remedy, it must be on the principle that the Federal Government is a mere voluntary association of States, to be dissolved at pleasure by any one of the contracting parties. If this be so, the confederacy is a rope of sand, to be penetrated and dissolved by the first adverse wave of public opinion in any of the States. In this manner our thirty-three States may resolve themselves into as many petty, jarring, and hostiles republics, each one retiring from the Union, without responsibility, whenever any sudden excitement might impel them to such a course. By this process a union might be entirely broken into fragments in a few weeks, which cost our forefathers many years of toil, privation, and blood to establish.

"Such a principle is wholly inconsistent with the history as well as the character of the Federal Constitution. After it was framed, with the greatest deliberation and care, it was submitted

to conventions of the people of the several States for ratification. Its provisions were discussed at length in these bodies, composed of the first men of the country. Its opponents contended that it conferred powers upon the Federal Government dangerous to the rights of the States, while its advocates maintained that under a fair construction of the instrument there was no foundation for such apprehensions. In that mighty struggle between the first intellects of this or any other country, it never occurred to any individual, either among its opponents or advocates, to assert, or even to intimate, that their efforts were all vain labor, because the moment any State felt herself aggrieved she might secede from the Union. What a crushing argument would this have proved against those who dreaded that the rights of the States would be endangered by the Constitution! The truth is, that it was not until many years after the origin of the Federal Government that such a proposition was first advanced.

"It was then met and refuted by the conclusive arguments of General Jackson, who, in his message of 16th January, 1833, transmitted the nullifying ordinance of South Carolina to Congress, employs the following language: 'The right of the people of a single State to absolve themselves at will, and without the consent of the other States, from their most solemn obligations, and hazard the liberty and happiness of the millions composing this Union, can not be acknowledged. Such authority is believed to be utterly repugnant both to the principles upon which the General Government is constituted, and to the objects which it was expressly formed to attain.'

"It is not pretended that any clause in the Constitution gives countenance to such a theory. It is altogether founded upon inference, not from any language contained in the instrument itself, but from the sovereign character of the several States by which it was ratified. But is it beyond the power of a State, like an individual, to yield a portion of its sovereign rights to secure the remainder? In the language of Mr. Madison, who has been called the Father of the Constitution: 'It was formed by the States—that is, by the people in each of the States, acting in their highest sovereign capacity; and formed consequently by the same authority which formed the State constitutions.'

"Nor is the Government of the United States, created by the Constitution, less a government in the strict sense of the term, within the sphere of its powers, than the governments created by the constitutions of the States are, within their several spheres. It is, like them, organized into legislative, executive, and judiciary departments. It operates, like them, directly on persons and things; and, like them, it has at command a physical force for executing the powers committed to it.

"It was intended to be perpetual, and not be annulled at the pleasure of any one of the contracting parties. The old articles of confederation were entitled 'Articles of Confederation and Perpet-

ual Union between the States;' and by the 13th article it is expressly declared that 'the articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual.' The preamble to the Constitution of the United States, having express reference to the articles of Confederation, recites that it was established 'in order to form a more perfect union.' And yet it is contended that this 'more perfect union' does not include the essential attribute of perpetuity.

"But that the Union was designed to be perpetual, appears conclusively from the nature and extent of the powers conferred by the Constitution on the Federal Government. These powers embrace the very highest attributes of national sovereignty. They place both the sword and the purse under its control. Congress has power to make war, and to make peace; to raise and support armies and navies, and to conclude treaties with foreign governments. It is invested with the power to coin money, and to regulate the value thereof, and to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States. It is not necessary to enumerate the other high powers which have been conferred upon the Federal Government. In order to carry the enumerated powers into effect, Congress possesses the exclusive right to lay and collect duties on imports, and in common with the States to lay and collect all other taxes.

"But the Constitution has not only conferred these high powers upon Congress, but it has adopted effectual means to restrain the States from interfering with their exercise. For that purpose it has, in strong prohibitory language, expressly declared that 'no State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts.' Moreover, 'without the consent of Congress, no State shall lay any imposts or duties on any imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws;' and if they exceed this amount, the excess shall belong to the United States.

"And 'no State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace; enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power; or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.'

"In order still further to secure the uninterrupted exercise of these high powers against State interposition, it is provided 'that this Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.'

"The solemn sanction of religion has been superadded to the obligations of official duty, and all Senators and Representatives of the United States, all members of State Legislature, and all executive and judicial officers, 'both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution.'

"In order to carry into effect these powers, the Constitution has established a perfect government in all its forms, legislative, executive, and judicial; and this Government, to the extent of its powers, acts directly upon the individual citizen of every State, and executes its own decrees by the agency of its own officers. In this respect it differs entirely from the Government under the old confederation, which was confined to making requisitions on the States in their sovereign character. This left it in the discretion of each whether to obey or to refuse, and they often declined to comply with such requisition. It thus became necessary, for the purpose of removing this barrier, and, 'in order to form a more perfect union,' to establish a government which could act directly upon the people, and execute its own laws without the intermediate agency of the States. This has been accomplished by the Constitution of the United States.

"In short, the Government created by the Constitution, and deriving its authority from the sovereign people of each of the several States, has precisely the same right to exercise its power over the people of all these States, in the enumerated cases, that each one of them possesses over subjects not delegated to the United States, but 'reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.'

"To the extent of the delegated powers, the Constitution of the United States is as much a part of the Constitution of each State, and is as binding upon its people, as though it had been actually inserted therein.

"This Government, therefore, is a great and powerful government, invested with all the attributes of sovereignty over the special subjects to which its authority extends. Its framers never intended to implant in its bosom the seeds of its own destruction, nor were they, at its creation, guilty of the absurdity of providing for its own dissolution. It was not intended by its framers to be the baseless fabric of a vision which, at the touch of the enchanter, would vanish into thin air, but a substantial and mighty fabric, capable of resisting the slow decay of time, and of defying the storms of ages. Indeed, well may the jealous patriots of that day have indulged fears that a government of such high powers might violate the reserved rights of the States, and wisely did they adopt the rule of a strict construction of these powers to prevent the danger! But they did not fear, nor had they any reason to imagine, that the Constitution would ever be so interpreted as to enable any State, by her own act, and without the consent of her sister States, to discharge her people from all or any of their Federal obligations.

"It may be asked, then, are the people of the States without redress against the tyranny and oppression of the Federal Government? By no means. The right of resistance on the part of the governed against the oppression of their governments can not be denied. It exists independently of all constitutions, and has been exercised at all periods of the world's history. Under it old governments have been destroyed, and new ones have taken their place. It is embodied in strong and express language in our own Declaration of Independence. But the distinction must ever be observed, that this is revolution against an established government, and not a voluntary secession from it by virtue of an inherent constitutional right. In short, let us look the danger fairly in the face: secession is neither more nor less than revolution. It may or it may not be a justifiable revolution, but still it is revolution.

"What, in the mean time, is the responsibility and true position of the Executive? He is bound by solemn oath before God and the country 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed,' and from this obligation he can not be absolved by any human power. But what if the performance of this duty, in whole or in part, has been rendered impracticable by events over which he could have exercised no control? Such, at the present moment, is the case throughout the State of South Carolina, so far as the laws of the United States to secure the administration of justice by means of the Federal judiciary are concerned. All the Federal officers within its limits, through whose agency alone these laws can be carried into execution, have already resigned. We no longer have a district judge, a district attorney, or a marshal, in South Carolina. In fact, the whole machinery of the Federal Government necessary for the distribution of remedial justice among the people has been demolished, and it would be difficult, if not impossible, to replace it.

"The only acts of Congress on the statute-book, bearing upon this subject, are those of the 28th February, 1795, and 3d March, 1807. These authorize the President, after he shall have ascertained that the marshal, with his *posse comitatus*, is unable to execute civil or criminal process in any particular case, to call forth the militia and employ the army and navy to aid him in performing this service, having first by proclamation commanded the insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within a limited time.' This duty can not by possibility be performed in a State where no judicial authority exists to issue process, and where there is no marshal to execute it, and where, even if there were such an officer, the entire population would constitute one solid combination to resist him.

"The bare enumeration of these provisions proves how inadequate they are without further legislation to overcome a united opposition in a single State, not to speak of other States who may place themselves in a similar attitude. Congress alone has power to decide whether

the present laws can or can not be amended so as to carry out more effectually the objects of the Constitution.

"The same insuperable obstacles do not lie in the way of executing the laws for the collection of the customs. The revenue still continues to be collected, as heretofore, at the custom-house in Charleston; and should the collector unfortunately resign, a successor may be appointed to perform this duty.

"Then in regard to the property of the United States in South Carolina. This has been purchased for a fair equivalent, 'by the consent of the Legislature of the State,' 'for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals,' etc., and over these the authority 'to exercise exclusive legislation' has been expressly granted by the Constitution to Congress. It is not believed that any attempt will be made to expel the United States from this property by force; but if in this I should prove to be mistaken, the officer in command of the forts has received orders to act strictly on the defensive. In such a contingency the responsibility for consequences would rightfully rest upon the heads of the assailants.

"Apart from the execution of the laws, so far as this may be practicable, the Executive has no authority to decide what shall be the relations between the Federal Government and South Carolina. He has been invested with no such discretion. He possesses no power to change the relations heretofore existing between them, much less to acknowledge the independence of that State. This would be to invest a mere executive officer with the power of recognizing the dissolution of the confederacy among our thirty-three sovereign States. It bears no resemblance to the recognition of a foreign *de facto* government, involving no such responsibility. Any attempt to do this would, on his part, be a naked act of usurpation. It is, therefore, my duty to submit to Congress the whole question in all its bearings. The course of events is so rapidly hastening forward, that the emergency may soon arise, when you may be called upon to decide the momentous question whether you possess the power, by force of arms, to compel a State to remain in the Union. I should feel myself recreant to my duty were I not to express an opinion on this important subject.

"The question fairly stated is: Has the Constitution delegated to Congress the power to coerce a State into submission which is attempting to withdraw, or has actually withdrawn, from the confederacy? If answered in the affirmative, it must be on the principle that the power has been conferred upon Congress to declare and to make war against a State. After much serious reflection, I have arrived at the conclusion that no such power has been delegated to Congress, or to any other department of the Federal Government. It is manifest, upon an inspection of the Constitution, that this is not among the specific and enumerated powers granted to Congress; and it is equally apparent that its exercise is not 'necessary and proper for carrying into execution' any

one of these powers. So far from this power having been delegated to Congress, it was expressly refused by the Convention which framed the Constitution.

"It appears from the proceedings of that body, that on the 31st May, 1787, the clause '*authorizing an exertion of the force of the whole against a delinquent State*,' came up for consideration. Mr. Madison opposed it in a brief but powerful speech, from which I shall extract but a single sentence. He observed: 'The use of force against a State would look more like a declaration of war than an infliction of punishment, and would probably be considered by the party attacked as a dissolution of all previous compacts by which it might be bound.' Upon his motion, the clause was unanimously postponed, and was never, I believe, again presented. Soon afterward, on the 8th June, 1787, when incidentally adverting to the subject, he said: 'Any government for the United States, formed on the supposed practicability of using force against the unconstitutional proceedings of the States, would prove as visionary and fallacious as the Government of Congress,' evidently meaning the then existing Congress of the old confederation.

"Without descending to particulars, it may be safely asserted that the power to make war against a State is at variance with the whole spirit and intent of the Constitution. Suppose such a war should result in the conquest of a State, how are we to govern it afterward? Shall we hold it as a province, and govern it by despotic power? In the nature of things we could not, by physical force, control the will of the people, and compel them to elect Senators and Representatives to Congress, and to perform all the other duties depending upon their own volition, and required from the free citizens of a free State, as a constituent member of the confederacy.

"But if we possessed this power, would it be wise to exercise it under existing circumstances? The object would doubtless be to preserve the Union. War would not only present the most effectual means of destroying it, but would banish all hope of its peaceable reconstruction. Besides, in the fraternal conflict, a vast amount of blood and treasure would be expended, rendering future reconciliation between the States impossible. In the mean time, who can foretell what would be the sufferings and privations of the people during its existence?

"The fact is, that our Union rests upon public opinion, and can never be cemented by the blood of its citizens shed in civil war. If it can not live in the affections of the people, it must one day perish. Congress possess many means of preserving it by conciliation; but the sword was not placed in their hand to preserve it by force.

"But may I be permitted solemnly to invoke my countrymen to pause and deliberate, before they determine to destroy this, the grandest temple which has ever been dedicated to human freedom since the world began? It has

been consecrated by the blood of our fathers, by the glories of the past, and by the hopes of the future. The Union has already made us the most prosperous and, ere long, will, if preserved, render us the most powerful nation on the face of the earth. In every foreign region of the globe the title of American citizen is held in the highest respect, and when pronounced in a foreign land it causes the hearts of our countrymen to swell with honest pride. Surely when we reach the brink of the yawning abyss, we shall recoil with horror from the last fatal plunge. By such a dread catastrophe the hopes of the friends of freedom throughout the world would be destroyed, and a long night of leaden despotism would enshroud the nations. Our example for more than eighty years would not only be lost, but it would be quoted as a conclusive proof that man is unfit for self-government.

"It is not every wrong—nay, not every grievous wrong—which can justify a resort to such a fearful alternative. This ought to be the last desperate remedy of a despairing people, after every other constitutional means of conciliation had been exhausted. We should reflect that under this free Government there is an incessant ebb and flow in public opinion. The slavery question, like everything human, will have its day. I firmly believe that it has already reached and passed its culminating point. But if, in the midst of the existing excitement, the Union shall perish, the evil may then become irreparable. Congress can contribute much to avert it by proposing and recommending to the Legislatures of the several States the remedy for existing evils, which the Constitution has itself provided for its own preservation. This has been tried at different critical periods of our history, and always with eminent success. It is to be found in the 5th article providing for its own amendment. Under this article, amendments have been proposed by two thirds of both Houses of Congress, and have been 'ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States,' and have consequently become parts of the Constitution. To this process the country is indebted for the clause prohibiting Congress from passing any law respecting an establishment of religion, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or of the right of petition. To this we are also indebted for the bill of Rights, which secures the people against any abuse of power by the Federal Government. Such were the apprehensions justly entertained by the friends of State Rights at that period as to have rendered it extremely doubtful whether the Constitution could have long survived without these amendments.

"Again: the Constitution was amended by the same process after the election of President Jefferson by the House of Representatives, in February, 1803. This amendment was rendered necessary to prevent a recurrence of the dangers which had seriously threatened the existence of the Government during the pendency of that election. The art-

icle for its own amendment was intended to secure the amicable adjustment of conflicting constitutional questions like the present which might arise between the governments of the States and that of the United States. This appears from cotemporaneous history. In this connection, I shall merely call attention to a few sentences in Mr. Madison's justly celebrated report in 1799 to the Legislature of Virginia. In this he ably and conclusively defended the resolutions of the preceding Legislature against the strictures of several other State Legislatures. These were mainly founded upon the protest of the Virginia Legislature against the 'Alien and Sedition Acts,' as 'palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution.' In pointing out the peaceful and constitutional remedies—and he referred to none other—to which the States were authorized to resort on such occasions, he concludes by saying, 'that the Legislatures of the States might have made a direct representation to Congress with a view to obtain a rescinding of the two offensive acts, or they might have represented to their respective senators in Congress their wish that two thirds thereof would propose an explanatory amendment to the Constitution; or two thirds of themselves, if such had been their option, might, by an application to Congress, have obtained a convention for the same object.'

"This is the very course which I earnestly recommend in order to obtain an 'explanatory amendment' of the Constitution on the subject of slavery. This might originate with Congress or the State Legislatures, as may be deemed most advisable to attain the object.

"The explanatory amendment might be confined to the final settlement of the true construction of the Constitution on three special points:

"1. An express recognition of the right of property in slaves in the States where it now exists or may hereafter exist.

"2. The duty of protecting this right in all the common Territories throughout their territorial existence, and until they shall be admitted as States into the Union, with or without slavery, as their constitutions may prescribe.

"3. A like recognition of the right of the master to have his slave, who has escaped from one State to another, restored and 'delivered up' to him, and of the validity of the Fugitive Slave law enacted for this purpose, together with a declaration that all State laws impairing or defeating this right are violations of the Constitution, and are consequently null and void.

"It may be objected that this construction of the Constitution has already been settled by the Supreme Court of the United States, and what more ought to be required? The answer is, that a very large proportion of the people of the United States still contest the correctness of this decision, and never will cease from agitation and admit its binding force until clearly established by the people of the several States in their sovereign character. Such an explanatory amendment would,

it is believed, forever terminate the existing dissensions and restore peace and harmony among the States.

"It ought not to be doubted that such an appeal to the arbitrament established by the Constitution itself would be received with favor by all the States of the confederacy. In any event it ought to be tried in a spirit of conciliation before any of these States shall separate themselves from the Union.

"When I entered upon the duties of the Presidential office, the aspect neither of our foreign nor domestic affairs was at all satisfactory. We were involved in dangerous complications with several nations, and two of our Territories were in a state of revolution against the Government. A restoration of the African slave-trade had numerous and powerful advocates. Unlawful military expeditions were countenanced by many of our citizens, and were suffered, in defiance of the efforts of the Government, to escape from our shores, for the purpose of making war upon the unoffending people of neighboring republics with whom we were at peace. In addition to these and other difficulties, we experienced a revulsion in monetary affairs, soon after my advent to power, of unexampled severity and of ruinous consequences to all the great interests of the country. When we take a retrospect of what was then our condition, and contrast this with its material prosperity at the time of the late Presidential election, we have abundant reason to return our grateful thanks to that merciful Providence which has never forsaken us as a nation in all our past trials."

CHAPTER IV.

Meeting of Congress.—Little Hope.—Determination of the Disunionists.—Refusal to Vote.—Reasons.—Opposed to Compromise.—Bold Assertions of Southern Senators.—A Programme of Rebellion.—A Menace of Rebellion.—An Appeal for Union.—Caucuses and Conferences.—Failure.—Increased Violence and Hostility.—Bewilderment of the Moderates.—President Buchanan's indisposition to exercise Authority.—His Message an Encouragement to Rebellion.—General Scott's Advice.—Advice not Taken.—Dissension in the Cabinet.—Resignation of Cass.—Continued but ineffectual attempts of Congress.—Firmness of the Republicans.—Speech of Wade.—Resolutions of Crittenden.—The state of Feeling in the Country.—Depression of Trade and Commerce.—Bankruptcy.—Suspension of Specie Payment.—Emptiness of the National Treasury.—Resignation of Cobb.—Appointment of Dix.—A continued belief in the Cessation of Troubles.—Speech of Seward.

FROM the very first day of the meeting of Congress it became evident that the distracted country had little to hope from its action. All the members from South Carolina, and most of those from Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi, who still retained their seats in the national legislature with a formal affectation of allegiance to the Union, showed at once their obstinate determination to dissolve it. They refused to vote on the resolution, "that so much of the President's message as relates to the present

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perilous condition of the country be referred to a special committee of one from each State," audaciously declaring, as a reason for their recreancy, that the States to which they owed allegiance had, in their "sovereign" capacity, ordered conventions to consider their relations with the Federal Union, and that they looked to them for an authoritative decision of the question. Some even proclaimed that they were now, and had ever been, opposed to all compromises. The introduction of a resolution expressing fidelity to the Union, and pledging the House to maintain it, was fiercely opposed by the disaffected Southern members, and every indication was given of a predetermined hostility to all efforts at conciliation. Such were the sentiments and action, not only of the Southern members of the less restrained House of Representatives, but of the more composed Senate. Even a senator from North Carolina, a State which was believed to be loyal to the Union, did not hesitate to propose a division of the public property between the North and South, while the senators of Mississippi, Georgia, and Texas declared any attempt on the part of the Federal authorities to resist the progress of insurrection would be opposed by force. The senator* from Georgia, after a bold avowal of the projected rebellion, published by anticipation its programme, and flaunted it in the face of the Senate with the declaration, that "before the 4th of March—before your President is inaugurated—there will be five States, if not eight, that will be out of the Union, and will have formed a constitution for a frame of government." He declared that the South wanted no concessions, and would receive none. "You can not," he added, "stop this revolution. It is not the liberty laws, but the mob law, which the South fears. They do not dread these overt acts, for, without the power of the Federal Government, by force, under the Republican rule, their institution would not last ten years, and they know it. They intend to go out of this Union. Before the 4th of March five States will have declared their independence, and I am satisfied that three other States will follow as soon as the action of the people can be had. Arkansas will call her convention, and Louisiana will follow. And though there is a clog in the way in the lone star of Texas, in the person of the governor, who will not consent to call the Legislature, yet the public sentiment is so strong, that even her governor may be over-ridden; and if he will not yield to that public sentiment, some Texan Brutus may arise to rid his country of this old, hoary-headed traitor. There has been a good deal of vaporing and threatening, but they came from the last men who would carry out their threats. Men talk about their eighteen millions, but we hear a few days afterward of these same men being switched in the face, and they tremble like a sheep-stealing dog. There will be no war. The North, governed by such far-seeing statesmen as the senator from New York, will see the futility of

* Mr. Iverson.

this. In less than twelve months a Southern confederacy will be formed, and it will be the most successful government on earth. The Southern States, thus banded together, will be able to resist any force in the world. We do not expect war, but we will be prepared for it, and we are not a feeble race of Mexicans either."

This menace of rebellion was received with a cautious but defiant silence on the part of most of the Republicans, and timid expressions from the moderate men of all parties of a hope of still allaying the fierce temper of the South by the persuasives of conciliation and compromise. Crittenden, of Kentucky, the Nestor of the Senate, appealed to the sentiment of Union by an eloquent exposition of its blessings, and the dangers to the country of its dissolution. "This Union was established," he said, "by great sacrifices, and it is worthy of great sacrifices and great concessions for its maintenance. I trust that there is no senator but who is willing to yield and conciliate, and to compromise, in order to preserve the Union to the nation and to the country. I look with dismay, and something like despair, to the condition of this country when the Union is stricken down and we shall be turned loose to speculate on the foundations of a new government. I look at it with fear and trembling, which predispose me to the most solemn consideration that I am capable of feeling, and to search out, if possible, some means for the reconciliation of the different sections and members of this Union, to see if we can not again restore that harmony and fraternity that belong to the Union which has given us so much blessing and prosperity."

The Senate and House, with brief intervals of adjournment, during which vain attempts were made by caucuses and conferences to appease contention, continued their fruitless deliberations. The representatives of the extreme Southern States became daily more inveterate in their expressions of hostility to the Federal Government, and more outspoken in their expressions of disloyalty. The more moderate men of the South and those of the North seemed bewildered and powerless to counsel or to act.

President Buchanan, surrounded by men whose ill-concealed treason was soon to display itself in open rebellion, showed no disposition to exercise his power in protecting the authority of the Federal Government already boldly defied. His message, manipulated to their purpose by the hands of traitors, had, while it argued against the right of secession, put in a plea for its extenuation on the score of provocation from the North, and by confessing the impotency of the Federal authority to enforce obedience, encouraged the disaffected to rebel, with assurances of impunity. His conduct was in conformity with the assertion in his message, that coercion was unconstitutional, and he studiously withheld every indication of a manifestation of the exercise of executive authority to check the intent or to repress the overt act of rebellion.

The commander-in-chief, Lieutenant-General Scott, had already at an early **Oct. 29, 1860.** period urged upon the President the necessity of prompt measures to thwart the action of threatened secession. "From a knowledge of our Southern population," he wrote in a letter to Mr. Buchanan, "it is my solemn conviction that there is some danger of an early act of rashness preliminary to secession, viz., the seizure of some or all of the following forts: Forts Jackson and St. Philip, in the Mississippi, below New Orleans, both without garrisons; Fort Morgan, below Mobile, without a garrison; forts Pickens and McRae, Pensacola harbor, with an insufficient garrison for one; Fort Pulaski, below Savannah, without a garrison; forts Moultrie and Sumter, Charleston harbor, the former with an insufficient garrison, and the latter without any; and Fort Monroe, Hampton Roads, without a sufficient garrison. In my opinion all these works should be immediately so garrisoned, as to make any attempt to take any one of them by surprise or *coup de main* ridiculous.

"With the army faithful to its allegiance, and the navy probably equally so, and with a Federal Executive for the next twelve months of firmness and moderation, which the country has a right to expect—*moderation* being an element of power not less than *firmness*—there is good reason to hope that the danger of secession may be made to pass away without one conflict of arms, one execution, or one arrest for treason."

This timely advice of the veteran Scott, always vigilant to preserve the Union, was unheeded by the President, whose feeble will was guided by those who were seeking to destroy it. His traitorous associates in the Government threatened to resign, in case he complied with the suggestions of Scott, and extorted from him the pledge not to reinforce the forts. While thus promoting their traitorous purposes with the sanction and under the protection of the Federal Executive, these plotters of rebellion clung to the Government, whose authority they were daily weakening while they were strengthening their own power of ill.

There had been, however, already some dissension in the cabinet in regard to the subject of reinforcing the Southern forts; and when the expediency of sending an additional force to Major Anderson, in command of a feeble garrison at Fort Moultrie, in Charleston harbor, became manifest, two Northern members, Cass and Toucey, earnestly pleaded for it. They were, however, overborne, and the President, hampered by his pledges and controlled by his Southern advisers, sent not a single soldier to sustain the insulted and threatened authority of the Government. Cass, with patriotic indignation at this remissness of duty, **Dec. 14.** resigned his seat in the cabinet.

While the President was thus yielding, unresistingly, to the promoters of rebellion, Congress was continuing its futile attempts to check it by resolutions. The debates, however, became only more angry and the discord more

obvious. The secessionists increased in violence and audacity, and the extreme Republicans, provoked to more obstinate resistance, renewed their declarations of opposing all compromises. Wade, the Republican senator for Ohio, said, in a forcible speech:

"We beat you on the plainest and most palpable issue ever presented to the American people, and one which every man understood; and now, when we come to the capital, we tell you that our candidates must and shall be inaugurated—must and shall administer this government precisely as the Constitution prescribes. It would not only be humiliating, but highly dishonorable to us, if we listened to any compromise by which we should lay aside the honest verdict of the people. When it comes to that, you have no government, but anarchy intervenes, and civil war may follow, and all the evils that human imagination can raise may be consequent upon such a course as that. The American people would lose the sheet-anchor of Liberty whenever it is denied on this floor that a majority fairly given shall rule. I know not what others may do, but I tell you, that with that verdict of the people in my pocket, and standing on the platform on which these candidates were elected, I would suffer anything before I would compromise in any way. I deem it no case where we have a right to extend courtesy or generosity. The absolute right, the most sacred that a free people can bestow upon any man, is their verdict that gives him a full title to the office he holds. If we can not stand there we can not stand anywhere, and, my friends, any other verdict would be as fatal to you as to us."

The moderate men of both the North and the South with an amiable persistency still persevered in their endeavors to preserve the national peace by plans of conciliation and compromise. These, however, met with little encouragement from the embittered partisans of extreme opinions, and the hope of "saving the Union" by mutual concessions daily diminished. The resolutions of Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, seemed from the high character of the veteran statesman who offered them, to make the greatest impression upon public opinion. These proposed to renew the Missouri Compromise line—prohibiting slavery in the Territory north of 36 deg. 30 min., and protecting it south of that latitude; to admit new States with or without slavery, as their constitutions shall provide; to prohibit the abolition of slavery by Congress in the States; to prohibit its abolition in the District of Columbia so long as it exists either in Virginia or Maryland; to permit the transportation of slaves in any of the States by land or water; to provide for the payment of fugitive slaves, when rescued; to repeal one obnoxious feature of the Fugitive Slave law—the inequality of the fee to the commissioner; to ask the repeal of all the Personal Liberty bills in the Northern States, and effectually to execute the laws for the suppression of the African slave-trade. These were to be submitted to the people as amendments to the Constitu-

tion, and to be changed at no subsequent time.

While treason was being uttered in Congress, plotted in the cabinet, and encouraged to overt act in the slave States, unchecked by the national authority, which seemed indisposed, if not incapable of vindicating its supremacy, there was a general feeling of discouragement throughout the country. This was increased by the universal depression in trade and commerce. The great business of the Northern commercial and manufacturing cities with the South had been almost entirely arrested. The Southern merchants made no new, and failed to pay for their old, purchases. The payment of the great debt of three hundred millions of dollars due to the North suddenly stopped, and fears were already entertained that it would never be resumed. The Southern banks having suspended the payment of specie, had so depreciated the value of their currency, that exchange upon the North rose to such a height as almost to preclude remittances from the South whenever there were still found those disposed to make them. Northern merchants, thus suddenly deprived of their Southern resources, were forced into bankruptcy. The banks necessarily sympathized with the ruin of their customers, and although those of New York and Boston were enabled, through the abundance of their resources, to sustain their credit and even to increase their loans, the banks of Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, and Richmond suspended specie payment.

To add to this financial embarrassment, the national treasury was threatened with bankruptcy. So little faith had the country in the government as controlled by the Southern advisers of the President, that the secretary of the treasury, Howell Cobb, of Georgia, could only obtain a loan at a discount of 25 per cent. of the usual market rates in periods of national prosperity. Cobb was so perplexed by the financial embarrassments of his department, that, under the pretence of a difference of political views with the President, he resigned, and betook himself to the more congenial work of disturbing the loyalty of his native State. His successor, John A. Dix, of New York, a Northern man, was enabled, however, through the confidence inspired by his integrity and patriotism, to restore the public credit and again fill the treasury.

With all these causes, however, tending to depress the public feeling, there was still a strong belief among Northern people, that the civil troubles would, although none pretended to know how, be soon settled. This seemed to be based upon the supposed attachment to the Union among the people even in South Carolina. How far this belief in the loyalty of the Southern slave States prevailed is well illustrated by a speech of Seward, then senator, now secretary of state. He thus jauntily descanted on the grave subject of Southern disaffection:

"Now, gentleman, my belief about all
this is, that whether it is Massachu- Dec.
setts or South Carolina, or whether 22.

it is New York or Florida, it would turn out the same way in each case. There is no such thing in the book, no such thing in reason, no such thing in philosophy, and no such thing in nature, as any State existing on the continent of North America outside of the United States of America. I do not believe a word of it; and I do not believe it for a good many reasons. Some I have already hinted at; and one is, because I do not see any good reason given for it. The best reason I see given for it is, that the people of some of the Southern States hate us of the free States very badly, and they say that we hate them, and that all love is lost between us. Well, I do not believe a word of that. On the other hand, I do know for myself and for you, that, bating some little differences of opinion about advantages, and about prescription, and about office, and about freedom, and about slavery, and all those which are family difficulties, for which we do not take any outsiders in any part of the world into our councils on either side, there is not a state on the earth, outside of the American Union, which I like half so well as I do the State of South Carolina—[cheers]—neither England, nor Ireland, nor Scotland, nor France, nor Turkey; although from Turkey they sent me Arab horses, and from South Carolina they send me nothing but curses. Still, I like South Carolina better than I like any of them; and I have the presumption and vanity to believe that if there were nobody to overhear the State of South Carolina when she is talking, she would confess that she liked us tolerably well. I am very sure that if anybody were to make a descent on New York to-morrow—whether Louis Napoleon, or the Prince of Wales, or his mother [laughter], or the Emperor of Russia, or the Emperor of Austria, all the hills of South Carolina would pour forth their population for the rescue of New York. [Cries of 'Good,' and applause.] God knows how this may be. I do not pretend to know, I only conjecture. But this I do know, that if any of those powers were to make a descent on South Carolina, I know who would go to her rescue. [A voice—'We'd all go.'] We would all go—everybody. ['That's so,' and great applause.] Therefore they do not humbug me with their secession, and I do not think they will humbug you; and I do not believe that, if they do not humbug you and me, they will much longer succeed in humbugging themselves. [Laughter.] Now, fellow-citizens, this is the ultimate result of all this business. These States are always to be together—always shall. Talk of striking down a star from that constellation—it is a thing which can not be done. [Applause.] I do not see any less stars to-day than I did a week ago, and I expect to see more all the while. [Laughter.] The question then is, what in these times—when people are laboring under the delusion that they are going out of the Union and going to set up for themselves—ought we to do in order to hold them in? I do not know any better rule than the rule which every good father of a family ob-

serves. It is this. If a man wishes not to keep his family together, it is the easiest thing in the world to place them apart. He will do so at once if he only gets discontented with his son, quarrels with him, complains of him, torments him, threatens him, coerces him. This is the way to get rid of the family, and to get them all out of doors. On the other hand, if you wish to keep them, you have got only one way to do it. That is, be patient, kind, paternal, forbearing, and wait until they come to reflect for themselves. The South is to us what the wife is to her husband. I do not know any man in the world who can not get rid of his wife if he tries. * * * I do not know a man on earth who—even though his wife was as troublesome as the wife of Socrates—cannot keep his wife if he wants to do so; all that he needs is, to keep his own virtue and his own temper. [Applause.] Now, in all this business I propose that we shall keep our own virtue, which, in politics, is loyalty, and our own temper, which, in politics, consists in remembering that men may differ, that brethren may differ. If we keep entirely cool, and entirely calm, and entirely kind, a debate will ensue which will be kindly in itself, and it will prove very soon either that we are wrong—and we shall concede to our offended brethren—or else that we are right, and they will acquiesce and come back into fraternal relations with us. I do not wish to anticipate any question. We have a great many statesmen who demand at once to know what the North proposes to do—what the Government proposes to do—whether we propose to coerce our Southern brethren back into their allegiance. They ask us, as of course they may rightly ask, what will be the value of fraternity which is compelled? All I have to say on that subject is, that so long ago as the time of Sir Thomas More, he discovered, and set down the discovery in his writings, that there were a great many schoolmasters, and that while there were a very few who knew how to instruct children, there were a great many who knew how to whip them. [Laughter.] I propose to have no question on that subject, but to hear complaints, to redress them if they ought to be redressed, and if we have the power to redress them; and I expect them to be withdrawn if they are unreasonable, because I know that the necessities which made this Union exist, for these States, are stronger to-day than they were when the Union was made, and that those necessities are enduring, while the passions of men are short-lived and ephemeral. I believe that secession was stronger on the night of the 6th of November last, when a President and Vice-President who were unacceptable to the slave States were elected, than it is now. That is now some fifty days since, and I believe that every day's sun which set since that time, has set on mollified passions and prejudices, and that if you will only give it time, sixty days' more suns will give you a much brighter and more cheerful atmosphere." [Loud and long continued applause.]

CHAPTER V.

The Inaction of Government.—The Bewilderment of the North.—Movement of the South.—Precipitancy of South Carolina.—Election of Convention of South Carolina.—Impatience of Action.—Anticipatory Programme.—Governor Gist's last Message.—Action of other Slave States.—Alabama Declaration of Causes.—Immediate Secession views of the Governor of Florida.—Immediate Secession views of the Governor of Georgia.—Vigilance Committees.—Arming and Equipping.—Conventions called.—Meeting of South Carolina Convention.—Adjournment to Charleston.—Ordinance of Secession.—Manifestation of Popular Feeling in the South.—Audacity of South[illegible]mbers of Congress.—Proceedings of South Carolina Convention.—Proclamation of the Act of Secession of South Ca[illegible] Declaration of Causes.—Withdrawal from Congress of the Members of South Carolina.—Apparent attempts made to check the precipitate action of South Carolina.—Motives of such attempts.—Opposition to Disunion from Maryland.—Union Sentiments in Virginia.—Loyalty of Eastern and Western Virginia contrasted.—Proposed Conferences.—Disposition of Tennessee.—Firm stand for the Union of Johnson and Etheredge.—Letter of Bell, of Tennessee.—Feeling in Kentucky.—Governor Magoffin's Propositions.—Manful resistance of Governor Houston, of Texas.—Silence of Arkansas.—Irresolution of Georgia.—Union eloquence of Alexander H. Stephens.—Feeling in Alabama.—Mississippi.—Louisiana.—How the Propositions of the other Slave States were received by South Carolina.—South Carolina's Assurances.—Force of Example.—Anticipated Effect.—Ordinance of Concurrence.

1860.

WHILE the President, meekly submissive to the influence of his traitorous advisers, was confessing and manifesting impotency; while the national councils, alternately frightened by the defiance of audacious rebels and provoked by their threats, were now striving to soothe them by plans of conciliation and compromise, and again contending with them in angry discussion; while the people of the North, bewildered by the inaction of the Federal authority, the perplexing deliberations of Congress, and the frivolous conjectures of their leaders, seemed doubtful whether to hope or to fear, and willing to yield their destiny to the uncertainties of chance, the South was moving with unhesitating strides toward rebellion.

South Carolina, with characteristic precipitancy, established her claim to precedence in secession. The delegates to the convention called by the act of the Legislature were elected on the 5th of December, to meet on the 17th. The leaders of South Carolina, however, as if impatient of all deliberation, did not await its action. They summoned the people in masses throughout the State, and distinctly announced the programme of rebellion. At a large meeting in Charleston, Mr. Memminger, an able lawyer of that city, and a prominent politician, declared even before the election of the delegates that the convention, within three days of its assembling, would declare South Carolina out of the Union; that a commissioner would be sent to the capital of the United States to treat in regard to the forts and other Federal property, which would be formally demanded, and if not given up, that the armed me[illegible] South Carolina would take them. Presuming upon the easy temper of Buchanan, or the corrupt connivance of his traitorous advisers, he did not hesitate

Nov. 30.

to declare that he had no fear of the interference of the President, while he complacently dwelt upon the powerlessness of his successor, who would be too much embarrassed by the difficulty of organizing his government and obtaining the sanction of Congress, to apply coercion to South Carolina, until she had been joined by the other cotton States, when, thus strengthened, she would be able to resist it.

The governor* of the State, in his Dec. 7. last message, urged the prospective convention to immediate action.

"The delay," he said, "of the convention for a single week to pass the ordinance of secession, will have a blighting and chilling influence upon the action of the other Southern States. The opponents of the movement everywhere will be encouraged to make another effort to rally their now disorganized and scattered forces to defeat our action and stay our onward march. Fabius conquered by delay, and there are those of his school, though with a more unworthy purpose, who, shrinking from open and manly attack, use this veil to hide their deformity, and from a masked battery to discharge their missiles. But I trust they will strike the armor of truth and fall harmless at our feet, and that by the 28th of December no flag but the Palmetto will float over any part of South Carolina."

Great encouragement had already come from the leaders of the other cotton States, who hoped, by the hasty action of South Carolina, to precipitate their fellow-citizens into a separation from that Union for which there might be still a traditional reverence. At an early meeting at Mobile the secession leaders of Alabama had issued a Nov. 15. declaration of causes for separation which they emphatically urged. After a long and bitter exposition of the wrongs they had suffered from the North, they declared:

"The time has come for us 'to put our house in order,' and, if need be, to stand by our arms.

"We will not give the enemy time to collect his strength and wield the powers of government against us, by waiting for any further 'overt act.' Therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, 1. That the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency upon the principles avowed by the Black Republican party is, in our opinion, a virtual overthrow of the Constitution and of the equal right of the States.

"2. That the idea of submission by the South to the rule of such a man and such a party should be repudiated from one end of her borders to the other.

"3. That in the language of the Constitution of Alabama, under which she was admitted into the Union, 'All political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and intended for their benefit; and, therefore, they have at all times an inalienable and indefeasible right to alter, reform, or abolish their form of government in such manner as they may think expedient.'

"4. That, in the present state of things, it is the deliberate opinion of

* Gist.

this meeting, assembled without distinction of parties, that the State of Alabama should withdraw from the Federal Union without any further delay than may be necessary to obtain in the speediest manner a consultation with other slaveholding States, in the hope of securing their co-operation in a movement which we deem essential to our safety."

It is true that in this document a consultation with other slaveholding States was recommended, with the hope of securing their co-operation, but at the same time it advised immediate action. A meeting was held in Louisiana, at which a similar declaration was suggested.

The Governor of Florida invoked the Legislature to immediate secession. [Nov. 26.] "For myself," he said, "in full view of the responsibility of my position, I most decidedly declare that, in my opinion, the only hope the Southern States have for domestic peace or safety, or for future respectability and prosperity, is dependent on their action now; and that the proper action is, secession from our faithless, perjured confederates." Governor Brown, too, of Georgia—a State thought to be extremely reluctant to dissolve its connection with the Union—had written a letter in favor of early [Dec. 9.] secession. Mississippi had sent commissioners to all the slaveholding States to confer with them on the means "for their common defence and safety." Vigilance committees had been formed in the cotton States, money appropriated for equipping and arming, and conventions called, whose purpose was unequivocally the severance of their connection with the Federal Union.

The Convention of South Carolina assembled on the day appointed, but in consequence of the prevalence of [Dec. 17.] an epidemic of small-pox at the capital, adjourned from Columbia to Charleston, where, by a unanimous vote on the 20th of December, this, the first formal act of secession, was passed:

"An Ordinance to Dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled the Constitution of the United States of America:

"We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in convention, on the 23d day of May, in the year of our Lord 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly of this State ratifying the amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, and that the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States under the name of the United States of America is hereby dissolved."

That in Charleston and throughout South Carolina the passage of this ordinance should be received with a manifestation of popular joy was expected, that in Mobile, and New Orleans, Memphis, Macon, Norfolk, and even in Baltimore, it should be welcomed by the firing of guns, the cheers of the people, mili-

tary parades, the singing of the Marseillaise, the decorating of busts of Calhoun with secession cockades, the raising of the Palmetto flag, the burning of bonfires, and the illuminating of the streets, was, if a discouraging, not a surprising, exhibition on the part of an excited and deluded people; that, however, a member of the Federal Congress, in the very capital of the Union, should venture to applaud this attempt to dissolve it by declaring that "one of the sovereign States of this confederacy has, by the *glorious* act of her people, withdrawn, in vindication of her rights, from the Union,"* and that some of his fellows should clap their hands in sympathetic response, was an audacity of treason as astounding as it was unexampled.

The Convention of South Carolina proceeded rapidly in its work of disso-
Dec. lution. Commissioners were ap-
21. pointed to proceed to Washington, and to treat for a peaceful settlement of the relations between the United States and the "sovereign" State of South Carolina, and negotiate for the transfer of forts and other public property.

The newly elected governor, Pickens,
Dec. proclaimed to the world, in accord-
22. ance with the act of secession, that "South Carolina is, and has a right to be, a separate, sovereign, free, and independent State, and, as such, has a right to levy war, conclude peace, negotiate treaties, leagues, or covenants, and to do all acts whatever that right-
Dec. fully appertain to a free and inde-
24. pendent State."

* Mr. Garnet, member of Congress for Virginia.

This was followed by the—

"Declaration of Causes which induced the Secession of South Carolina.

"The people of the State of South Carolina, in convention assembled, on the 2d day of April, A.D. 1852, declared that the frequent violations of the Constitution of the United States by the Federal Government, and its encroachments upon the reserved rights of the States, fully justified this State in their withdrawal from the Federal Union; but in deference to the opinions and wishes of the other slaveholding States, she forbore at that time to exercise this right. Since that time these encroachments have continued to increase, and further forbearance ceases to be a virtue.

"And now the State of South Carolina having resumed her separate and equal place among nations, deems it due to herself, to the remaining United States of America, and to the nations of the world, that she should declare the immediate causes which have led to this act.

"In the year 1765, that portion of the British empire embracing Great Britain undertook to make laws for the government of that portion composed of the thirteen American Colonies. A struggle for the right of self-government ensued, which resulted, on the 4th of July, 1776, in a declaration, by the Colonies, 'that they are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce,

and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do.'

"They further solemnly declared that whenever any 'form of government becomes destructive of the ends for which it was established, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government.' Deeming the Government of Great Britain to have become destructive of these ends, they declare that the Colonies 'are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.'

"In pursuance of this Declaration of Independence, each of the thirteen States proceeded to exercise its separate sovereignty; adopted for itself a constitution, and appointed officers for the administration of government in all its departments—legislative, executive, and judicial. For purposes of defence they united their arms and their counsels; and in 1778 they entered into a league known as the Articles of Confederation, whereby they agreed to intrust the administration of their external relations to a common agent, known as the Congress of the United States, expressly declaring, in the first article, 'that each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not, by this confederation, expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.'

"Under this confederation the war of the Revolution was carried on; and on the 3d of September, 1783, the contest ended, and a definite treaty was signed by Great Britain, in which she acknowledged the independence of the Colonies in the following terms:

"'ARTICLE 1. His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz.: New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be FREE, SOVEREIGN, AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that he treats with them as such; and, for himself, his heirs, and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, property, and territorial rights of the same and every part thereof.'

"Thus were established the two great principles asserted by the Colonies, namely, the right of a state to govern itself; and the right of a people to abolish a government when it becomes destructive of the ends for which it was instituted. And concurrent with the establishment of these principles was the fact, that each Colony became, and was recognized by the mother country, as a FREE, SOVEREIGN, AND INDEPENDENT STATE.

"In 1787, deputies were appointed by the States to revise the articles of confederation; and on 17th September, 1787, these deputies recommended, for the adoption of the States, the articles of union known as the Constitution of the United States.

"The parties to whom this constitution was submitted were the several sovereign States; they were to agree or

disagree, and when nine of them agreed, the compact was to take effect among those concurring; and the General Government, as the common agent, was then to be invested with their authority.

"If only nine of the thirteen States had concurred, the other four would have remained as they then were—separate sovereign states, independent of any of the provisions of the Constitution. In fact, two of the States did not accede to the Constitution until long after it had gone into operation among the other eleven; and during that interval, they each exercised the functions of an independent nation.

"By this constitution, certain duties were imposed upon the several States, and the exercise of certain of their powers was restrained, which necessarily impelled their continued existence as sovereign states. But, to remove all doubt, an amendment was added, which declared that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people. On the 23d May, 1788, South Carolina, by a convention of her people, passed an ordinance assenting to this Constitution, and afterwards altered her own Constitution to conform herself to the obligations she had undertaken.

"Thus was established, by compact between the States, a government with defined objects and powers, limited to the express words of the grant. This limitation left the whole remaining mass of power subject to the clause reserving it to the States or the people, and rendered unnecessary any specification of reserved rights. We hold that the Government thus established is subject to the two great principles asserted in the Declaration of Independence; and we hold further, that the mode of its formation subjects it to a third fundamental principle, namely, the law of compact. We maintain that in every compact between two or more parties, the obligation is mutual; that the failure of one of the contracting parties to perform a material part of the agreement entirely releases the obligation of the other; and that where no arbiter is provided, each party is remitted to his own judgment to determine the fact of failure, with all its consequences.

"In the present case, that fact is established with certainty. We assert that fourteen of the States have deliberately refused for years past to fulfil their constitutional obligations, and we refer to their own statutes for proof.

"The Constitution of the United States, in its fourth article, provides as follows:

"'No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.'

"This stipulation was so material to the compact, that without it that compact would not have been made. The greater number of the contracting parties held slaves, and they had previously evinced

their estimate of the value of such a stipulation by making it a condition in the ordinance for the government of the territory ceded by Virginia, which obligations, and the laws of the General Government, have ceased to effect the objects of the Constitution. The States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa have enacted laws which either nullify the acts of Congress, or render useless any attempt to execute them. In many of these States the fugitive is discharged from the service of labor claimed, and in none of them has the State Government complied with the stipulation made in the Constitution. The State of New Jersey, at an early day, passed a law in conformity with her constitutional obligation; but the current of anti-slavery feeling has led her more recently to enact laws which render inoperative the remedies provided by her own laws and by the laws of Congress. In the State of New York, even, the right of transit for a slave has been denied by her tribunals; and the States of Ohio and Iowa have refused to surrender to justice fugitives charged with murder, and with inciting servile insurrection in the State of Virginia. Thus the constitutional compact has been deliberately broken and disregarded by the non-slaveholding States; and the consequence follows, that South Carolina is released from her obligation.

"The ends for which this Constitution was framed are declared by itself to be 'to form a more perfect union, to establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.'

"These ends it endeavored to accomplish by a federal government, in which each State was recognized as an equal, and had separate control over its own institutions. The right of property in slaves was recognized by giving to free persons distinct political rights; by giving them the right to represent, and burdening them with direct taxes for, three-fifths of their slaves; by authorizing the importation of slaves for twenty years; and by stipulating for the rendition of fugitives from labor.

"We affirm that these ends for which this Government was instituted have been defeated, and the Government itself has been destructive of them by the action of the non-slaveholding States. Those States have assumed the right of deciding upon the propriety of our domestic institutions; and have denied the rights of property established in fifteen of the States and recognized by the Constitution; they have denounced as sinful the institution of slavery; they have permitted the open establishment among them of societies, whose avowed object is to disturb the peace of and eloin the property of the citizens of other States. They have encouraged and assisted thousands of our slaves to leave their homes; and those who remain have been incited by emissaries, books, and pictures to servile insurrection.

"For twenty-five years this agitation has been steadily increasing, until it has now secured to its aid the power of the common government. Observing the *forms* of the Constitution, a sectional party has found within that article establishing the Executive department, the means of subverting the Constitution itself. A geographical line has been drawn across the Union, and all the States north of that line have united in the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery. He is to be intrusted with the administration of the common government, because he has declared that that 'government can not endure permanently half slave, half free,' and that the public mind must rest in the belief that slavery is in the course of ultimate extinction.

"This sectional combination for the subversion of the Constitution has been aided, in some of the States, by elevating to citizenship persons who, by the supreme law of the land, are incapable of becoming citizens; and their votes have been used to inaugurate a new policy hostile to the South, and destructive of its peace and safety.

"On the 4th of March next this party will take possession of the Government. It has announced that the South shall be excluded from the common territory, that the judicial tribunal shall be made sectional, and that a war must be waged against slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States.

"The guarantees of the Constitution will then no longer exist; the equal rights of the States will be lost. The slaveholding States will no longer have the power of self-government or self-protection, and the Federal Government will have become their enemy.

"Sectional interest and animosity will deepen the irritation, and all hope of remedy is rendered vain by the fact that the public opinion at the North has invested a great political error with the sanctions of a more erroneous religious belief.

"We, therefore, the people of South Carolina, by our delegates in convention assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, have solemnly declared that the Union heretofore existing between this State and the other States of North America is dissolved, and that the State of South Carolina has resumed her position among the nations of the world as a separate and independent state, with full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do."

The South Carolina members, at the same time that their State declared its independence, formally withdrew from Congress with a studious expression in their letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of a desire to do so with a feeling of "mutual regard and respect for each other, and the hope that in our future relations we may better enjoy that peace and harmony essential to the happiness of a free and enlightened people."

Apparent attempts had been made by some of the political leaders of the South to arrest this precipitate action of South Carolina. Some of these were undoubtedly prompted by a sincere attachment to the Union and a desire to preserve it. Some only affected the sentiment of patriotism, while others, equally resolved upon secession with the men of South Carolina, were desirous of a concert of action, in order to secure strength of effort and certainty of effect by combination. The Governor of Maryland, though beset by a strong secession sentiment in his State, resolutely opposed any indication of opposition to the legitimate authority of the Federal Government. In answer to a memorial of some of the more influential inhabitants of Maryland, urging him to convene the Legislature, he declared:

"Identified as I am by birth and every other tie with the South, a slaveholder,
Nov. and feeling as warmly for my native
27. State as any man can do, I am yet compelled by my sense of fair dealing, and my respect for the Constitution of our country, to declare that I see nothing in the bare election of Mr. Lincoln which would justify the South in taking any steps tending toward a separation of these States. Mr. Lincoln being elected, I am willing to await further results. If he will administer the government in a proper and patriotic manner, we are all bound to submit to his administration, much as we may have opposed his election."

Dec. At a later period, at a Demo-
6. cratic convention held in the city of Baltimore, the following resolution was passed:

"*Resolved*, That we deplore the action taken by our sister State of South Carolina, and earnestly protest against an ordinance of secession on her part as being unconstitutional, disorganizing, and precipitate, and unfriendly, if not arrogant, toward the counsels and situations of the other slaveholding States, and we believe that such act of secession will weaken and must divide their ultimate position; and while we declare for co-operation, we will firmly resist being dragged into secession. Maryland will not stand as a sentinel at the bidding of South Carolina, and we remind her, by the memories of the Revolution, that such purpose can not be justified; and, in conclusion, in a fraternal spirit, we entreat South Carolina to suspend all further action until such measures of peaceful adjustment have first been tried and have failed."

Virginia, though many of her leaders, deeply infected with the heresies of Calhoun, were known to regard secession from the United States as an act if not immediately desirable, at any rate legal and justifiable, seemed to stand firm for the Union. Her political writers, in an emphatic protest against the assumed right of South Carolina to individual action, thus rebuked her presumption:

"Throwing aside the question of constitutional right to secede at all, there is something due to comity, to neighborhood associations, to propriety. No man has a 'right,' by setting fire to his own house, to endanger the house of his

neighbor. Virginia, in this Union, or out of it as a sovereign, and as potential as South Carolina, has her own interests to look after, her own rights to be secured, her own feelings to be respected—and she will demand this from South Carolina just as much as she would from any other State in the present United States. It would seem as if in the course now pursued, fearing the conservative action of Virginia, and not desiring, in truth, 'a united South,' certain cotton States were for going off by themselves, for the mere sake of 'forming a cotton confederacy,' totally irrespective of other Southern States which do not recognize cotton as their king, and totally regardless of any interests or any views but their own. It used to be a 'united South!' It was formerly disunion and secession for aggression by the General Government. It is now a disunited South—secession on account of the untoward result of a Presidential election! This is not the way to uphold the rights of the States and the rights of the South. It is weakening our own position, and destroying our own strength."

The Virginian leaders, even the most headstrong advocates of States' Rights, seemed desirous of making an effort to hold fast by the Union. At a political banquet in Richmond, (Dec. 5.) "The Union," "Virginia in the Union," and other patriotic toasts, were drunk and responded to with enthusiasm. While there might be doubt of the continued loyalty of Eastern, there was no question of the persistency of that of Western, Virginia, whose proximity to the free States of Illinois and Ohio, and identity of origin, habits, and interests, made them as one people. The loyalty of the East was conditional upon such concessions to the slave power as the most sanguine believers in compromise could hardly anticipate. The loyalty of the West, comparatively free of the entanglement of slave interests, was sincere and unconstrained.

Virginia strove to check the precipitancy of South Carolina by appointing a commissioner to urge an arrest of proceedings until there might be a conference among the slave States.

Tennessee, though her governor was suspected even at that early period of a strong sympathy, if not active concurrence, with the leaders of the rebellion, was apparently indisposed to secession. Her United States senator, and formerly governor, Andrew Johnson, and Emerson Etheredge, a member of the House of Representatives, were among the first to deny emphatically the assumed right of secession, and to call it treason. They both have continued as they began, the firm assertors of the Federal authority and the resolute opponents of its enemies. Johnson, in the Senate of the United States, (Dec. 19.) while even Northern men were doubting the right of the Government to suppress a rebellion against its authority, thus emphatically argued not only for its existence, but for its exercise:

"Have we not the power to enforce the laws in the State of South Carolina, as well as in the State of Vermont or

any other State? And notwithstanding they may resolve and declare themselves absolved from all allegiance to this Union, yet it does not save them from the compact. If South Carolina drives out the Federal courts from the State, then the Federal Government has a right to re-establish the courts. If she excludes the mails, the Federal Government has a right and the authority to carry the mails. If she resists the collection of revenue in the port of Charleston, or any other ports, then the Government has a right to enter and enforce the law. If she undertakes to take possession of the property of the Government, the Government has a right to take all means to retain that property. And if they make any effort to dispossess the Government, or to resist the execution of the judicial system, then South Carolina puts herself in the wrong, and it is the duty of the Government to see the judiciary faithfully executed. In 1805, South Carolina made a deed of cession of the land on which these forts stand—a full cession—with certain conditions. The Government complied with the conditions, and has had possession of these forts till this day. And now has South Carolina any right to attempt to drive the Government from that property? If she secedes, and makes any attempt of this kind, does she not come within the meaning of the Constitution, where it speaks of levying war? And in levying war, she does what the Constitution declares to be treason. We may as well talk of things as they are, for if anything can be treason, within the scope of the Constitution, is not levying war upon the Government, treason? Is not attempting to take the property of the Government and expel the Government soldiers therefrom, treason? Is not attempting to resist the collection of the revenue, attempting to exclude the mails, and driving the Federal court from her borders, treason? What is it? I ask, in the name of the Constitution, what is it? It is treason, and nothing but treason."

With a sympathy among many of the political leaders of Tennessee with secession, and an undisguised effort to promote it, there yet seemed to exist among the people throughout the State, but especially in the eastern districts, a firm attachment to the Union. A secession meeting at Memphis was disturbed by manifestations of opposition on the part of a large gathering of unionists. The Honorable John Bell, of Nashville, who had been a candidate for the Presidency, in a letter in answer to an invitation to an assemblage of secessionists, declared that he was for the Union, that he did not think that the election of Lincoln was a just cause for its dissolution, and that the South, equally with the North, was responsible for the angry sectionalism of feeling which prevailed.

Nov. 30.

In Kentucky the Union sentiment was, as it continues to be, predominant. There was, however, great uneasiness of feeling and a disposition on the part of many of the political leaders of the State to act concurrently with the cotton States, or to demand excessive concessions from the North as the condition of

loyalty. Governor Magoffin seemed by Dec. 9. this circular sent to the governors of the various slave States, to have made a sincere effort toward conciliation.

"COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, FRANKFORT, *Dec.* 9, 1860.

"Entertaining the opinion that some movement should be instituted at the earliest possible moment to arrest the progress of events which seem to be rapidly hurrying the Government of the Union to dismemberment, as an initiatory step I have, with great diffidence, concluded to submit to the governors of the slave States a series of propositions, and to ask their counsel and co-operation in bringing about a settlement upon them as a basis. Should the propositions be approved, they can be submitted to the assembling legislatures and conventions of the slave States, and a convention of all of said States, or of those only approving, be called to pass upon them, and ask a general convention of all the States of the Union that may be disposed to meet us on this basis for a full conference. The present good to be accomplished would be to arrest the secession movement until the question as to whether the Union can be preserved upon fair and honorable terms can be fully tested. If there be a basis for the adjustment of our difficulties within the Union, nothing should be left undone in order to its development. To this end, it seems to me there should be a conference of the States in some form, and it appears to me the form above suggested would be most effective. I, therefore, as the governor of a State having as deep a stake in the perpetuity of the Union, and at the same time as much solicitude for the maintenance of the institution of slavery as any other, would respectfully beg leave to submit for your consideration the following outline of propositions:

"*First.* Repeal, by an amendment of the Constitution of the United States, all laws in the free States in any degree nullifying or obstructing the execution of the Fugitive Slave law.

"*Second.* Amendments to said law to enforce its thorough execution in all the free States, providing compensation to the owner of the slave from the State which fails to deliver him up under the requirements of the law, or throws obstructions in the way of his recovery.

"*Third.* The passage of a law by Congress compelling the governors of free States to return fugitives from justice, indicted by a grand jury in another State for stealing or enticing away a slave.

"*Fourth.* To amend the Constitution so as to divide all the Territories belonging to the United States, or hereafter to be acquired, between the free and the slave States, say upon the line of the 37th degree of north latitude—all north of that line to come into the Union with requisite population as free States, and all south of the same to come in as slave States.

"*Fifth.* To amend the Constitution so as to guarantee forever to all the States the free navigation of the Mississippi River.

"*Sixth.* To alter the Constitution so

as to give the South the power, say in the United States Senate, to protect itself from unconstitutional and oppressive legislation upon the subject of slavery.

"Respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"B. MAGOFFIN."

Governor Houston, of Texas, manfully resisted the progress of the secessionists of that State by refusing to convene the Legislature, and strove to check the precipitancy of South Carolina by recommending a conference of the slave States. The governor of Arkansas uttered no expression of opinion in this crisis, but it was hoped that his silence was an indication that the people were loyal to the Union.

Georgia was evidently still irresolute. Alexander H. Stephens, one of her leading statesmen, now Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy, spoke eloquently in behalf of the Union, and the
Dec. Legislature urged the other slave
15. States, in a circular addressed to them, not to act separately and precipitately.

Even in Alabama, at a meeting held
Nov. in Baldwin County, a unanimous
24. resolution was passed against secession; in Mississippi a large gathering
Nov. of citizens in Vicksburg expressed
29. the belief by a resolution that there were "yet remedies within the Union;" in Louisiana a leading journal declared
Dec. that there was a "disposition to
15. move with deliberation and to try all remedies, until means of security and equality in the Union are exhausted, before the State considers the United States as a foreign government and its citizens as aliens."

South Carolina had, however, treated with contempt this lingering loyalty, and gave no heed to the suggestions of the other slave States. The convention refused to listen to the commissioners of Kentucky and Virginia, and even laid upon the table the proposition of the Legislature of Georgia without reading it. South Carolina was doubtless strengthened in resolution by secret alliances and pledges of conformity on the part of the political leaders in the other slave States, and could estimate at its just value a public affectation of loyalty to the Union by men who had conspired to destroy it. In South Carolina itself the people had been long prepared for secession, and required no persuasions or threats to effect what they impatiently desired. In the other "cotton" States, however, partly from an attachment to the Union and partly from a reluctance to assume the responsibility of dissolving it, there was a hesitating disaffection which could only be quickened to rebellion by the force of example. South Carolina, though professing her willingness and boasting her ability to stand alone, did not doubt that her lead would be soon followed by her sister States.

Confident in this belief, a committee of the convention at Charleston introduced the following ordinance, in which the concurrence in secession of the Dec.
slaveholding States and their or- 25.
ganization into a separate government, were already assumed by anticipation:

"*First.* That the conventions of the seceding slaveholding States of the United States unite with South Carolina, and hold a convention at Montgomery, Ala., for the purpose of forming a Southern confederacy.

"*Second.* That the said seceding States appoint, by their respective conventions or legislatures, as many delegates as they have representatives in the present Congress of the United States, to the said convention to be held at Montgomery, and that on the adoption of the constitution of the Southern confederacy, the vote shall be by States.

"*Third.* That whenever the terms of the constitution shall be agreed upon by the said convention, the same shall be submitted at as early a day as practicable to the convention and legislature of each State respectively, so as to enable them to ratify or reject the said constitution.

"*Fourth.* That in the opinion of South Carolina, the Constitution of the United States will form a suitable basis for the confederacy of the Southern States withdrawing.

"*Fifth.* That the South Carolina convention appoint by ballot eight delegates to represent South Carolina in the convention for the formation of a Southern confederacy.

"*Lastly.* That one commissioner in each State be elected to call the attention of the people to this ordinance."

CHAPTER VI

Energetic Action of the Convention at Charleston.—Proclamation for Fasting and Prayer by the President of the United States.—Compromise Committees: their ineffectiveness.—The Senator of Georgia's opinion of them.—Despair of the Senator from Kentucky.—Feeling at the North.—Activity of South Carolina.—Resolution of Inquiry passed by the Charleston Convention in regard to the Federal Forts.—Intense interest of the Charleston people.—Description of the Forts.—Anxiety of Major Anderson.—Hopelessness of the Defence of Fort Moultrie.—A Call of Duty.—A Resolution taken.—Preparations to abandon Fort Moultrie.—Ruse.—Expedition at Night.—In possession of Fort Sumter.—Excitement in Charleston.—The abandoned Federal Forts taken possession of by the South Carolinians.—The condition of Fort Moultrie described.—Seizure of Public Property.—Indignation against Major Anderson.—Anderson assumes the Responsibility.—Energetic Preparations at Charleston for War.—Sympathy from the Gulf States.—Feeling at the North.—The great Robbery of the Indian Trust Fund.—The supposed Criminals.—The order for the removal of Arms from Pittsburg.—Excitement of the Citizens.—Relief in a Mass Meeting.—Fears at the North.—The deed of Anderson hailed with enthusiasm.—Newspaper Rhetoric.—The effect at Washington.—Resignation of Floyd.—A strange Correspondence.—Departure of the South Carolina Commissioners from Washington, and Correspondence.

WHILE the convention at Charleston was energetically pursuing its course of independent government, the President
1860. at Washington did nothing but bewail the misfortunes of the country in a proclamation of a day to be set apart for humiliation, fasting, and prayer, and Congress continued its futile attempts at compromise. The committees of "Thirty-three" and "Thirteen," appointed to consider and report on the crisis of the country, met, adjourned, and met again

without any result but the increased conviction that conciliation was impracticable. That there were some sincere efforts made by the moderate men of the South, with the desire of appeasing disunion, may be believed, but that the representatives of the extreme opinions of the cotton States had, if the wish for, not the least expectation of, their success,
Dec. may be inferred from this telegram
23. dispatched to his constituents by the United States senator from Georgia:

"I came here to secure your constitutional rights, and to demonstrate to you that you can get no guarantee for those rights from your Northern confederates.

"The whole subject was referred to a committee of thirteen in the Senate. I was appointed on the committee, and accepted the trust. I submitted propositions which, so far from receiving a decided support from a single member of the Republican party of the committee, were all treated with derision or contempt. A vote was then taken in the committee on amendments to the Constitution, proposed by Hon. J. J. Crittenden, and each and all of them were voted against, unanimously, by the Black Republican members of the committee.

"In addition to these facts, a majority of the Black Republican members of the committee declared distinctly that they had no guarantees to offer, which was silently acquiesced in by the other members.

"The Black Republican members of this committee are representative men of the party and section, and, to the extent of my information, truly represent them.

"The Committee of Thirty-Three on Friday adjourned for a week, without coming to any vote, after solemnly pledging themselves to vote on all the propositions then before them that day. It is controlled by the Black Republicans, your enemies, who only seek to amuse you with delusive hope until your election, that you may defeat the friends of secession.

"If you are deceived by them, it shall not be my fault. I have put the test fairly and frankly. It is decisive against you now. I tell you, upon the faith of a true man, that all further looking to the North for security for your constitutional rights in the Union ought to be instantly abandoned.

"It is fraught with nothing but ruin to yourselves and to your posterity. Secession, by the 4th day of March next, should be thundered from the ballot-box by the unanimous voice of Georgia on the 2d day of January next. Such a voice will be your best guarantee for liberty, tranquility, and glory.

"R. Toombs."

The venerable Crittenden, of Kentucky, whose fidelity to the Union was beyond peradventure, even despaired, and seeing no prospect in congressional action of an accommodation, exclaimed, that it was the darkest day of his life—that he was overwhelmed with solicitude for the country, and that nothing but the affection of the people for the Union could restore peace. In the mean



while, the people of the North remained in a state between fear and hope. The timid gave expression to their alarms in "union meetings," and petitions counselling concession; while the hopeful deluded themselves with the supposed strength of the loyal men in the South. A few contemplated the possibility of war, but most fondly believed that the country would be spared its horrors.

South Carolina, however, though secured for the present by the pledges of President Buchanan and the corrupt connivance of his cabinet, was yet distrustful of the future, and began to prepare for its possible dangers. A resolution was offered in the convention at Charleston that the governor be requested to communicate in secret session any information he might possess in regard to the condition of forts Moultrie and Sumter, and Castle Pinckney, the number of guns in each, the number of workmen and kind of labor employed, the number of soldiers in each, and what additions, if any, had been made since the 20th of December; also, whether any assurance had been given that the forts would not be reinforced, and if so, to what extent; also, what police or other regulations had been made, if any, in reference to the defences of the harbor of Charleston, the coast, and the State.

Dec. 26.

At the same time the condition of these forts and their capability of defence became a subject of intense interest to the people of South Carolina, who were evidently determined upon possessing themselves of them. A minute survey of the works was made and published, in which the efforts in progress to improve their strength were studiously detailed and exaggerated, with the view of exciting the impatient ardor of the South Carolinians to wrest them from the Federal Government.

This account, as it conveys a tolerably accurate idea of the forts in the harbor of Charleston, is here given as published in the Charleston *Mercury*:

"Fort Moultrie is an inclosed water battery, having a front on the south, or water side, of about 300 feet, and a depth of about 240 feet. It is built with salient and re-entering angles on all sides, and is admirably adapted for defence, either from the attack of a storming party or by regular approaches.

"The outer and inner walls are of brick, capped with stone, and filled in with earth, making a solid wall 15 or 16 feet in thickness. The work now in progress consists in cleaning the sand from the walls of the fort; ditching it around the entire circumference, and erecting a glacis; closing up the postern gates in the east and west walls, and, instead, cutting sally-ports which lead into strong outworks on the southeast and southwest angles, in which twelve-pounder howitzer guns will be placed, enabling the garrison to sweep the ditch on three sides with grape and canister. The northwest angle of the fort has also been strengthened by a bastionette to sustain the weight of a heavy gun which will command the main street of the island. The main entrance has also been better secured, and a trap-door,

two feet square, cut in the door for ingress and egress. At this time, the height of the wall from the bottom of the ditch to the top of the parapet is 20 feet. The ditch is from 12 to 15 feet wide at the base, and 15 feet deep. The nature of the soil would not seem to admit of this depth being increased, quicksand having been reached in many places. The work on the south side is nearly finished. The counterscarp is substantially built with plank, and spread with turf. The glacis is also finished. It is composed of sand, and covered with layers of loam and turf, all of which are kept firmly in place by the addition of sections of plank nailed to uprights sunk in the sand, and crossing each other at right angles, making squares of 10 feet each. The purpose of the glacis, which is an inclined plane, is to expose an attacking party to the fire of the guns, which are so placed as to sweep it from the crest of the counterscarp to the edge of the beach. On the north side all the wooden gun-cases have been placed close together on the ramparts, apparently for the purpose of securing it against an escalade, but possibly as a screen for a battery of heavy guns. A good many men are engaged in clearing the ramparts of turf and earth, for the purpose of putting down a very ugly-looking arrangement, which consists of strips of planks four inches wide, one and a half inches thick, and six or eight feet long, sharpened at the point, and nailed down so as to project about three feet horizontally from the top of the walls.

"A noticeable fact in the bastionettes, to which we have above alluded, is the haste in which one of them has been built. The one completed is formed of solid masonry. In constructing the other, however, a framework of plank has been substituted. Against the inside of this wooden outwork loose bricks have been placed. Both bastionettes are armed with a small carronade, and a howitzer pointed laterally so as to command the whole intervening moat by a cross-fire.

"In the hurried execution of these extensive improvements, a large force—about 170 men—are constantly engaged. Additions are daily made to this number, and the work of putting the post in the best possible condition for defence is carried on with almost incredible vigor.

"A few days ago, Colonel Gardiner, who for years had held the commandant's position, and whose courtesy and bearing had won the friendship of all who knew him, was relieved in the command by Major Robert Anderson, of Kentucky. Major Anderson received his first commission as brevet second lieutenant second artillery, July 1st, 1825, was acting inspector-general in the Black Hawk war, and received the rank of brevet captain, August, 1838, for his successful conduct in the Florida war. On September 8th, 1847, he was made brevet-major for his gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Molino del Rey.

"The other officers are: Captain Abner Doubleday, Captain T. Seymour, Lieutenant T. Talbot, Lieutenant J. C.

Davis, Lieutenant N. J. Hall—all of the first regiment artillery.

"Captain J. G. Foster and Lieutenant G. W. Snyder, of the engineer corps.

"Assistant Surgeon S. W. Crawford, of the medical staff.

"The force under these gentlemen consists of two companies of artillery. The companies, however, are not full, the two comprising, as we are informed, only about seventy men, including the band. A short time ago two additional companies were expected, but they have not come; and it is now positively stated that there will be, for the present at least, no reinforcement of the garrison.

"While the working-men are doing wonders on the outside, the soldiers within are by no means idle. Field-pieces have been placed in position upon the green within the fort, and none of the expedients of military engineering have been neglected to make the position as strong as possible. It is said that the greatest vigilance is observed in every regulation at this time, and that the guns are regularly shotted every night. It is very certain that ingress is no longer an easy matter for an outsider, and the visitor who hopes to get in must make up his mind to approach with all the caution, ceremony, and circumlocution with which the allies are advancing upon the capital of the Celestial Empire.

"Fort Sumter, the largest of our fortresses, is a work of solid masonry, octagonal in form, pierced on the north, east, and west sides with a double row of port-holes for the heaviest guns, and on the south or land side, in addition to openings for guns, loop-holes for musketry; stands in the middle of the harbor, on the edge of the ship channel, and is said to be bomb-proof. It is at present without any regular garrison. There is a large force of workmen—some one hundred and fifty in all—busily employed in mounting the guns and otherwise putting this great strategic point in order. The armament of Fort Sumter consists of 140 guns, many of them being the formidable ten-inch 'columbiads,' which throw either shot or shell, and which have a fearful range. Only a few of these are yet in position, and the work of mounting pieces of this calibre in the casemates is necessarily a slow one. There is also a large amount of artillery stores, consisting of about 40,000 pounds of powder, and a proportionate quantity of shot and shell. The workmen engaged here sleep in the fort every night, owing to the want of any regular communication with the city. The wharf or landing is on the south side, and is of course exposed to a cross fire from all the openings on that side.

"The fortress most closely commanding the city and its roadstead is Castle Pinckney, which is located on the southern extremity of a narrow slip of marsh land, which extends in a northerly direction to Hog Island Channel. To the harbor side the so-called castle presents a circular front. It has never been considered of much consequence as a fortress, although its proximity to

the city would give it importance, if properly armed and garrisoned. From hasty observation, we find that there are about fifteen guns mounted on the parapet; the majority of them are eighteen and twenty-four pounders. Some 'columbiads' are, however, within the walls. There are also supplies of powder, shot, and shell. At present there is no garrison at the post; the only residents are one or two watchmen, who have charge of the harbor light. Some thirty or forty day laborers are employed repairing the cisterns, and putting the place generally in order."

Major Anderson, the Federal officer in command, informed of the action of the convention in regard to the forts, witnessing the public excitement in Charleston, conscious of the intense desire of the people of South Carolina to possess them, and believing that they would not long hesitate to make the attempt, became solicitous about their safety. He had no hope of being able to defend Fort Moultrie, whose feeble and unprotected walls he held with a meagre garrison of only sixty effective men. He despaired of any aid from the Federal Government, for he had been told by the secretary of war, Floyd, how, with a natural regard for the safety of his fellow-conspirators, he had "carefully abstained from increasing the force at this point, or taking any measures which might add to the present excited state of the public mind, or which would throw any doubt on the confidence he feels that South Carolina will not attempt by violence to obtain possession of the public works, or interfere with their occupancy."*

It was not, therefore, surprising that Anderson should write thus despairingly:

"When I inform you that my garrison consists of only sixty effective men, and that we are in a very indifferent work, the walls of which are only about fourteen feet high, and that we have, within one hundred and sixty yards of our walls, sand-hills which command our work, and which afford admirable sites for batteries and the finest covers for sharp-shooters, and that besides this there are numerous houses, some of them within pistol-shot, you will at once see that, if attacked in force, headed by any one but a simpleton, there is scarce a possibility of our being able to hold out long enough to enable our friends to come to our succor. Dec. 24.

"Trusting that God will not desert us in our hour of trial, I am sincerely yours.

"Robert Anderson,

"Major 1st Artillery, etc."

Anderson, however, was not the man to yield to despair while the call of duty invoked to effort. He accordingly determined, that if Fort Moultrie could not be defended, he would place his meagre garrison in Fort Sumter, which could. His preparations were made with a prudent secrecy. In order to deceive the inhabitants of Sullivan Island, upon which the fort is situated, it was studiously reported among them, that in consequence of the probability

* Verbal Instructions to Major Anderson, Dec. 11, 1860.

of an attack by the people of Charleston, the wives and children of the garrison were about to be removed to a safer place. Under the cover of this pretext, three schooners were hired, brought up to the wharf, and loaded with what was supposed by the people of the island merely ordinary baggage. These vessels, however, contained not only the women and children, but provisions, munitions of war, and the personal effects of the officers and soldiers. Thus laden, the three schooners put off, and sailed, not to Fort Johnson, on James Island, as had been carefully reported, and for which they apparently steered, but to Fort Sumter, where, after a circuitous course, they finally arrived in the evening and discharged their important burthens. Anderson waited for the darkness of the night before embarking his men. At half-past nine o'clock, row-boats having been got ready, the whole force, with the exception of Captain Foster and eight men, left to dismantle and spike the guns and burn their carriages, pushed off. Before daylight next morning Major Anderson was in full possession of Fort Sumter, with his little garrison. The smoke from Fort Moultrie, still rising at early dawn, was the first to arouse the attention of the people of Charleston. They gathered in excited crowds upon the wharfs and the battery, and anxiously sought the cause. Great alarm spread throughout the town, and the troops were called to arms. Various were the conjectures: some thought that a fresh United States force had arrived; some supposed that Anderson had evacuated the harbor altogether, after having destroyed the fort; but none seemed to suspect his masterly movement. All doubt, however, was soon removed by the arrival in the city of some of the inhabitants of Sullivan's Island.

Dec. 26.

When the fact became known, the excitement increased. The convention met immediately, and issued orders for the occupation of the deserted Fort Moultrie and the other defences of the harbor by the State troops. The Federal arsenal at Charleston, which had been so generously supplied by the treasonable forecast of the secretary of war, yielded up its stores of arms and ammunition to the eager asserters of "State sovereignty." Colonel Pettigrew, in obedience to the command of the convention, took possession, with two hundred men, of Castle Pinckney, which was found without a man to defend it, but with its entrances barricaded, its guns spiked, its ammunition gone, and its flagstaff prostrate. Lieutenant-Colonel De Saussure, also with two hundred men, proceeded to take possession of the abandoned Fort Moultrie. As he approached, Captain Foster and his eight soldiers, who had been left to destroy the guns and keep nominal possession, pushed off in a row-boat for Fort Sumter.

As soon as the South Carolinians got possession, they commenced to repair the damage effected by Anderson, and to add to the former efficiency and strength of the fort. The condition in which it was found after its abandon-

Dec. 27. ment by the Federal force, is thus minutely described by a writer in the Charleston *Courier:*

"On the way across the harbor, the hoisting of the American flag from the staff of Fort Sumter, at precisely twelve o'clock, gave certain indication that the stronghold was occupied by the troops of the United States. On a nearer approach the fortress was discovered to be occupied, the guns appeared to be mounted, and sentinels were discovered on duty, and the place to give every sign of occupancy and military discipline. The grim fortress frowned defiance on every side; the busy notes of preparation resounded through its unforbidding recesses, and everything seemed to indicate the utmost alacrity in the work on hand.

"Turning toward Fort Moultrie, a dense cloud of smoke was seen to pour from the end facing the sea. The flagstaff was down, and the whole place had an air of desolation and abandonment quite the reverse of its busy look one week ago, when scores of laborers were engaged in adding to its strength all the works skill and experience could suggest.

"In the immediate vicinity of the rear or landside entrance, however, greater activity was noticeable. At the time of our visit, a large force of hands had been summoned to deliver up their implements for transportation to Fort Sumter. Around on every side were the evidences of labor in the fortification of the work. In many places a portion of the defences were strengthened by every appliance that art could suggest or ingenuity devise; while in others, the uncompleted works gave evidences of the utmost confusion. On all hands the process of removing goods, furniture, and munitions was yet going on. The heavy guns upon the ramparts of the fort were thrown down from their carriages and spiked. Every ounce of powder and every cartridge had been removed from the magazines, and, in fact, everything like small-arms, clothing, provisions, accoutrements, and other munitions of war had been removed off and deposited; nothing but heavy balls and useless cannon remained.

"The entire place was, to all appearances, littered up with the odds, ends, and fragments of war's desolation. Confusion could not have been more complete had the late occupants retired in the face of a besieging foe. Fragments of gun-carriages, etc., broken to pieces, bestrewed the ramparts. Sand-bags and barrels filled with earth crowned the walls, and were firmly imbedded in their bomb-proof surface as an additional safeguard; and notwithstanding the heterogeneous scattering of materials and implements, the walls of the fort evinced a vague degree of energy in preparing for an attack. A ditch some fifteen feet wide and about the same in depth surrounds the entire wall on three sides. On the south side, or front, a glacis has been commenced and prosecuted nearly to completion, with a rampart of sandbags, barrels, etc.

"On one side of the fort a palisade of palmetto logs is extended around the

ramparts as a complete defence against an escalading party. New embrasures have been cut in the walls so as to command the faces of the bastion and ditch. These new defences are all incomplete, and are evidence of the haste with which they were erected. Considering the inferior force, in point of numbers, under his command, Major Anderson had paid particular attention to strengthening only a small part of the fort.

"A greater portion of the labor expended was spent upon the citadel, or centre of the west point of the position. This he had caused to be strengthened in every way; loop-holes were cut, and everything was so arranged that in case a well-concerted attack was made, he would have retired from the outer bastions to the citadel, and afterward blow up the other portions of the fort. For this purpose mines had already been sprung, and trains had been laid ready for the application of the match. The barrack-rooms and every other part of the fort that was indefensible would have gone at a touch.

"On the ramparts of the fort fronting Fort Sumter were nine eight-inch columbiads, mounted on wooden carriages. As soon as the evacuation of the fort was complete, the carriages of these guns were fired, and at the time of visiting the fort yesterday, were nearly consumed, and the guns thereby dismounted. These guns, as well as those constituting the entire armament of the fortress, were spiked before it was abandoned. This is the only damage done the fortification, further than cutting down the flagstaff, and the breaking up of ammunition-wagons to form ramparts on the walls of the fort."

The seizure of the Federal forts was followed by that of the arsenal, the custom-house, and the post-office, upon each of which was raised the Palmetto flag. The South Carolinians were pleased to consider the simple movement of a Federal officer from one Federal fort to another an act of war. "Major Robert Anderson, United States army," wrote a journalist,* "has achieved the unenviable distinction of opening civil war between American citizens by an act of gross breach of faith. He has, under counsels of a panic, deserted his post at Fort Moultrie, and under false pretexts has transferred his garrison and military stores and supplies to Fort Sumter."

Another writer† declared: "It is due to South Carolina and to good faith that the act of this officer (Major Anderson) should be repudiated by the Government, and that the troops be removed forthwith from Fort Sumter."

The governor of South Carolina demanded of Anderson by what authority he had acted, and what was the object of his movement. Anderson replied, that it was merely a military measure for the purpose only of defence, which he had executed on his own responsibility.

The convention, however, of South Carolina made the act of Anderson the pretext for the most energetic preparations for war. Assuming the whole conduct of government, it organized a mil-

* *Courier.* † *Mercury.*

itary force and a complete system of coast defence. The buoys from the channels were removed, the lights in the light-houses extinguished, fortifications built, an army was enlisted, and a most formidable show of defiance to the Federal authorities exhibited everywhere throughout the State. Most of the officers of the United States army and navy who were natives of South Carolina had, on the announcement of its act of secession, resigned from the Federal service and offered their allegiance to the seceded State. South Carolina was thus at once provided with officers capable of organizing its military force and directing the works necessary for its defence.

Throughout the cotton States the movement of Major Anderson was considered an aggressive act, and they showed their disposition to make common cause with South Carolina by liberal offerings of aid. Georgia, Alabama, and even North Carolina, tendered the services of troops.

At the North, public attention had been diverted for a time from South Carolina by exciting events occurring nearer home, which, however, from their supposed relation to the Southern movement, served to increase the general inquietude, and prepare the public for further developments of treason. A great defalcation had been discovered in the Indian trust fund, by which the Government had been defrauded of eight hundred and thirty thousand dollars. Thompson, the secretary of the interior, who had been absent from his Federal post, striving as a secession commissioner from Mississippi to stir up the people of North Carolina to rebellion, was summoned to Washington. His disbursing clerk was absent, and the key of the safe missing. The former was discovered, but the latter was lost. The safe was broken open; no property, however, was found. It was difficult to trace the degree of criminality which belonged to those to whom the trust had been confided. The superiors asserted their innocence, and to the inferior was imputed the crime; but public opinion did not hesitate to charge the secretary of war, Floyd, and the secretary of the interior, Thompson, as accomplices in the fraud, which had been committed, if not for personal advantage, at any rate for the advancement of Southern interests.

Dec. 25.

Another event, no less exciting, occurred at the same moment. An order had been received from Washington at Pittsburg to send immediately from the Alleghany arsenal there 78 large cannon to Fort Newport, near Galveston, and 48 to Ship Island, near Biloxi, off the coast of Mississippi.

Dec. 25.

As the government of Buchanan was still guided by those whose fidelity to the Union was suspected, the purpose of this order was naturally supposed to further Southern secession. This aroused the indignation of the citizens of Pittsburg, who expressed a determination not to allow the arms to leave the arsenal. Finally, the excitement of Pittsburg found relief in a "mass meeting," at which resolutions were adopted "de-

claring loyalty to the Union, and ability to defend themselves against all enemies of the Union; deprecating any interference with the shipment of arms under government orders, however inopportune or impolitic the order might appear; deploring the existing state of things in connection with the administration of important departments of the public service so as to have shaken confidence in the people of the free States; declaring that while Pennsylvania is on guard at the Federal capital, it is her special duty to look to the fidelity of her sons, and in that view call on the President, as a citizen of this Commonwealth, to see that the public receive no detriment at his hands, and to purge his cabinet of every man known to give aid and comfort to, or in any way countenancing the revolt of, any State against the authority of the Constitution and the laws of the Union."

These events, the robbery of the public treasury and arsenals, seemed to reveal more clearly to the public mind of the North the extent and danger of the Southern conspiracy. Alarm and distrust now became more general, and the people began to fear for the safety of that Union which they had fondly believed to be too greatly endeared to the universal American heart to be in peril from any sectional disaffection. While thus depressed, the news came of the movement of Major Anderson, and that simple act of military duty was hailed as a deed of heroism, and its author as an heroic defender of the Union.

The feeling of patriotic exultation found vent through the press in a burst of ardent rhetoric:

"We must own," exclaimed a writer in the Boston *Courier*, "that the news of the transaction in Charleston harbor was learned by us yesterday with a prouder beating of the heart. *We could not but feel once more that we had a country*—a fact which had been to a certain degree in suspense for some weeks past. What is given up for the moment is of no consequence, provided the one point stands out clear, that *the United States means to maintain its position, where its rights exist, and that its officers, civil and military, intend to discharge their duty.* The concentration of the disposable force in Charleston harbor in a defensible post is thus a bond of union. It is a decisive act, calculated to rally the national heart. * * We are not disposed to allow the Union to be broken up for grievances of South Carolina, which might be settled within the Union; and if there is to be any fighting, we prefer it within, rather than without. The abandonment of Fort Moultrie was obviously a necessary act, in order to carry into effect the purpose contemplated with such an inferior force as that under the command of Major Anderson.

"If anybody ever doubted Major Anderson's eminent military capacity, that doubt must be dispelled by the news that we publish in another column," wrote the editor of the Boston *Atlas*. "Of his own accord, without orders from Washington, but acting on the discretion which an officer in an independent command always possesses,

Major Anderson, commander of the defences of Charleston harbor, transports his troops to the key of his position, Fort Sumter, against which no gun can be laid which is not itself commanded by a 10-inch columbiad in the embrasures of that octagon citadel. This rapid, unexpected manœuvre has disconcerted treason, and received the highest military commendation in the country.

"Brave major of artillery, true servant of your country, soldier of penetrating and far-seeing genius, when the right is endangered by fraud or force, at the proper time the needed man is always provided. The spirit of the age provides him, and he always regards the emergency. WASHINGTON, GARIBALDI, ANDERSON."

Washington, in the mean time, had been no less stirred by the great event. Floyd, the secretary of war, who had been so long pretending to serve the Union, while he had given himself up totally to the demon of rebellion, resigned, and was succeeded by Holt, of Kentucky, a patriot of unquestioned loyalty to the Union. The correspondence between Floyd and the President is a curious memorial of the times when an obvious duty of government was construed into a justifiable cause for disaffection and hostile defiance.

"WAR DEPARTMENT, *Dec.* 29, 1860.

"SIR: On the morning of the 27th inst. I read the following paper to you in the presence of the cabinet:

'COUNCIL CHAMBER, EXECUTIVE MANSION.

'SIR: It is evident now, from the action of the commander of Fort Moultrie, that the solemn pledges of the Government have been violated by Major Anderson. In my judgment, but one remedy is now left us by which to vindicate our honor and prevent civil war. It is in vain now to hope for confidence on the part of the people of South Carolina in any further pledges as to the action of the military. One remedy is left, and that is to withdraw the garrison from the harbor of Charleston. I hope the President will allow me to make that order at once. This order, in my judgment, can alone prevent bloodshed and civil war.

'JOHN B. FLOYD,
'Secretary of War.'

"I then considered the honor of the administration pledged to maintain the troops in the position they occupied, for such had been the assurances given to the gentlemen of South Carolina who had a right to speak for her. South Carolina, on the other hand, gave reciprocal pledges that no force should be brought by them against the troops or against the property of the United States. The sole object of both parties in these reciprocal pledges was to prevent a collision and the effusion of blood, in the hope that some means might be found for a peaceful accommodation of the existing troubles, the two Houses of Congress having both raised committees looking to that object. Thus affairs stood until the action of Major Anderson, taken unfortunately while the commissioners were on their way to this capital on a peaceful mission looking to

the avoidance of bloodshed, has complicated matters in the existing manner. Our refusal or even delay to place affairs back as they stood under our agreement invites a collision, and must inevitably inaugurate civil war. I cannot consent to be the agent of such calamity. I deeply regret that I feel myself under the necessity of tendering to you my resignation as secretary of war, because I can no longer hold it under my convictions of patriotism, nor with honor, subjected as I am to a violation of solemn pledges and plighted faith.

"With the highest personal regard,

"I am most truly yours,

"JOHN B. FLOYD.

"To His Excellency the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES."

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

"WASHINGTON, *Dec.* 21, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: I have received and accepted your resignation of the office of secretary of war; and not wishing to impose upon you the task of performing its mere routine duties, which you have so kindly offered to do, I have authorized Postmaster-General Holt to administer the affairs of the department until your successor shall be appointed.

"Yours, very respectfully,

"JAMES BUCHANAN.

"Hon. JOHN B. FLOYD."

The commissioners appointed by the convention of South Carolina to treat with the President in regard to the delivery of the forts and other Federal property, made the event of Anderson's performance of his duty the occasion for their abrupt departure from Washington, after an insolent demand for satisfaction from the Federal authority, followed by an audacious defiance of its power, and a threat of resistance. The correspondence between the commissioners of South Carolina and the President, is another strange memorial of that period of humiliation for the Union when its chief magistrate was called to account in the capital of the United States by confessed rebels, for not repudiating a simple act of national defence, performed by an officer in the course of his military duties.

THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE SOUTH CAROLINA COMMISSIONERS AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

"WASHINGTON, *Dec.* 29, 1860.

"SIR: We have the honor to transmit to you a copy of the full powers from the convention of the people of South Carolina, under which we are 'authorized and empowered to treat with the Government of the United States for the delivery of the forts, magazines, lighthouses, and other real estate, with their appurtenances, in the limits of South Carolina; and also for an apportionment of the public debt, and for a division of all other property held by the Government of the United States, as agent of the confederated States, of which South Carolina was recently a member, and generally to negotiate as to all other measures and arrangements proper to be made and adopted in the existing relation of the parties, and for the continuance of peace and amity between this Commonwealth and the Government at Washington.'

"In the execution of this trust it is our duty to furnish you, as we now do, with an official copy of the Ordinance of Secession, by which the State of South Carolina has resumed the powers she delegated to the Government of the United States, and has declared her perfect sovereignty and independence.

"It would also have been our duty to have informed you that we were ready to negotiate with you upon all such questions as are necessarily raised by the adoption of this Ordinance, and that we were prepared to enter upon this negotiation with the earnest desire to avoid all unnecessary and hostile collision, and so to inaugurate our new relations as to secure mutual respect, general advantage, and a future of good-will and harmony, beneficial to all the parties concerned.

"But the events of the last twenty-four hours render such an assurance impossible. We came here the representatives of an authority which could, at any time within the past sixty days, have taken possession of the forts in Charleston harbor, but which, upon pledges given in a manner that we cannot doubt, determined to trust to your honor rather than to its own power. Since our arrival here, an officer of the United States, acting, as we are assured, not only without, but against, your orders, has dismantled one fort and occupied another—thus altering to a most important extent the condition of affairs under which we came.

"Until these circumstances are explained in a manner which relieves us of all doubt as to the spirit in which these negotiations shall be conducted, we are forced to suspend all discussion as to any arrangement by which our mutual interests may be amicably adjusted.

"And, in conclusion, we would urge upon you the immediate withdrawal of the troops from the harbor of Charleston. Under present circumstances, they are a standing menace which renders negotiation impossible, and, as our recent experience shows, threatens speedily to bring to a bloody issue questions which ought to be settled with temperance and judgment. We have the honor to be,

"Very respectfully,

"Your obedient servants,

"R. W. Barnwell,
"J. H. Adams, } Commissioners.
"Jas. L. Orr,

"To the President of the United States."

The President's Reply,

"Washington City, *Dec.* 30, 1860.

"Gentlemen: I have had the honor to receive your communication of 28th inst., together with a copy of 'your full powers from the convention of the people of South Carolina,' authorizing you to treat with the Government of the United States on various important subjects therein mentioned, and also a copy of the Ordinance, bearing date on the 20th inst., declaring that 'the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved.'

"In answer to this communication, I

have to say that my position as President of the United States was clearly defined in the message to Congress on the 3d inst. In that I stated that, 'apart from the execution of the laws, so far as this may be practicable, the Executive has no authority to decide what shall be the relations between the Federal Government and South Carolina. He has been invested with no such discretion. He possesses no power to change the relations hitherto existing between them, much less to acknowledge the independence of that State. This would be to invest a mere executive officer with the power of recognizing the dissolution of the confederacy among our thirty-three sovereign States. It bears no resemblance to the recognition of a foreign *de facto* government—involving no such responsibility. Any attempt to do this would, on his part, be a naked act of usurpation. It is therefore my duty to submit to Congress the whole question in all its bearings.

"Such is my opinion still. I could, therefore, meet you only as private gentlemen of the highest character, and was entirely willing to communicate to Congress any proposition you might have to make to that body upon the subject. Of this you were well aware. It was my earnest desire that such a disposition might be made of the whole subject by Congress, who alone possess the power, as to prevent the inauguration of a civil war between the parties in regard to the possession of the Federal forts in the harbor of Charleston; and I therefore deeply regret that, in your opinion, 'the events of the last twenty-four hours render this impossible.' In conclusion, you urge upon me 'the immediate withdrawal of the troops from the harbor of Charleston,' stating that 'under present circumstances they are a standing menace, which renders negotiation impossible, and, as our recent experience shows, threatens speedily to bring to a bloody issue questions which ought to be settled with temperance and judgment.'

"The reason for this change in your position is, that since your arrival in Washington, 'an officer of the United States, acting, as we [you] are assured, not only without, but against, your [my] orders, has dismantled one fort and occupied another—thus altering to a most important extent the condition of affairs under which we [you] came.' You also allege that you came here, 'the representatives of an authority which could, at any time within the past sixty days, have taken possession of the forts in Charleston harbor, but which, upon pledges given in a manner that we [you] cannot doubt, determined to trust to your [my] honor rather than to its power.'

"This brings me to a consideration of the nature of those alleged pledges, and in what manner they have been observed. In my message of the 3d of December last, I stated, in regard to the property of the United States in South Carolina, that it 'has been purchased for a fair equivalent, by the consent of the Legislature of the State, for the erection of

forts, magazines, arsenals, etc., and over these the authority 'to exercise exclusive legislation' has been expressly granted by the Constitution to Congress. It is not believed that any attempt will be made to expel the United States from this property by force; but if in this I should prove to be mistaken, the officer in command of the forts has received orders to act strictly on the defensive. In such a contingency, the responsibility for consequences would rightfully rest upon the heads of the assailants.' This being the condition of the parties, on Saturday, 8th December, four of the representatives from South Carolina called upon me, and requested an interview. We had an earnest conversation on the subject of these forts, and the best means of preventing a collision between the parties, for the purpose of sparing the effusion of blood. I suggested, for prudential reasons, that it would be best to put in writing what they said to me verbally. They did so, accordingly, and on Monday morning, the 10th inst., three of them presented to me a paper signed by all the representatives from South Carolina, with a single exception, of which the following is a copy:

'To His Excellency James Buchanan, President of the United States.

'In compliance with our statement to you yesterday, we now express to you our strong convictions, that neither the constituted authorities, nor any body of the people of the State of South Carolina, will either attack or molest the United States forts in the harbor of Charleston previously to the act of the convention, and we hope and believe not until an offer has been made, through an accredited representative, to negotiate for an amicable arrangement of all matters between the State and the Federal Government, provided that no reinforcements shall be sent into those forts, and their relative military status shall remain as at present.

'John McQueen,
'M. L. Bonham,
'W. W. Boyce,
'Lawrence M. Keitt.

'Washington, *Dec.* 9, 1860.'

"And here I must, in justice to myself, remark that at the time the paper was presented to me, I objected to the word 'provided,' as it might be construed into an agreement on my part, which I never would make. They said that nothing was further from their intention—they did not so understand it, and I should not so consider it. It is evident they could enter into no reciprocal agreement with me on the subject. They did not profess to have authority to do this, and were acting in their individual character. I considered it as nothing more, in effect, than the promise of highly honorable gentlemen to exert their influence for the purpose expressed. The event has proven that they have faithfully kept this promise, although I have never since received a line from any one of them, or from any member of the convention on the subject. It is well known that it was my determination—and this I freely expressed—not to reinforce the forts in the harbor, and

thus produce a collision, until they had been actually attacked, or until I had certain evidence that they were about to be attacked. This paper I received most cordially, and considered it as a happy omen that peace might be still preserved, and that time might be thus given for reflection. This is the whole foundation for the alleged pledge.

"But I acted in the same manner as I would have done had I entered into a positive and formal agreement with parties capable of contracting, although such an agreement would have been on my part, from the nature of my official duties, impossible. The world knows that I have never sent any reinforcements to the forts in Charleston harbor, and I have certainly never authorized any change to be made 'in their relative military status.' Bearing upon this subject, I refer you to an order issued by the secretary of war, on the 11th inst. to Major Anderson, but not brought to my notice until the 21st inst. It is as follows:

'Memorandum of Verbal Instructions to Major Anderson, First Artillery, commanding Fort Moultrie, S. C.

'You are aware of the great anxiety of the secretary of war that a collision of the troops with the people of this State shall be avoided, and of his studied determination to pursue a course with reference to the military force and forts in this harbor, which shall guard against such a collision. He has therefore carefully abstained from increasing the force at this point, or taking any measures which might add to the present excited state of the public mind, or which would throw any doubt on the confidence he feels that South Carolina will not attempt by violence to obtain possession of the public works, or interfere with their occupancy.

'But as the counsel and acts of rash and impulsive persons may possibly disappoint these expectations of the Government, he deems it proper that you should be prepared with instructions to meet so unhappy a contingency. He has therefore directed me, verbally, to give you such instructions.

'You are carefully to avoid every act which would needlessly tend to provoke aggression, and for that reason you are not, without necessity, to take up any position which could be construed into the assumption of a hostile attitude; but *you are to hold possession of the forts in the harbor, and if attacked, you are to defend yourself to the last extremity.* The smallness of your force will not permit you, perhaps, to occupy more than one of the three forts, but an attack on, or attempt to take possession of, either of them, will be regarded as an act of hostility, and you may then put your command into either of them which you may deem most proper to increase its power of resistance. *You are also authorized to take similar steps whenever you have tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act.*

"D. P. Butler,
'Assistant Adjutant-General.
'Fort Moultrie, S. C., *Dec.* 11, 1860.'

'This is in conformity to my instructions to Major Buell.
'John B. Floyd, Secretary of War.'

"These were the last instructions transmitted to Major Anderson before his removal to Fort Sumter, with a single exception in regard to a particular which does not in any degree affect the present question. Under these circumstances, it is clear that Major Anderson acted upon his own responsibility, and without authority, unless, indeed, he had 'tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act' on the part of South Carolina, which has not yet been alleged. Still, he is a brave and honorable officer, and justice requires that he should not be condemned without a fair hearing.

"Be this as it may, when I learned that Major Anderson had left Fort Moultrie and proceeded to Fort Sumter, my first promptings were to command him to return to his former position, and there to await the contingencies presented in his instructions. This would only have been done with any degree of safety to the command by the concurrence of the South Carolina authorities. But before any step could possibly have been taken in this direction, we received information that the 'Palmetto flag floated out to the breeze at Castle Pinckney, and a large military force went over last night (the 27th) to Fort Moultrie.' Thus the authorities of South Carolina, without waiting or asking for any explanations, and doubtless believing, as you have expressed it, that the officer had acted not only without, but against, my orders, on the very next day after the night when the removal was made, seized by a military force two of the Federal forts in the harbor of Charleston, and have covered them under their own flag instead of that of the United States.

"At this gloomy period of our history, startling events succeed each other rapidly. On the very day, the 27th instant, that possession of these two forts was taken, the Palmetto flag was raised over the Federal custom-house and post-office in Charleston; and on the same day every officer of the customs—collector, naval officer, surveyor, and appraiser—resigned their offices. And this, although it was well known from the language of my message that, as an executive officer, I felt myself bound to collect the revenue at the port of Charleston under the existing laws. In the harbor of Charleston we now find three forts confronting each other, over all of which the Federal flag floated only four days ago; but now, over two of them, this flag has been supplanted, and the Palmetto flag has been substituted in its stead. It is under all these circumstances that I am urged immediately to withdraw the troops from the harbor of Charleston, and am informed that without this, negotiation is impossible. This I cannot do—this I will not do. Such an idea was never thought of by me in any possible contingency. No such allusion had been made in any communication between myself and any human being. But the inference is that I am bound to withdraw the troops from the only fort remaining in the possession of the United States in the harbor of Charleston, because the officer there in

command of all of the forts thought proper, without instructions, to change his position from one of them to another.

"At this point of writing, I have received information by telegraph from Captain Humphreys, in command of the arsenal at Charleston, that 'it has to-day (Sunday, the 30th) been taken by force of arms.' It is estimated that the munitions of war belonging to this arsenal are worth half a million of dollars.

"Comment is needless. After this information, I have only to add, that while it is my duty to defend Fort Sumter, as a portion of the public property of the United States, against hostile attacks, from whatever quarter they may come, by such means as I possess for this purpose, I do not perceive how such a defence can be construed into a menace against the city of Charleston. With great personal regard, I remain yours, very respectfully,

"JAMES BUCHANAN.

"To Hon. ROBERT W. BARNWELL, JAMES H. ADAMS, JAMES L. ORR."

SECOND LETTER OF THE COMMISSIONERS TO THE PRESIDENT.

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *Jan.* 1, 1861.

"SIR: We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th December, in reply to a note addressed by us to you, on the 28th of the same month, as commissioners from South Carolina.

"In reference to the declaration with which your reply commences, that your 'position as President of the United States was already defined in the message to Congress of the 3d instant,' that you possess 'no power to change the relations heretofore existing between South Carolina and the United States,' 'much less to acknowledge the independence of that State,' and that consequently you could meet us only as private gentlemen of the highest character, with an entire willingness to communicate to Congress any proposition we might have to make—we deem it only necessary to say that the State of South Carolina having, in the exercise of that great right of self-government which underlies all our political organizations, declared herself sovereign and independent, we, as her representatives, felt no special solicitude as to the character in which you might recognize us. Satisfied that the State had simply exercised her unquestionable right, we were prepared, in order to reach substantial good, to waive the formal considerations which your constitutional scruples might have prevented you from extending. We came here, therefore, expecting to be received as you did receive us, and perfectly content with that entire willingness, of which you assured us, to submit any proposition to Congress which we might have to make upon the subject of the independence of the State. The willingness was ample recognition of the condition of public affairs which rendered our presence necessary. In this position, however, it is our duty, both to the State which we represent and to ourselves, to correct several important misconceptions of our letter into which you have fallen.

"You say: 'It was my earnest desire that such a disposition might be made of the whole subject by Congress, who alone possess the power, to prevent the inauguration of a civil war between the parties in regard to the possession of the Federal forts in the harbor of Charleston; and I therefore deeply regret that in your opinion the events of the last twenty-four hours render this impossible.' We expressed no such opinion, and the language which you quote as ours, is altered in its sense by the omission of a most important part of the sentence. What we did say was, 'But the events of the last twenty-four hours render such an assurance impossible.' Place that 'assurance' as contained in our letter in the sentence, and we are prepared to repeat it.

"Again; professing to quote our language, you say: 'Thus the authorities of South Carolina, without waiting or asking for any explanation, and doubtless believing, as you have expressed it, that the officer had acted not only without, but against, my orders,' etc. We expressed no such opinion in reference to the belief of the people of South Carolina. The language which you have quoted was applied solely and entirely to our assurances obtained here, and based, as you well know, upon your own declaration—a declaration which, at that time, it was impossible for the authorities of South Carolina to have known. But, without following this letter into all its details, we propose only to meet the chief points of the argument.

"Some weeks ago, the State of South Carolina declared her intention, in the existing condition of public affairs, to secede from the United States. She called a convention of her people to put her declaration in force. The convention met and passed the ordinance of secession. All this you anticipated, and your course of action was thoroughly considered in your annual message. You declared you had no right, and would not attempt, to coerce a seceding State, but that you were bound by your constitutional oath, and would defend the property of the United States within the borders of South Carolina if an attempt was made to take it by force. Seeing very early that this question of property was a difficult and delicate one, you manifested a desire to settle it without collision. You did not reinforce the garrison in the harbor of Charleston. You removed a distinguished and veteran officer from the command of Fort Moultrie because he attempted to increase his supply of ammunition. You refused to send additional troops to the same garrison when applied for by the officer appointed to succeed him. You accepted the resignation of the oldest and most eminent member of your cabinet, rather than allow the garrison to be strengthened. You compelled an officer stationed at Fort Sumter to return immediately to the arsenal forty muskets which he had taken to arm his men. You expressed, not to one, but to many, of the most distinguished of our public characters, whose testimony will be placed upon the record whenever it

is necessary, your anxiety for a peaceful termination of this controversy, and your willingness not to disturb the military status of the forts, if commissioners should be sent to the Government, whose communications you promised to submit to Congress. You received and acted on assurances from the highest official authorities of South Carolina, that no attempt would be made to disturb your possession of the forts and property of the United States, if you would not disturb their existing condition until the commissioners had been sent and the attempt to negotiate had failed. You took from the members of the House of Representatives a written memorandum that no such attempt should be made, 'provided that no reinforcements should be sent into those forts, and their relative military status shall remain as at present.' And although you attach no force to the acceptance of such a paper—although you 'considered it as nothing more in effect than the promise of highly honorable gentlemen'—as an obligation on one side, without corresponding obligation on the other—it must be remembered (if we were rightly informed) that you were pledged, if you ever did send reinforcements, to return it to those from whom you had received it, before you executed your resolution. You sent orders to your officers, commanding them strictly to follow a line of conduct in conformity with such an understanding. Besides all this, you had received formal and official notice from the Governor of South Carolina that we had been appointed commissioners, and were on our way to Washington. You knew the implied condition under which we came; our arrival was notified to you, and an hour appointed for an interview. We arrived in Washington on Wednesday, at three o'clock, and you appointed an interview with us at one the next day. Early on that day (Thursday) the news was received here of the movement of Major Anderson. That news was communicated to you immediately, and you postponed our meeting until half-past two o'clock on Friday, in order that you might consult your cabinet. On Friday we saw you, and we called upon you then to redeem your pledge. You could not deny it. With the facts we have stated, and in the face of the crowning and conclusive fact that your secretary of war had resigned his seat in the cabinet, upon the publicly avowed ground that the action of Major Anderson had violated the pledged faith of the Government, and that unless the pledge was instantly redeemed, he was dishonored, denial was impossible; you did not deny it. You do not deny it now, but you seek to escape from its obligations on the grounds, first, that we terminated all negotiation by demanding, as a preliminary, the withdrawal of the United States troops from the harbor of Charleston; and, second, that the authorities of South Carolina, instead of asking explanation, and giving you the opportunity to vindicate yourself, took possession of other property of the United States. We will examine both.

"In the first place, we deny positively that we have ever in any way made any such demand. Our letter is in your possession; it will stand by this on record. In it we informed you of the objects of our mission. We say that it would have been our duty to have assured you of our readiness to commence negotiations, with the most earnest and anxious desire to settle all questions between us amicably and to our mutual advantage, but that events had rendered that assurance impossible. We stated the events, and we said that until some satisfactory explanation of these events was given us, we could not proceed; and then, having made this request for explanation, we added: 'And in conclusion, we would urge upon you the immediate withdrawal of the troops from the harbor of Charleston. Under present circumstances they are a standing menace, which renders negotiation impossible,' etc. 'Under present circumstances!' What circumstances? Why, clearly the occupation of Fort Sumter and the dismantling of Fort Moultrie by Major Anderson, in the face of your pledges, and without explanation or practical disavowal. And there is nothing in the letter which would, or could, have prevented you from declining to withdraw the troops, and offering the restoration of the status to which you were pledged, if such had been you desire. It would have been wiser and better, in our opinion, to have withdrawn the troops; and this opinion we urged upon you; but we demanded nothing but such an explanation of the events of the last twenty-four hours as would restore our confidence in the spirit with which the negotiations should be conducted. In relation to this withdrawal of the troops from the harbor, we are compelled, however, to notice one passage of your letter. Referring to it, you say: 'This I cannot do. This I will not do. Such an idea was never thought of by me in any possible contingency. No allusion to it had ever been made in any communication between myself and any human being.'

"In reply to this statement, we are compelled to say, that your conversation with us left upon our minds the distinct impression, that you did seriously contemplate the withdrawal of the troops from Charleston harbor. And in support of this impression we would add, that we have the positive assurance of gentlemen of the highest possible public reputation and the most unsullied integrity — men whose name and fame, secured by long service and patriotic achievements, place their testimony beyond cavil—that such suggestions had been made to and urged upon you by them, and had formed the subject of more than one earnest discussion with you. And it was this knowledge that induced us to urge upon you a policy, which had to recommend it its own wisdom and the might of such authority. As to the second point, that the authorities of South Carolina, instead of asking explanations, and giving you the opportunity to vindicate yourself, took possession of other property of the United States, we would observe: 1.

That even if this were so, it does not avail you for defence, for the opportunity for decision was afforded you before these facts occurred. We arrived in Washington on Wednesday; the news from Major Anderson reached here early on Thursday, and was immediately communicated to you. All that day men of the highest consideration—men who had striven successfully to lift you to your great office—who had been your tried and true friends through the troubles of your administration, sought you and entreated you to act—to act at once. They told you that every hour complicated your position. They only asked you to give the assurance that if the facts were so—that if the commander had acted without and against your orders, and in violation of your pledges—that you would restore the status you had pledged your honor to maintain. You refused to decide. Your secretary at war, your immediate and proper adviser in this whole matter, waited anxiously for your decision, until he felt that delay was becoming dishonor. More than twelve hours passed, and two cabinet meetings had adjourned, before you knew what the authorities of South Carolina had done; and your prompt decision at any moment of that time would have avoided the subsequent complications. But, if you had known the acts of the authorities of South Carolina, should that have prevented your keeping your faith? What was the condition of things? For the last sixty days you had in Charleston harbor not force enough to hold the forts against an equal enemy. Two of them were empty—one of those two the most important in the harbor. It could have been taken at any time. You ought to know better than any man that it would have been taken, but for the efforts of those who put their trust in your honor. Believing that they were threatened by Fort Sumter especially, the people were with difficulty restrained from securing, without blood, the possession of this important fortress. After many and reiterated assurances, given on your behalf, which we can not believe unauthorized, they determined to forbear, and in good faith sent on their commissioners to negotiate with you. They meant you no harm—wished you no ill. They thought of you kindly, believed you true, and were willing, as far as was consistent with duty, to spare you unnecessary and hostile collision. Scarcely had these commissioners left than Major Anderson waged war. No other words will describe his action. It was not a peaceful change from one fort to another; it was a hostile act in the highest sense, and only justified in the presence of a superior enemy, and in imminent peril. He abandoned his position, spiked his guns, burned his gun-carriages, made preparations for the destruction of his post, and withdrew, under cover of the night, to a safer position. This was war. No man could have believed (without your assurance) that any officer could have taken such a step, 'not only without orders, but against orders.' What the State did was in simple self-defence; for this act, with all its attend-

ing circumstances, was as much war as firing a volley; and war being thus begun, until those commencing it explained their action and disavowed their intention, there was no room for delay; and even at this moment while we are writing, it is more than probable, from the tenor of your letter, that reinforcements are hurrying on to the conflict, so that when the first gun shall be fired, there will have been on your part one continuous, consistent series of actions, commencing in a demonstration essentially warlike, supported by regular reinforcements, and terminating in defeat or victory. And all this without the slightest provocation; for, among the many things which you have said, there is one thing you cannot say—you have waited anxiously for news from the seat of war, in hopes that delay would furnish some excuse for this precipitation. But this 'tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act, on the part of the authorities of South Carolina,' which is the only justification of Major Anderson you are forced to admit, 'has not yet been alleged.' But you have decided, you have resolved to hold, by force, what you have obtained through our misplaced confidence; and by refusing to disavow the action of Major Anderson, have converted his violation of orders into a legitimate act of your executive authority. Be the issue what it may, of this we are assured, that, if Fort Moultrie has been recorded in history as a memorial of Carolina gallantry, Fort Sumter will live upon the succeeding page as an imperishable testimony of Carolina faith.

"By your course, you have probably rendered civil war inevitable. Be it so. If you choose to force this issue upon us, the State of South Carolina will accept it, and, relying upon Him who is the God of Justice as well as the God of Hosts, will endeavor to perform the great duty which lies before her hopefully, bravely, and thoroughly.

"Our mission being one for negotiation and peace, and your note leaving us without hope of a withdrawal of the troops from Fort Sumter, or of the restoration of the *status quo* existing at the time of our arrival, and intimating, as we think, your determination to reinforce the garrison in the harbor of Charleston, we respectfully inform you that we purpose returning to Charleston to-morrow afternoon.

"We have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servants.

"R. W. BARNWELL,
"J. H. ADAMS,
"JAMES L. ORR,
} Commissioners.

"To His Excellency the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES."

The only reply by Mr. Buchanan to this paper was these words endorsed upon it:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
"*Half-past three o'clock, Wednesday.*

"This paper, just presented to the President, is of such a character that he declines to receive it."

CHAPTER VII.

Increased Belligerency of South Carolina.—Progress of the Works in the Harbor of Charleston.—Betrayal of a United States Government Vessel.—Fort Sumter Besieged.—Stars and Stripes still Flying.—Offensive Emblem of Union to the Charlestonians.—Plans for Degrading it.—Example of South Carolina followed by other States.—Seizure of Federal Forts in Georgia and North Carolina.—Indications of Hostility.—A more Resolute Tone at Washington.—The Order for Removal of Cannon from Pittsburg Revoked.—A feeble attempt to Reinforce Fort Sumter.—The Sailing of the Star of the West.—A cautious Offing.—Arrival at Charleston.—A vigilant Enemy.—Fire Opened.—A critical Position.—Return of the Star of the West.—The Demonstration at Fort Sumter.—Correspondence between Major Anderson and Governor Pickens.—The improvement at Washington under the inspiration of a patriotic Secretary of War.—Correspondence of Holt with the Governor of North Carolina.—The Cotton States not checked by strong words.—Secession of Mississippi.—Secession of Florida and Alabama.—Secession Enthusiasm in Mobile.—Seizure of Fort Barrancas and the Navy Yard at Pensacola.—An insolent Telegram from Florida to Washington.—Secession of Georgia.—Opposition of some leading Politicians.—Popular Demonstrations.—Secession of Louisiana.—Seizure of Federal Property.—More cautious proceedings of Texas.—Secession of Texas.—Departure of the Senators of the Seceding States from Washington.—Farewell Speech of Benjamin, of Louisiana.—Farewell Speech of Davis.—Hand-shaking in the Senate.—The slow Awakening of the North.—Union Meetings.—The Union Sentiment variously Manifested.—Indignation against the Abolitionists.—Alarm about the Safety of Washington.—Scott on Guard.—Peace Convention.

IN South Carolina the people became daily more belligerent in their attitude toward the Federal Government. 1861. The works which had been ordered by the convention for the defence of the harbor of Charleston were labored at with great diligence, and soon the South Carolinians boasted that they were able to resist any attempts to reinforce Major Anderson, now in command of Fort Sumter. Batteries of earthwork, palmetto logs, and sand were erected and mounted with cannon on Sullivan's and Morris islands, guarding the approach to the harbor. The South Carolina commander at Castle Pinckney issued an order, forbidding all boats to approach the wharfs without permission, under the severest penalties if disobeyed. The river front of the city was carefully guarded, and mounted patrols paraded the streets night and day. Shipmasters were notified that all vessels must enter and clear at Charleston. The United States revenue cutter the William Aiken, betrayed by her captain into the hands of the insurrectionists, was received into the service of South Carolina, and with her armament and crew increased, was ready, under the Palmetto flag, to turn her guns against the government which her commander had sworn to defend against all enemies.

So great was the ardor and diligence of the South Carolinians, that they soon had their works in such a state of progress that Fort Sumter was completely besieged, and Major Anderson threatened with an attack. The people looked with excessive hostility at the flag of the United States still floating in their harbor, and the prevailing desire was to remove, if possible, that emblem of the Union, so lately the object of their

pride, but which they now strove to dishonor. This intense feeling of aversion found expression in a universal cry for the capture of Fort Sumter. Plans of all kinds were devised to effect the purpose. Some proposed to float down rafts, loaded with burning tar-barrels, and thus smoke out the United States garrison; some suggested bribing the soldiers; some thought that a floating battery might be built with breastworks of cotton-bales, behind which sharpshooters could post themselves and pick off each man in the fort; some hit upon the expedient of filling bomb-shells with prussic acid to throw among the troops and poison them, while others recommended a more protracted, if not more Christian method, of cutting off their supplies and starving them to death.*

In the mean time, the example of South Carolina in taking possession of the Federal property, was being followed by other States. Fort Pulaski was seized by the troops of Georgia, by order of the Governor, and even Governor Ellis, of North Carolina, dispatched the troops of the State to take possession of Fort Macon, at Beaufort, the forts at Wilmington, and the United States arsenal at Fayetteville. At Mobile, too, Fort Morgan and the arsenal, containing six stands of arms, 1,500 barrels of powder, 300,000 rounds of musket cartridges, and other munitions of war, were seized by the secessionists. These acts of undisguised hostility, though they preceded the meeting of the conventions in those States, gave an indication that could not be mistaken of a predetermined purpose to defy and resist the Federal authority.

* *South Carolinian.*

A more resolute tone had, in the mean while, been assumed by the President. No longer exclusively under the control of traitorous advisers, he ventured to speak more authoritatively. The order for the removal of the cannon from the Alleghany arsenal to Southern forts, which had so greatly stirred the indignation of the citizens of Pittsburg, was revoked, and a feeble attempt* made to sustain Major Anderson and his little garrison at Fort Sumter.

The steamship Star of the West—a merchant vessel chartered by the Government—having taken on board two hundred and fifty artillerists and marines, and a supply of stores and ammunition, sailed at night for Charleston, though she cleared for New Orleans and Havana. She thus stole away in the darkness and under false pretences, with the hope that she might reach her destination and effect her purpose of reinforcing Major Anderson without exciting the suspicion of his besiegers. **Jan. 5.**

After a prosperous passage, the steamer having previously extinguished all her lights, lest she should be seen, arrived at Charleston Bar at half-past one o'clock in the morning. Here it was necessary to check her speed and grope her way cautiously, for there were no lights in the light-houses to guide her in her dangerous course. She con- **Jan. 9.**

* The secretary of the interior, Thompson, resigned in consequence.

tinued, however, to move on slowly, the lead being thrown at every moment until four o'clock, when a light was seen through the haze of the early dawn. This was supposed to be a signal from Fort Sumter, and the ship having steered in that direction, hove to, to wait for daylight.

As the day broke, a Charleston steamer, the General Clinch, was discovered, which, as soon as she caught sight of the Star of the West, began to burn blue and red lights, as signals to the batteries. Those on guard at Morris Island were at once on the alert and at their posts before the orders could be given them to prepare for action. They expected at every moment a volley from Fort Sumter as they themselves got ready to fire at the approaching steamer. The Star of the West, too, was preparing for a warm reception. The soldiers were thrust below, and none allowed on deck but the crew. She, however, proceeded on her course, following in the wake of the little Charleston steamer, which steamed on, keeping about two miles ahead, and perseveringly sending off rockets and burning blue lights even until after broad daylight.

When the Star of the West had reached within two miles of Fort Moultrie, and about the same distance of Fort Sumter, the battery at Morris Island, from which the Palmetto flag was flying, opened fire. After the first shot the Star of the West hoisted a large American ensign at the fore, in addition to the American flag flying from the flagstaff. She, in spite of the fire, continued her course for ten minutes. In the mean time, the shots from Morris Island came thick and fast. Several passed clear over the steamer, one between the smoke-stack and walking-beam of the engine, one within an ace of the rudder, and another struck the ship just abaft the fore-rigging and stove in the planking.

"At the same time," says McGowan, the captain, in his report, "there was a movement of two steamers from near Fort Moultrie, one of them towing a schooner (I presume an armed schooner), with the intention of cutting us off. Our position now became rather critical, as we had to approach Fort Moultrie within three-quarters of a mile before we could keep away for Fort Sumter. A steamer approaching us, with an armed schooner in tow, and the battery on the island firing at us all the time, and having no cannon to defend ourselves from the attack of the vessels, we concluded that to avoid certain capture or destruction we would endeavor to get to sea. Consequently we wore round and steered down the channel, the battery firing upon us until the shot fell short."

Fort Sumter, in the mean time, had "made no demonstration, except at the port-holes, where the guns were run out, bearing on Morris Island."* Major Anderson, however, at once dispatched a letter to Governor Pickens, which, with the answer and rejoinder, are here given:

"To His Excellency the Governor of South Carolina.

"Sir: Two of your batteries fired

* Charleston *Courier*.

this morning on an unarmed vessel bearing the flag of my Government. As I have not been notified that war has been declared by South Carolina against the United States, I cannot but think this a hostile act, committed without your sanction or authority. Under that hope, I refrain from opening a fire on your batteries. I have the honor, therefore, respectfully to ask whether the above-mentioned act—one which I believe without parallel in the history of our country or any other civilized government—was committed in obedience to your instructions, and notify you, if it is not disclaimed, that I regard it as an act of war, and I shall not, after reasonable time for the return of my messenger, permit any vessel to pass within the range of the guns of my fort. In order to save, as far as it is in my power, the shedding of blood, I beg you will take due notification of my decision for the good of all concerned. Hoping, however, your answer may justify a further continuance of forbearance on my part, I remain, respectfully,

"ROBERT ANDERSON."

Gov. Pickens, in reply, after describing the position of South Carolina toward the States, said that any attempt to send United States troops into Charleston harbor, to reinforce the forts, would be regarded as an act of hostility; and in conclusion, added, "that any attempt to reinforce the troops at Fort Sumter, or to retake and resume possession of the forts within the waters of South Carolina which Major Anderson abandoned, after spiking the cannon and doing other damage, cannot be regarded by the authorities of the State as indicative of any other purpose than the coercion of the State by the armed force of the Government; special agents, therefore, have been off the bar to warn approaching vessels, armed and unarmed, having troops to reinforce Fort Sumter aboard, not to enter the harbor. Special orders have been given the commanders at the forts not to fire on such vessels until a shot across their bows should warn them of the prohibition of the State. Under these circumstances the Star of the West, it is understood, this morning attempted to enter the harbor with troops, after having been notified she could not enter, and consequently she was fired into. This act is perfectly justified by me.

"In regard to your threat about vessels in the harbor, it is only necessary for me to say, you must be the judge of your responsibility. Your position in the harbor has been tolerated by the authorities of the State, and while the act of which you complain is in perfect consistency with the rights and duties of the State, it is not perceived how far the conduct you propose to adopt can find a parallel in the history of any country, or be reconciled with any other purpose than that of your Government imposing on the State the condition of a conquered province.

"F. W. PICKENS."

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR PICKENS.

"SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication, and say, that under the circumstances I

have deemed it proper to refer the whole matter to my Government, and intend deferring the course I indicated in my note this morning until the arrival from Washington of such instructions as I may receive.

"I have the honor also to express the hope that no obstructions will be placed in the way, and that you will do me the favor of giving every facility for the departure and return of the bearer, Lieutenant T. Talbot, who is directed to make the journey.

"ROBERT ANDERSON."

There were other evidences, besides this well-intentioned, but humble and fruitless attempt to reinforce Major Anderson, of an increased indisposition on the part of the Federal Government to continue to yield unresistingly to the demands and encroachments of the secessionists. Under the patriotic inspiration of the new secretary of war, Holt, a more positive assertion of Federal authority was assumed. Dignified words at least were spoken, if not effective measures taken, in vindication of the Government. To the Governor of North Carolina, who, after restoring the forts of that State to the authorities of the United States, had asked if "it was the purpose of the administration to coerce the Southern States?" the secretary of war had responded somewhat equivocally, but still in words more authoritative than the Government of Buchanan had yet ventured to utter.

"In reply to your inquiry," wrote the secretary, "whether it is the purpose of the President to garrison the forts of North Carolina during his administration, I am directed to say that they, in common with the other forts, arsenals, and other property of the United States, are in the charge of the President, and that if assailed, no matter from what quarter or under what pretext, it is his duty to protect them by all the means which the law has placed at his disposal. It is not his purpose to garrison the forts to which you refer at present, because he considers them entirely safe, as heretofore, under the shelter of that law-abiding sentiment for which the people of North Carolina have ever been distinguished. Should they, however, be attacked or menaced with danger of being seized or taken from the possession of the United States, he could not escape from his constitutional obligation to defend and preserve them. The very satisfactory and patriotic assurance given by your Excellency justifies him, however, in entertaining the confident expectation that no such contingency will arise."

The cotton States, now, had got beyond the influence of words however fitly spoken, and had been so long assured of impunity, that they did not hesitate in their career of insurrection. Mississippi was the first to follow South Carolina in seceding from the Union. The ordinance of secession was opposed only by fifteen members of the convention, and they resisted but a day, when they, too, signed with the rest. Florida and Alabama immediately succeeded. In the former State the secession ordinance

Jan. 9.

Jan. 11.

was carried by a vote of sixty-two to seven. In the latter, though there was the reputable minority of thirty-nine members of the convention to oppose the prevailing number of sixty-one, still the act of secession was hailed with immense enthusiasm. Judge Jones, of the United States District Court, announced with exulting emphasis, from the windows of the court-room at Mobile, that the United States Court for the Southern District of Alabama was "adjourned forever." A prodigal secessionist of the same city gave one hundred cords of wood for the use of the secession garrison in occupation of the Federal Fort Morgan, and proffered twenty negro men to labor on the works to defend the harbor against the United States.

The day was declared to be "the wildest day of excitement in the annals of Mobile." On receiving the news of the simultaneous secession of Florida an immense crowd collected about the "secession pole" to witness the raising of the "Southern flag," which was hoisted to the top amid the "shouts of the multitude and the thunders of cannon." The "Mobile Cadets" paraded the streets all day with the "splendid flag, a most gorgeous banner," which had been presented to them by "sympathetic ladies." At night the houses were illuminated so brilliantly, and tar-barrels burnt so profusely, that "the broad boulevard of Government Street became an avenue of light." To crown this exultant display of secession sentiment, the Federal custom-house was lighted up by "patriotic candles," thus affording "a choice epicureanism of triumph and rejoicing" to those excited citizens as they "piled Ossas of insult on Pelions of injury to Uncle Sam."*

On the passage of the secession ordinance by Florida, her troops, joined by those of Alabama, seized upon Fort Barrancas and the navy-yard at Pensacola, and thus became possessed not only of important posts of defence, but large supplies of ordnance, ammunition, and stores. "Having no means of resistance," said the United States officer in command in his dispatch to the Government, "I surrendered and hauled down my flag." The secessionists of Florida, themselves, telegraphed to their senators in Washington: "This move was in consequence of the Government garrisoning Fort Pickens, which has before remained unoccupied." "You will propose to the administration," they added, with insolent dictation, "to resume the *status quo ante bellum*, and we will immediately evacuate."

Jan. 14.

Georgia was the next to adopt in convention the secession ordinance by a vote of two hundred and eight against eighty-nine. Some of the leading politicians of the State, as Alexander H. Stephens and Herschel V. Johnson, lately a candidate for Vice-President of the United States, opposed this hasty action, and emphatic manifestations of dislike were exhibited by many of the people at being thus hurried out of the Union. The usual popular demonstrations, however, followed the

Jan. 19.

* Mobile *Advertiser*.

passage of the ordinance; sky-rockets were let off, torches burned, and mass meetings gathered and were stirred by martial music and jubilant speech.

In a week after, Louisiana followed Georgia, the convention having, by a vote of one hundred and thirteen to seventeen, declared her out of the Union. The seizure of Federal property, forts, arsenals, and treasure succeeded. Texas, checked by the obstinate loyalty of Governor Houston, was less precipitate, but finally passed, in convention, an ordinance of secession. This, however, was on the condition of its approval by the people, to whose suffrage it was to be submitted on the 23d of February, and, if sanctioned, to take effect on the 3d of March. Texas was thus far the only State which had ventured to submit the question of secession to popular vote. The State finally yielded, and declared itself out of the Union on the 4th of March.

Jan. 26.

Feb. 1.

The senators of these various seceding States had lingered at Washington as long as, under the pretence of a desire for conciliation, they could, by intriguing with their confederates at the capital, promote their plans, and by wheedling a feeble Executive, embarrass the action of government.

They now, however, threw off all disguise, and in the Senate of the United States openly confessed their designs and defied all the efforts of the Federal authority to counteract them. Senator Benjamin, of Louisiana, publicly announced his intention of taking farewell of the Senate in a parting "secession" speech. A large crowd gathered to hear him, and as he closed with the declaration that the South could never be subjugated, a shout of applause rose from the galleries, packed with his sympathizing friends.

Jefferson Davis, then United States senator from Mississippi, afterwards Confederate States' President, with an unusual mastery of his impulsive rhetoric, thus with studied deliberation and cool assurance confessed his secession faith, and declared his readiness to fight for it:

Jan. 21.

"I rise for the purpose of announcing to the Senate that I have satisfactory evidence that the State of Mississippi, by solemn ordinance in convention assembled, has declared her separation from the United States. Under these circumstances, of course, my functions terminate here. It has seemed to be proper that I should appear in the Senate and announce that fact, and to say something, though very little, upon it. The occasion does not invite me to go into the argument, and my physical condition will not permit it, yet something would seem to be necessary on the part of the State I here represent, on an occasion like this. It is known to senators who have served here, that I have for many years advocated, as an essential attribute of State sovereignty, the right of a State to secede from the Union. If, therefore, I had not believed there was justifiable cause—if I had thought the State was acting without sufficient provocation—still, under my theory of government, I should have

felt bound by her action. I, however, may say I think she had justifiable cause, and I approve of her acts. I conferred with the people before that act was taken, and counselled them that if they could not remain, that they should take the act. I hope none will confound this expression of opinion with the advocacy of the right of a State to remain in the Union, and disregard its constitutional obligations by nullification. Nullification and secession are indeed antagonistic principles. Nullification is the remedy which is to be sought and applied, within the Union, against an agent of the United States, when the agent has violated constitutional obligations, and the State assumes for itself, and appeals to other States to support it. But when the States themselves, and the people of the States, have so acted as to convince us that they will not regard our constitutional rights, then, and then for the first time, arises the question of secession in its practical application. That great man who now reposes with his fathers, who has been so often arraigned for want of fealty to the Union, advocated the doctrine of nullification, because it preserved the Union. It was because of his deep-seated attachment to the Union that Mr. Calhoun advocated the doctrine of nullification, which he claimed would give peace within the limits of the Union, and not disturb it, and only be the means of bringing the agent before the proper tribunal of the States for judgment. Secession belongs to a different class of rights, and is to be justified upon the basis that the States are sovereign. The time has been, and I hope the time will come again, when a better appreciation of our Union will prevent any one denying that each State is a sovereign in its own right. Therefore I say I concur in the act of my State, and feel bound by it. It is by this confounding of nullification and secession that the name of another great man has been invoked to justify the coercion of a seceding State. The phrase 'to execute the law,' as used by General Jackson, was applied to a State refusing to obey the laws and still remaining in the Union. I remember well when Massachusetts was arraigned before the Senate. The record of that occasion will show that I said, if Massachusetts, in pursuing the line of steps, takes the last step which separates her from the Union, the right is hers, and I will neither vote one dollar nor one man to coerce her, but I will say to her, 'God speed!'" Mr. Davis then proceeded to argue that the equality spoken of in the Declaration of Independence was the equality of a class in political rights, referring to the charge against George III. for inciting insurrection, as proof that it had no reference to the slaves. "But we have proclaimed our independence. This is done with no hostility or any desire to injure any section of the country, nor even for our pecuniary benefit, but from the high and solid foundation of defending and protecting the rights we inherited, and transmitting them unshorn to our posterity. I know I feel no hostility to

you senators here, and am sure there is not one of you, whatever may have been the sharp discussions between us, to whom I cannot now say, in the presence of my God, I wish you well. And such is the feeling, I am sure, the people I represent feel toward those whom you represent. I, therefore, feel I but express their desire, when I say I hope and they hope for those peaceful relations with you, though we must part, that may be mutually beneficial to us in the future. There will be peace if you so will it, and you may bring disaster on every part of the country, if you thus will have it. And if you will have it thus, we will invoke the God of our fathers, who delivered them from the paw of the lion, to protect us from the ravages of the bear; and thus putting our trust in God, and our own firm hearts and strong arms, we will vindicate and defend the rights we claim. In the course of my long career I have met with a great variety of men here, and there have been points of collision between us. Whatever of offence there has been to me, I leave here. I carry no hostile feelings away. Whatever of offence I have given, which has not been redressed, I am willing to say to senators, in this hour of parting, I offer you my apology for anything I may have done in the Senate; and I go thus released from obligation, remembering no injury I have received, and having discharged what I deem the duty of man, to offer the only reparation at this hour for every injury I have ever inflicted."

As the senators from Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi—all in open rebellion against the United States Government—were about leaving the Senate chamber, most of their fellow-senators, even those of the North, shook hands with them!

The Northern people were slowly awaking to the great dangers which beset the Union, and gradually rising to the efforts necessary to protect it. Prostrated in sympathy with the long inertness of the Government and its still languid action, they might have appeared to a casual observer indifferent to the great issue. There were, however, already indications of that loyalty to the Union which afterwards manifested itself in such a generous outpouring of men and money. Large meetings were held throughout the country to express devotion to its institutions and to offer service in their defence. At a popular gathering at Chicago, in Illinois, **Jan. 6.** resolutions were adopted expressing love for the Union; declaring that every attempt to rend it was the basest treason and most insane folly; that the Constitution of the United States formed a union between the people of the several States, and was intended to be perpetual; that every attempt by a State to secede or annul the laws of the United States was not only a usurpation of the powers of the General Government, but an aggression upon the equal rights of the other States; that peaceable secession, if possible, must necessarily be a matter of agreement between the States, and until such an agreement be made, the existing Government had no choice but

to enforce the law and protect the property of the nation; that in view of what was occurring in the Southern States, of threats to prevent the inauguration of a President constitutionally elected, it was incumbent upon the loyal people of the several States to be prepared to render all their aid, military and otherwise, to the enforcement of the Federal laws, and that Major Anderson deserved the thanks of the country for the course pursued by him.

At Cincinnati, a large meeting of workingmen was held, at which resolu- Jan. 5. tions were adopted declaring that the Union must be preserved in its integrity by the enforcement of the laws in every part of the country, through whatever means might be necessary. At Portland, in Maine, also, the people gathered in a "mass meeting," and passed similar resolutions.

The legislatures of various Northern States adopted resolutions in favor of the Union, and offered aid to the President to sustain the Government. New York tendered whatever "aid in men or money might be required to enforce the laws and uphold the authority of the Federal Government." Massachusetts did the same, and after declaring that South Carolina had committed an act of war, passed a bill authorizing the increase of the volunteer military of the State.

At the same time, it is true, that there were meetings of Northern citizens, at which there was a disposition to treat the recreant States with more tenderness. These, however, indicated no less the Union sentiment of the country, though they favored more conciliatory treatment. In New Jersey, resolutions were reported deploring the state of the country—advising, as a means of settling differences, the adoption by the people of the Crittenden resolutions, or some other pacific measures, with such modifications as might be deemed expedient; recommending the Legislature of New Jersey to pass a law to take a vote of the people, yes or no, on these; approving of the course of Virginia in appointing a commission to go to Washington, and counselling the Legislature to do the same.

It was the Union sentiment, moreover, however rudely expressed, which prompted some of the citizens of Rochester to break up an abolitionist meeting with noisy shouts for General Scott and Major Anderson, and others to resist with violence the hanging across the streets of a banner bearing the inscription, "No compromise with slavery." It was the same feeling, doubtless, which urged the crowd to overwhelm the disunion declarations of Wendell Phillips at Boston with noisy demonstrations of dissatisfaction, and hustle him in the streets until he was forced to take refuge with a squad of policemen.

In the mean time, some alarm was excited in regard to the safety of Washington, which was known to be filled with secessionists. It was rumored that plots had been laid and military companies organized in Maryland and Virginia, to seize the capital and prevent the inauguration of Lincoln. This call

to arms of General Carrington is a memorable illustration of the public fearfulness begotten by the general suspicion.

"To the Public.

"Whereas the militia of the district is not organized, and threats have been made that the President-elect shall not be inaugurated in Washington, and there is reason, therefore, to apprehend that on the 4th of March next our city may be made the scene of riot, violence, and bloodshed; and whereas the undersigned believes that the honor of the nation and our city demands that the President-elect shall be inaugurated in the national metropolis, and that the young men of Washington city are determined not to desert their homes in the hour of danger, but to maintain their ground and defend their families and friends, in the Union and on the side of the Constitution and the laws, therefore the undersigned earnestly invites all who concur with him in opinion, and who are not now connected with some military company, to join with him in forming a temporary military organization, with a view of preserving peace and order in our midst on the 4th of March next, or whenever the emergency requires it—and for that purpose to unite with the volunteer companies of our city, which have, in a spirit of gallantry and patriotism worthy of our imitation, pledged themselves to the cause of the Union, the Constitution, and the laws. It is proper to state that I take this step after consultation with friends in whom I have the greatest confidence. It is not my object to interfere with my brother officers of the militia; the organization proposed is to be purely volunteer, for the purpose above stated, in which I am willing to serve in any capacity. I make the proposition, not as one of the generals of the militia, but as a citizen of Washington, who is prepared to defend his home and his honor at the peril of his life.

"Edward C. Carrington."

Lieut. General Scott, however, the venerable custodian of the Union, was on guard, and by his prompt military measures of defence soon relieved the inquietude at the capital.

Even in New York a suspicion of secret plots arose, and excited public anxiety. The entire force at the Brooklyn navy-yard was put under arms, the guns of the frigate North Carolina shotted, and the city militia mustered, in readiness to resist the rumored attack of a band of secession conspirators.

A measure of obvious duty, though perhaps not of technical right, tardily begun and but ineffectively carried out, that of seizing, by the police of New York, arms intended for the seceded States, excited not unnaturally great indignation at the South, and some less expected disfavor even at the North. **Jan.**
The mayor of the city of New York **24.**
eagerly disclaimed any responsibility for the "outrage," and declared that if he had the power, he "would summarily punish the authors of this illegal and unjustifiable seizure of private property." The Governor of Georgia retaliated by seizing some New York vessels in the harbor of Savannah, which were held until the arms claimed by him were restored.

While the feeling between the unionists and secessionists was thus becoming daily more exasperated, and threatening a collision of arms, a peace convention, suggested by the State of Virginia, had assembled in Washington and been organized, with ex-President Tyler to preside over it.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Meeting of the General Congress of the Seceding States at Montgomery.—Organization.—Formation of Provisional Government and Constitution.—No Conciliation or Compromise.—Nature of the New Constitution.—Its Politic Clauses.—Election of President and Vice-President.—Good Choice.—Extremists and Moderates both suited.—Life of Jefferson Davis.—His Birth.—Parentage.—Military Career.—Resignation.—Cotton Planting.—Political Career.—A Volunteer Officer in the Mexican War.—Turns the Tide of Battle at Buena Vista.—Appointed Brigadier-General.—Scruples of a States Rights Man.—Senator of the United States.—Chairman of Committee on Military Affairs.—Unsuccessful Candidate for Governor.—Electioneering for Pierce.—Secretary of War, and services in that office.—Personal Character and Appearance.—Elected President of the Confederate States.—Inaugural Address.—Biography of Alexander H. Stephens.—A poor Youth.—Educated by Charity.—Rapid eminence as a Lawyer.—Leader of the Whig Party in Congress.—Retirement from Public Life.—Disease.—Stirred by the Secession Movement.—Strong for the Union.—A sudden Conversion.—An earnest Proselyte.—Personal Appearance and Character.—A remarkable Speech.—The Cabinet of President Davis.—Robert Toombs: his Life and Character.—Charles Gustavus Memminger: his Life and Character.—Le Roy Pope Walker: his Life and Character.—Judah P. Benjamin: his Life and Character.—Stephen M. Mallory: his Life and Character.—John H. Reagan: his Life and Character.

IN accordance with a proposition of Alabama, all the conventions of the seceding States sent delegates to a general congress, which met at Montgomery on the 4th of February. In a few days after its organization, the form of a provisional government and a constitution were unanimously agreed upon, to take effect immediately. No suggestion was made for the restoration of harmony with the Union from which the States represented in the convention had separated. The subjects of conciliation and compromise were waived as totally obsolete. To form an independent nation and provide for its government and defence was the sole object, apparently, of the desire, as it was the motive of the action, of the members of the convention.

1861. Feb. 8.

The constitution adopted was based on that of the United States, with modifications peculiar to the new government. The preamble dwelt especially on the separate sovereignty of the individual States of the new confederacy, and thus strove to give legal sanction to that heresy which had proved so fatal to the harmony of the Union. It declared:

"We, the deputies of the sovereign and independent States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, invoking the favor of Almighty God, do hereby, in behalf of these States, ordain and establish this constitution for the provisional government of the same, to continue one year from the inauguration of the President, or until a permanent constitution or confederation between the said States shall

be put in operation, whichsoever shall first occur."

To conciliate the governments of Europe, on whose interposition in behalf of the new confederacy great calculations were made, but whose policy of abolishing the slave-trade seemed fatal to an alliance with any state which might favor that cruel commerce, the following article was adopted:

"The importation of African negroes from any foreign country other than the slaveholding States of the United States, is hereby forbidden, and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same."

At the same time, to give full protection to the institution as it existed in the slave States comprising the confederacy, a stringent fugitive law set forth that:

"A slave in one State escaping to another shall be delivered up on the claim of the party to whom said slave may belong, by the executive authority of the State in which such slave may be found; and in case of any abduction or forcible rescue, full compensation, including the value of the slave, and all costs and expenses, shall be made to the party by the State in which such abduction or rescue shall take place."

The following clause was ingeniously introduced as a forcible appeal to Virginia and other border States, still reluctant to leave the Union and try the hazards of the new confederacy.

"Congress shall also have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of this confederacy."

In the clause relating to the tariff, the favorite Southern doctrine of taxation for revenue, and not for protection, was distinctly enunciated thus:

"The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises for revenue necessary to pay the debts and carry on the government of the confederacy, and all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the confederacy."

To close up all accounts with the old Union and start the new under the most favorable auspices, an ostentatious profusion of fairness of dealing was made in an article declaring that "the government hereby instituted shall take immediate steps for the settlement of all matters between the States forming it and their late confederates of the United States, in relation to the public property and public debt at the time of their withdrawal from them, these States hereby declaring it to be their wish and earnest desire to adjust everything pertaining to the common property, common liabilities, and common obligations of that union upon principles of right, justice, equity, and good faith."

After the adoption of the Constitution, the Congress proceeded at once to the election of a provisional President and and Vice-President. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was chosen the former, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, the latter. No better appointments could have been made to further the purposes of the new confederacy. Both were experienced statesmen of practised executive talents. Davis, who had

been long known as an advocate of State Rights, served to give assurance to the extremists of the South that their special interests were safe in his keeping, while Stephens, whose reluctant secessionism had been equally conspicuous, gave confidence to the moderate men, and encouraged them to give in their adherence to a government of which he was a prominent executive officer.

Jefferson Davis was born on the third of June, 1808, in Christian, now Todd, County, Kentucky. His father, who was a planter and an officer in the army of Revolutionary renown, removed to Mississippi while his son was yet a child. After a sound preliminary academical discipline at school and college, young Davis was admitted a cadet at West Point in 1824. In 1828 he graduated, and entered into active military service. In the Black Hawk war he earned promotion by his gallantry, and being raised to a first lieutenantcy of dragoons, served in that rank in various expeditions against the Indian tribes of the West. In 1835 he resigned his commission and took to cotton planting in Mississippi. He was, however, soon withdrawn from his retirement by the political interests of the country, and in 1844 was chosen a Presidential elector of Mississippi, to vote for Polk and Dallas, the candidates of the Democratic party, for which Davis had early shown his partiality.

In 1845, Davis was chosen a member of Congress, and at once assumed a prominent position, as a debater, on the side of his political friends, the Democrats. The Mexican war having in the mean time broken out, and a Mississippi regiment having elected him its colonel, he left at once his seat in the House of Representatives, and hastened to the scene of hostilities. He was with Taylor at the storming of Monterey, and at the battle of Buena Vista came up, in the nick of time, at the head of his Mississippians, and it is said turned the tide of battle in favor of the American troops. He was wounded while pertinaciously resisting a superior force, but still remained in the saddle until the end of the battle. General Taylor complimented him highly in his dispatch. On the expiration of the term of service of his regiment he returned home, but on his way he was met with a commission of brigadier-general of volunteers from President Polk. This, however, with a scrupulous regard for the "sovereign" rights of his State, he refused to accept, on the ground that the Federal authority, in making such an appointment, was interfering with the prerogative of Mississippi.

In 1847, Davis was appointed by the Governor of Mississippi senator of the United States, to fill a casual vacancy. In the next year, however, he was unanimously elected by the Legislature to complete the term, and again in 1850 was a second time chosen. He was appointed chairman of the committee on military affairs, and took a prominent part in the debates on most important questions, but especially on those which bore upon the interests of



the slave States. He proved himself a resolute defender of slavery, and became remarkable for his advocacy of State Rights as supremely sovereign to those of the Union. In 1851 he was nominated candidate for governor expressly as an exponent of these views, but was defeated by the "Union" candidate, Henry S. Foote, who, however, secured his election by the small majority only of nine hundred.

Having resigned his seat in the Senate, on accepting the nomination for governor, he, after his defeat, remained in retirement until the Presidential canvass of 1852, when he electioneered actively for Pierce, and was rewarded, on his accession to the Presidency, by the appointment of secretary of war. In this office Davis proved himself an executive officer of great capacity and energy. He infused a new spirit into the war department, and introduced various effective reforms and improvements. The adoption of the light infantry system of tactics, the manufacture of rifled muskets, pistols and the Minnié ball, and the increase of our coast defences are among the changes he effected.

On the accession of Buchanan to the Presidency, Davis, being deprived of his secretaryship of war, was again elected by the Legislature of Mississippi to the Senate of the United States, and there he remained until the secession of his State, when he took his farewell in the remarkable speech already recorded.

He is described at this time as "of meagre frame and feeble health, but possessed of great energy and powers of endurance. His executive talents no one can question, and being ready of speech, some would claim for him the gift of eloquence. His military education and service, his experience as secretary of the war department of the United States, his familiarity with political intrigue, his dauntless spirit, and his natural capacity are what make Jefferson Davis so effective an ally and so formidable a foe."

On the 18th of February, 1861, Davis was inaugurated provisional President of the "Confederate States of America," when he delivered his inaugural.

INAUGURAL OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA, FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

"Called to the difficult and responsible station of Chief Executive of the Provisional Government which you have instituted, I approach the discharge of the duties assigned me with an humble distrust of my abilities, but with a sustaining confidence in the wisdom of those who are to guide and aid me in the administration of public affairs, and an abiding faith in the virtue and patriotism of the people. Looking forward to the speedy establishment of a permanent government to take the place of this, and which by its greater moral and physical power will be better able to combat with the many difficulties which arise from the conflicting interests of separate nations, I enter upon the duties of the office to which I have been chosen with the hope that the beginning of our career as a confederacy may not be ob-

structed by hostile opposition to our enjoyment of the separate existence and independence which we have asserted, and which, with the blessing of Providence, we intend to maintain.

"Our present condition, achieved in a manner unprecedented in the history of nations, illustrates the American idea that governments rest upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter and abolish governments whenever they become destructive to the ends for which they were established. The declared compact of the Union from which we have withdrawn was to establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity; and when in the judgment of the sovereign States now composing this confederacy, it has been perverted from the purposes for which it was ordained, and ceased to answer the ends for which it was established, a peaceful appeal to the ballot-box declared that, so far as they were concerned, the government created by that compact should cease to exist. In this they merely asserted the right which the Declaration of Independence of 1776 defined to be inalienable. Of the time and occasion of its exercise they as sovereigns were the final judges, each for itself. The impartial, enlightened verdict of mankind will vindicate the rectitude of our conduct, and He who knows the hearts of men will judge of the sincerity with which we labored to preserve the government of our fathers in its spirit.

"The right solemnly proclaimed at the birth of the States, and which has been affirmed and reaffirmed in the bills of rights of the States subsequently admitted into the Union of 1789, undeniably recognizes in the people the power to resume the authority delegated for the purposes of government. Thus the sovereign States here represented proceeded to form this confederacy, and it is by the abuse of language that their act has been denominated revolution. They formed a new alliance, but within each State its government has remained. The rights of person and property have not been disturbed. The agent through whom they communicated with foreign nations is changed, but this does not necessarily interrupt their international relations. Sustained by the consciousness that the transition from the former Union to the present confederacy has not proceeded from a disregard on our part of our just obligations or any failure to perform every constitutional duty; moved by no interest or passion to invade the rights of others; anxious to cultivate peace and commerce with all nations, if we may not hope to avoid war, we may at least expect that posterity will acquit us of having needlessly engaged in it. Doubly justified by the absence of wrong on our part, and by wanton aggression on the part of others, there can be no cause to doubt that the courage and patriotism of the people of the Confederate States will be found equal to any measure of defence which soon their security may require.

"An agricultural people, whose chief

interest is the export of a commodity required in every manufacturing country, our true policy is peace, and the freest trade which our necessities will permit. It is alike our interest and that of all those to whom we would sell and from whom we would buy, that there should be the fewest practicable restrictions upon the interchange of commodities. There can be but little rivalry between ours and any manufacturing or navigating community, such as the northeastern States of the American Union. It must follow, therefore, that mutual interest would invite good-will and kind offices. If, however, passion or lust of dominion should cloud the judgment or inflame the ambition of those States, we must prepare to meet the emergency and maintain by the final arbitrament of the sword the position which we have assumed among the nations of the earth.

"We have entered upon a career of independence, and it must be inflexibly pursued through many years of controversy with our late associates of the Northern States. We have vainly endeavored to secure tranquility and obtain respect for the rights to which we were entitled. As a necessity, not a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separation, and henceforth our energies must be directed to the conduct of our own affairs and the perpetuity of the confederacy which we have formed. If a just perception of mutual interest shall permit us peaceably to pursue our separate political career, my most earnest desire will have been fulfilled. But if this be denied us, and the integrity of our territory and jurisdiction be assailed, it will but remain for us with firm resolve to appeal to arms and invoke the blessing of Providence on a just cause.

"As a consequence of our new condition, and with a view to meet anticipated wants, it will be necessary to provide a speedy and efficient organization of the branches of the Executive department having special charge of foreign intercourse, finance, military affairs, and postal service. For purposes of defence the Confederate States may, under ordinary circumstances, rely mainly upon their militia; but it is deemed advisable, in the present condition of affairs, that there should be a well instructed, disciplined army, more numerous than would usually be required on a peace establishment. I also suggest that, for the protection of our harbors and commerce on the high seas, a navy adapted to those objects will be required. These necessities have, doubtless, engaged the attention of Congress.

"With a constitution differing only from that of our fathers in so far as it is explanatory of their well-known intent, freed from sectional conflicts, which have interfered with the pursuits of the general welfare, it is not unreasonable to expect that the States from which we have recently parted may seek to unite their fortunes to ours under the government which we have instituted. For this your constitution makes adequate provision, but beyond this, if I mistake not, the judgment and will of the people are, that union with the States from

which they have separated is neither practicable nor desirable. To increase the power, develop the resources, and promote the happiness of the confederacy, it is requisite there should be so much homogeneity that the welfare of every portion would be the aim of the whole. Where this does not exist, antagonisms are engendered which must and should result in separation.

"Actuated solely by a desire to preserve our own rights and to promote our own welfare, the separation of the Confederate States has been marked by no aggression upon others, and followed by no domestic convulsion. Our industrial pursuits have received no check, the cultivation of our fields progresses as heretofore, and even should we be involved in war, there would be no considerable diminution in the production of the staples which have constituted our exports, in which the commercial world has an interest scarcely less than our own. This common interest of producer and consumer can only be intercepted by an exterior force which should obstruct its transmission to foreign markets, a course of conduct which would be detrimental to manufacturing and commercial interests abroad.

"Should reason guide the action of the government from which we have separated, a policy so detrimental to the civilized world, the Northern States included, could not be dictated by even a stronger desire to inflict injury upon us; but if it be otherwise, a terrible responsibility will rest upon it, and the suffering of millions will bear testimony to the folly and wickedness of our aggressors. In the mean time there will remain to us, besides the ordinary remedies before suggested, the well-known resources for retaliation upon the commerce of an enemy.

"Experience in public stations of a subordinate grade to this which your kindness has conferred, has taught me that care and toil and disappointments are the price of official elevation. You will see many errors to forgive, many deficiencies to tolerate, but you shall not find in me either want of zeal or fidelity to the cause that is to me the highest in hope and of most enduring affection. Your generosity has bestowed upon me an undeserved distinction, one which I neither sought nor desired. Upon the continuance of that sentiment, and upon your wisdom and patriotism, I rely to direct and support me in the performance of the duties required at my hands.

"We have changed the constituent parts, but not the system of our government. The Constitution formed by our fathers is that of these Confederate States. In their exposition of it, and in the judicial construction it has received, we have a light which reveals its true meaning. Thus instructed as to the just interpretation of that instrument, and ever remembering that all offices are but trusts held for the people, and that delegated powers are to be strictly construed, I will hope by due diligence in the performance of my duties, though I may disappoint your expectation, yet to retain, when retiring, something of

the good will and confidence which will welcome my entrance into office.

"It is joyous in the midst of perilous times to look around upon a people united in heart, when one purpose of high resolve animates and actuates the whole—where the sacrifices to be made are not weighed in the balance against honor, right, liberty, and equality. Obstacles may retard, but they cannot long prevent, the progress of a movement sanctioned by its justice and sustained by a virtuous people. Reverently let us invoke the God of our fathers to guide and protect us in our efforts to perpetuate the principles which by His blessing they were able to vindicate, establish, and transmit to their posterity; and with a continuance of His favor ever gratefully acknowledged, we may hopefully look forward to success, to peace, to prosperity."

Alexander H. Stephens, the Vice-President of the new Confederacy, was born in Georgia on the 11th of February, 1812. His parents were too poor to educate him, but the youth showing an early quickness of parts, attracted the attention of some neighbors, who charitably sent him to school and college and supported him until he was able to make his own livelihood. Choosing the law for his profession, he was admitted to the bar in 1834, and rose rapidly to distinction. In 1843 he was elected by the Whigs a member of Congress, but on the dissolution of their party, he joined the Democrats, and became one of their most prominent leaders. In 1858 he refused to be any longer a candidate for Congress, and retired, apparently forever, to private life. From early youth he had suffered from illness, and now, after the wearing effects of a stirring political career, he seemed incapable of further activity of effort. He was, however, roused by the secession movement in his State, and came forward to resist it. He voted against the secession ordinance passed by the convention of Georgia, and sustained the cause of the Union so manfully in a remarkable speech, that he was hailed by loyal men throughout the country as their great Southern champion. It was even rumored that President Lincoln had offered him a seat in his proposed cabinet. Stephens, however, did not long resist the prevailing sentiment of his State, but giving in his adherence to the secessionists, exhibited the usual zeal of sudden converts by surpassing the veteran apostles of secession in his defence of the doctrine. He is pictured thus: "Wasted to a shadow by a protracted disease, the Vice-President of the Confederacy weighs but ninety-six pounds. He yet seems, in spite of a feeble body, capable of great mental effort. Though his voice, in its shrill and piping tones, gives manifestation of the physical weakness of the invalid, he yet does not hesitate to exercise it in prolonged efforts of oratory, which not seldom rise to the power of true eloquence."

Eager, apparently, to vindicate himself from all suspicion of the sincerity of his conversion, to which his former loyalty to the Union might have exposed him, he manifested an ultraism of opinion in

favor of the benefits and rights of slavery, which few even of the most violent secessionists had ventured to assert.

March 21. He thus held forth to the applause of his fellow-citizens of Savannah, and to the horror of the Christian world, in a speech exposing the objects of the Southern rebellion:

"The new Constitution has put at rest forever all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institutions—African slavery as it exists among us—the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this as the 'rock upon which the old Union would split.' He was right. What was conjecture with him, is now a realized fact. But whether he fully comprehended the great truth upon which that rock stood and stands, may be doubted. The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with, but the general opinion of the men of that day was, that somehow or other, in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent and pass away. This idea, though not incorporated in the Constitution, was the prevailing idea at the time. The Constitution, it is true, secured every essential guarantee to the institution while it should last, and hence no argument can be justly used against the constitutional guarantees thus secured, because of the common sentiment of the day. Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the idea of a government built upon it; when the 'storm came and the wind blew, it fell.'

"Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man. That slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and moral condition. This, our new government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical and moral truth. This truth has been slow in the process of its development, like all other truths in the various departments of science. It has been so even among us. Many who hear me, perhaps, can recollect well, that this truth was not generally admitted, even within their day. The errors of the past generation still clung to many as late as twenty years ago. Those at the North who still cling to these errors, with a zeal above knowledge, we justly denominate fanatics.

* * * * * *

"In the conflict thus far, success has been, on our side, complete throughout the length and breadth of the Confederate States. It is upon this, as I have stated, our actual fabric is firmly planted, and I cannot permit myself to doubt the ultimate success of a full recogni-

tion of this principle throughout the civilized and enlightened world.

"As I have stated, the truth of this principle may be slow in development, as all truths are, and ever have been in the various branches of science. It was so with the principles announced by Galileo; it was so with Adam Smith and his principles of political economy; it was so with Harvey and his theory of the circulation of the blood. It is stated that not a single one of the medical profession, living at the time of the announcement of the truths made by him, admitted them. Now they are universally acknowledged. May we not, therefore, look with confidence to the ultimate universal acknowledgment of the truths upon which our system rests. It is the first government ever instituted upon principles of strict conformity to nature, and the ordination of Providence, in furnishing the materials of human society. Many governments have been founded upon the principle of certain classes, but the classes thus enslaved were of the same race, and in violation of the laws of nature. Our system commits no such violation of nature's laws. The negro, by nature, or by the curse against Canaan, is fitted for that condition which he occupies in our system. The architect, in the construction of buildings, lays the foundation with the proper materials, the granite; then comes the brick or the marble. The substratum of our society is made of the materials fitted by nature for it, and by experience we know that it is best, not only for the superior, but for the inferior race, that it should be so. It is, indeed, in conformity with the ordinance of the Creator. It is not for us to inquire into the wisdom of His ordinances, or to question them. For His own purposes he has made one race to differ from another, as He has made 'one star to differ from another star in glory.'

"The great objects of humanity are best attained when conformed to His laws and decrees, in the formation of governments, as well as in all things else. Our confederacy is founded upon principles in strict conformity with these laws. This stone which was rejected by the first builders 'is become the chief stone of the corner' in our new edifice.

"The progress of disintegration in the old Union may be expected to go on with almost absolute certainty. We are now the nucleus of a growing power, which, if we are true to ourselves, our destiny, and high mission, will become the controlling power on this continent. To what extent accessions will go on in the process of time, or where it will end, the future will determine."

With President Davis and Vice-President Stephens were associated in the executive department of the confederacy Robert Toombs, of Georgia, as secretary of state; C. S. Memminger, of South Carolina, as secretary of the treasury; Leroy Pope Walker, of Alabama, as secretary of war; Judah P. Benjamin, of Louisiana, as attorney-general; Stephen M. Mallory, of Florida, as secretary of the navy; and John H. Reagan as postmaster-general.

Toombs was born in Wilkes County, Georgia, on the 2d of July, 1810. His early education was received in his native State, but after a short collegiate career at the University of Georgia, he was transferred to Union College, at Schenectady, in New York, where he graduated. After studying for the bar, his restless hankering for adventure induced him to volunteer to serve in the Creek war, and he was chosen captain. On his return home he was elected to the Legislature, and subsequently a member of the United States House of Representatives and of the United States Senate. He was conspicuous always as an intemperate advocate of slavery and of the sovereign rights of the Southern States. It was he who boasted that he would call the roll of his slaves at the base of the Bunker Hill Monument in Boston. He was among the first to move in behalf of secession, and while still a senator of the United States, did not cease to conspire and stir up his fellow-citizens in rebellion against the Union. Possessed of an impulsive temper, and unscrupulous in the use of means to gratify his desire, he was one of the most audacious and active, if not the most capable, of the confederate leaders.

Charles Gustavus Memminger was born in Wurtemburg, Germany, on the 7th of January, 1803. At the age of two years he was brought to Charleston by his mother, a poor widow, who soon after died and left him destitute. Found a vagrant child in the streets, he was sent to the orphan asylum of the city, where he remained until he was nine years old. His lively parts attracted the notice of Governor Thomas Bennett, who received him into his family and sent him to Columbia College, the university of the State, where he graduated in 1820. He now studied law, and was admitted to practice in 1825.

His first political action was as an opponent of South Carolina nullification, which he resisted strenuously and so conspicuously, that he was recognized a leader of the Union party. He aided the cause with pen as well as speech, and not only wrote against nullification in the political journals, but ridiculed it in a work entitled, "The Book of Nullification," written in Scriptural style.

In 1836 he was first elected to the Legislature, and continued to serve unremittingly until 1852. Being appointed chairman of the committee on finance—a position he retained for many years—he made that subject an especial study. He opposed the suspension of specie payment by the banks of South Carolina in 1839, and on the question coming before the courts, was employed to assist the attorney-general in the prosecution of a case. Though opposed by the ablest counsel of the State, he gained his cause, and the banks were declared to have forfeited their charters. While in the Legislature, he advocated the adoption of the Sub-treasury scheme, and abandoning his early opinions, sustained the peculiar political views of Calhoun.

In 1852 he retired from public life, but again in 1854 sought and obtained

his election to the Legislature, with the view of effecting a reform in the system of public schools, in which he finally succeeded, in spite of an obstinate opposition.

In 1859 he was appointed a commissioner of South Carolina to the State of Virginia, to induce co-operation, on the part of the slave States, in resistance to the abolitionists of the North, a fear of whom had been awakened by the insurrectionary attempt of John Brown at Harper's Ferry. Previously he had always borne the character of an upright man in private life, though for a long time his political integrity was suspected by the constant disunionists, as they recalled his early efforts in favor of the Union and his tardy conversion to the doctrine of State Rights. His active interest in the Episcopal Church, to whose general convention he was frequently a delegate, and his earnest efforts to advance the public education and improve the charitable institutions of his city and State, had given him a character for piety and benevolence which few were disposed to question. His practised capacity as a financier, and his general accomplishments, made him one of the most efficient of President Davis' cabinet.

Leroy Pope Walker was born in Alabama in the year 1816. His family is one of note; his father was a man of wealth and some military distinction; one of his brothers was a member of Congress, another a judge, both being prominent men in the late confederacy. Prominent as a politician, he was always known as a Southern Democrat, especially devoted to the interests of the slave States. He stood high as a lawyer, and man of eloquence and capacity in business, and was among the first and most ardent to espouse the cause of secession in his State.

The attorney-general, Judah P. Benjamin, attained to great eminence as a jurist and an advocate in Louisiana. While a senator of the United States, he was a professed Whig, but always a State Rights' partisan. Being a brilliant rhetorician, a subtle lawyer, a man skilled in political intrigue, and unscrupulous in the use of means to effect the objects of party or to reach the aim of his personal ambition, he proved an able adviser.

Stephen M. Mallory was for a long period a United States senator from Florida, and though unobtrusive, bore the character of a useful member of the upper house of Congress. He was always considered a conservative man in his political views, and supposed to be strongly attached to the Union. He is thought to have linked his fortunes to secession rather from the force of circumstances, than from any personal predilections for the cause. He was probably appointed secretary of the navy of the Confederate States in consequence of his presumed experience obtained as chairman of the committee of the United States Senate on naval affairs.

John H. Reagan, the postmaster of the Confederate States, was but little known beyond the boundaries of his own State, although he had served several terms in the national Congress.

CHAPTER IX.

Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin declared duly elected President and Vice-President of the United States.—Opening of Electoral Votes.—The reading of the Vote of South Carolina.—Concentration of public attention upon Lincoln.—The Siege of Springfield.—Throng of Visitors.—Insatiable Curiosity.—Lincoln Photographed.—House and Furniture minutely described.—Habits and Personal Appearance of the new President taken off.—Social Freedom and Political Reticence.—A Newspaper Interpreter.—Lincoln speaking for himself.—A grave Farewell.—Commencement of a triumphal Journey.—Speeches.—Homely Oratory.—A clever Illustration.—A Night Surprise.—An unexpected Visitor.—Portentous Intelligence.—A Tragic Plot.—Who were the Conspirators?—The effect of the intelligence upon Lincoln and his Friends.—A sudden and mysterious Movement.—Lincoln safe in Washington.—Indignation at Baltimore.—Exposition of the Plot, and how it was ferreted out.—Congressional Debates.—Crittenden Compromise.—Adjournment of Peace Conference.—The Product.—Hopefulness of the North.—Speculations in regard to Lincoln's Policy.—The Inauguration.—The Ceremonies.—Novel Additions.—Thirty-four young Ladies in loving Union.—A strong Military Force in Ambush.—Reading of the Message.—The Notables.—The Crowd.—The Message of Lincoln.

1861. On the 14th of February, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, were declared "duly elected" President and Vice-President of the United States for the four years commencing on the 4th of March, 1861. The senators and members of Congress having been assembled in the House of Representatives, and Vice-President Breckinridge having taken his seat at the right of the speaker, he, in accordance with the Constitution, opened the packages containing the electoral votes of the several States, and the result was announced. The reading of the vote of South Carolina was received with an exhibition of good-humored hilarity.

Immediately after the election of Lincoln, and before it was constitutionally announced, all the attention of the public was concentrated upon the future President. Eager office-seekers, newspaper gossip-mongers, insatiate photographers, aspiring politicians, and civic deputations thronged the little town of Springfield, in Illinois, and beset Mr. Lincoln in his humble home. With his usual readiness of welcome, he had a hand to shake with all comers, and none went away without a good-natured word and an impression of the unpretending amiability and simple honesty of the new President. His visitors, with a desire to satisfy the insatiable curiosity of the public, concentrated their powers of observation upon him, and took care to describe with photographic minuteness his every feature, word, movement, and local surrounding. Through his wicket gate, open to every comer, they walked, unbidden, into his residence, noting each clap-board of its shingly structure, and reproduced in print and picture the "good-sized house of wood, simply but tastefully furnished, surrounded by trees and flowers." Having a free run from kitchen to garret, they strolled into the library, cataloguing his law-books, and inspecting his accounts, informed the

world that "he owes no man a dollar;" they lounged in the parlor and took an inventory of Brussels carpet, sofa, piano, and of Mrs. Lincoln, in her newest silk. They dogged Mr. Lincoln everywhere, from his breakfast, through the town to his daily round of business, and back again to his dining-table, duly reporting that "he loves a good dinner, and eats with the appetite which goes with a great brain, but his food is plain and nutritious; he never drinks intoxicating liquors of any sort."

Meanwhile, they had fixed every line and tint, every light and shadow, of the man upon their memorandum-books and photographic plates. Thus his fellow-citizens throughout the country could see at a glance that "his features, though they are those of a man of mark, are not such as belong to a handsome man; that his eyes are "dark grey, and fine when lighted up;" his hair black and, though thin, wiry; "his head sits well on his shoulders, but beyond that, defies description;" that his "head is unlike either Webster or Clay's, but is very large and phrenologically well proportioned, betokening power in all its developments;" that he has "a slightly Roman nose, a wide-cut mouth, and a dark complexion, with the appearance of having been weather-beaten."

There was, however, notwithstanding the free exposition of Mr. Lincoln to his inquisitive visiters on most points, a resolute reticence in regard to his future action toward the secession States of the South. To the "hundreds of people" who had flocked to Springfield and met him at a public reception in the town-hall, he frankly declared that the time had not come for a definition of the policy of his administration, and that they must be satisfied for the present with a hearty greeting, which he proceeded to give by "shaking hands with most of the attendants."*

Public curiosity was aroused to the highest pitch, and although Lincoln resolutely kept silence, some of the newspapers, unable to resist the universal eagerness for an oracular response, spoke for him: "I will suffer," said his newspaper interpreter in behalf of Lincoln, "death before I will consent, or will advise my friends to consent, to any concession or compromise which looks like buying the privilege of taking possession of this government, to which we have a constitutional right, because whatever I might think of the merit of the various propositions before Congress, I should regard any concession in the face of menace the destruction of the Government itself, and a consent on all hands that our system shall be brought down to a level with the existing disorganized state of affairs in Mexico. But this thing will hereafter be as it is now, in the hands of the people; and if they desire to call a convention to remove any grievances complained of, or to give new guarantees for the permanence of vested rights, it is not mine to oppose."

When his election was, however, duly declared, Mr. Lincoln ventured to speak for himself. On the 11th of February

* New York *Times*, Feb. 4th, 1861.

he bade farewell to his fellow-citizens at Springfield in these grave words:

"My Friends: No one not in my position can appreciate the sadness I feel at this parting. To this people I owe all that I am. Here I have lived more than a quarter of a century, here my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. I know not how soon I shall see you again. A duty devolves upon me which is, perhaps, greater than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. He never would have succeeded except for the aid of Divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. I feel that I cannot succeed without the same Divine aid which sustained him; and in the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support, and I hope you, my friends, will all pray that I may receive that Divine assistance, without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain. Again I bid you all an affectionate farewell."

This solemn leave-taking brought tears into his eyes and those of his fellow-citizens. He now commenced a triumphant journey toward Washington. Crowds of people, with civic deputations at their head, met and welcomed him on his passage through the large cities. His speeches, which were frequent, showed an amiable desire, though not always gracefully expressed, to conciliate his political opponents by yielding his partisanship to the general interests of the country, but evinced a resolute determination to uphold the Federal authority against the attacks of its enemies. His homely oratory was taken generally in good part by those who listened to it, and it occasionally, by an apt illustration, struck a chord of popular sympathy. "In their [the secessionists] view," he said happily at Indianapolis, "the Union, as a family relation, would seem to be no regular marriage, but rather a sort of free-love arrangement, to be maintained on passional attraction."

After passing through Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Columbus, Pittsburg, New York, and Trenton, he finally reached Philadelphia. Here, to the usual programme of military parade, public reception, speech-making, and shaking of hands, was added that of raising the American flag upon Independence Hall, the ancient seat of Congress, on Friday, the 22d of February, the anniversary of Washington's birthday.

On the night previous, Mr. Lincoln, after having gone to bed in the hotel, was aroused and informed that a visitor desired to see him on "a matter of life and death." He was refused admission, unless he gave his name, which he did, and as it was one that carried with it an authority* that Mr. Lincoln was not disposed to pass unheeded, he, while "yet disrobed," received the visitor.

The object of this mysterious, nocturnal visit was to inform Mr. Lincoln of the organization of a body of men who had determined that he should not be inaugurated President, and to effect their purpose, were ready to capture

* The visitor was, it is believed, the son of Mr. Lincoln's secretary of state.

him or to take his life on his way to Washington. Some influential persons in the interests of the secessionists were Feb. 23. supposed to be implicated in the plot. The morning's telegram came with this startling announcement:

"Statesmen laid the plan, bankers indorsed it, and adventurers were to carry it into effect. As they understood Mr. Lincoln was to leave Harrisburg at nine o'clock this morning by special train, the idea was, if possible, to throw the cars from the road at some point where they would rush down a steep embankment and destroy in a moment the lives of all on board. In case of the failure of this project, their plan was to surround the carriage on the way from dépot to dépot in Baltimore, and assassinate him with dagger or pistol-shot."

Whatever may have been the exact nature of the revelation, it was sufficiently serious to induce his wife and friends to persuade the reluctant Mr. Lincoln to forego the continuance of his triumphal progress of public reception, flag-raising, speech-making, and hand-shaking.

"Mr. Lincoln did not want to yield," says the telegraph reporter, "and Col. Sumner actually cried with indignation; but Mrs. Lincoln, seconded by Mr. Judd Feb. 23. and Mr. Lincoln's original informant, insisted upon it, and *at nine o'clock* Mr. Lincoln *left on a special train.* He wore a Scotch plaid cap and a very long military cloak, so that he was entirely unrecognizable. Accompanied by Superintendent Lewis and one friend, he started, while all the town, with the exception of Mrs. Lincoln, Col. Sumner, Mr. Judd, and two reporters, who were sworn to secresy, supposed him to be asleep.

"The telegraph wires were put beyond the reach of any one who might desire to use them."

At the same moment that the world was excited by this alarming intelligence, its agitation was composed by the welcome statement that Mr. Lincoln had arrived safe at Willard's Hotel, in Washington, and on the same day, "accompanied by Mr. Seward, had paid his respects to President Buchanan" at the White House.

The press and people of Baltimore supposed to be friendly to secession expressed great disappointment and indignation that Lincoln and his friends should have manifested any distrust of their hospitality. Those, however, who were unquestionably loyal to the Union, confessed to a riotous intent on the part of some of the people of Baltimore, and declared that Lincoln's proceeding was "a simple and practical avoidance of what might have been an occasion of disorder and of mortification to all interested in the preservation of the good name of the city."*

A detailed, and apparently authentic exposition of the formation of the plot, the agents employed, and the means used to thwart it, appeared in one of the Northern journals.†

"Some of Mr. Lincoln's friends having heard that a conspiracy existed to assassinate him on his way to Washington,

* Baltimore *American*. † Albany *Evening Journal*.

set on foot an investigation of the matter. For this purpose they employed a detective of great experience, who was engaged at Baltimore in the business some three weeks prior to Mr. Lincoln's expected arrival there, employing both men and women to assist him. Shortly after his coming to Baltimore, the detective discovered a combination of men banded together under a most solemn oath to assassinate the President-elect. The leader of the conspirators was an Italian refugee, a barber, well-known in Baltimore, who assumed the name of *Orsini*, as indicative of the part he was to perform. The assistants employed by the detective, who, like himself, were strangers in Baltimore city, by assuming to be secessionists from Louisiana and other seceding States, gained the confidence of some of the conspirators, and were intrusted with their plans. It was arranged in case Mr. Lincoln should pass safely over the railroad to Baltimore, that the conspirators should mingle with the crowd which might surround his carriage, and by pretending to be his friends, be enabled to approach his person, when, upon a signal from their leader, some of them would shoot at Mr. Lincoln with their pistols, and others would throw into his carriage hand-grenades filled with detonating powder, similar to those used in the attempted assassination of the Emperor Louis Napoleon. It was intended that in the confusion which should result from this attack, the assailants should escape to a vessel which was waiting in the harbor to receive them, and be carried to Mobile, in the seceding State of Alabama.

"Upon Mr. Lincoln's arrival in Philadelphia upon Thursday, the 21st of February, the detective visited Philadelphia, and submitted to certain friends of the President-elect the information he had collected as to the conspirators and their plans. An interview was immediately arranged between Mr. Lincoln and the detective. The interview took place in Mr. Lincoln's room, in the Continental Hotel, where he was staying during his visit in Philadelphia.

"Mr. Lincoln, having heard the officer's statement, informed him that he had promised to raise the American flag on Independence Hall on the next morning—the morning of the anniversary of Washington's birthday—and that he had accepted the invitation of the Pennsylvania Legislature to be publicly received by that body in the afternoon of the same day. 'Both of these engagements,' said he, with emphasis, 'I will keep if it costs me my life. If, however, after I shall have concluded these engagements, you can take me in safety to Washington, I will place myself at your disposal, and authorize you to make such arrangements as you may deem proper for that purpose.'

"On the next day, in the morning, Mr. Lincoln performed the ceremony of raising the American flag on Independence Hall, in Philadelphia, according to his promise, and arrived at Harrisburg on the afternoon of the same day, where he was formally welcomed by the Penn-

sylvania Legislature. After the reception, he retired to his hotel, the Jones House, and withdrew with a few confidential friends to a private apartment. Here he remained until nearly six o'clock in the evening, when, in company with Colonel Lamon, he quietly entered a carriage without observation, and was driven to the Pennsylvania Railroad, where a special train for Philadelphia was waiting for him. Simultaneously with his departure from Harrisburg, the telegraph wires were cut, so that his departure, if it should become known, might not be communicated at a distance.

"The special train arrived in Philadelphia at a quarter to eleven at night. Here he was met by the detective, who had a carriage in readiness into which the party entered, and were driven to the dépot of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad.

"They did not reach the dépot until a quarter past eleven; but, fortunately for them, the regular train, the hour of which for starting was eleven, had been delayed. The party then took berths in the sleeping car, and without change of cars passed directly through to Washington, where they arrived at the usual hour, half-past six o'clock, on the morning of Saturday the 23d. Mr. Lincoln wore no disguise whatever, but journeyed in an ordinary traveling dress.

"It is proper to state here that, prior to Mr. Lincoln's arrival in Philadelphia, General Scott and Senator Seward, in Washington, had been apprised, from independent sources, that imminent danger threatened Mr. Lincoln in case he should publicly pass through Baltimore; and accordingly a special messenger, Mr. Frederick W. Seward, a son of Senator Seward, was dispatched to Philadelphia, to urge Mr. Lincoln to come direct to Washington, in a quiet manner. The messenger arrived in Philadelphia late on Thursday night, and had an interview with the President-elect, immediately subsequent to his interview with the detective. He was informed that Mr. Lincoln would arrive by the early train on Saturday morning, and, in accordance with this information, Mr. Washburn, member of Congress from Illinois, awaited the President-elect at the dépot in Washington, whence he was taken in a carriage to Willard's Hotel, where Senator Seward stood ready to receive him.

"The detective traveled with Mr. Lincoln under the name of E. J. Allen, which name was registered with the President-elect's on the book at Willard's Hotel. Being a well-known individual, he was speedily recognized, and suspicion naturally arose that he had been instrumental in exposing the plot which caused Mr. Lincoln's hurried journey. It was deemed prudent that he should leave Washington two days after his arrival, although he had intended to remain and witness the ceremonies of inauguration.

"The friends of Mr. Lincoln do not question the loyalty and hospitality of the people of Maryland, but they were aware that a few disaffected citizens

who sympathized warmly with the secessionists, were determined to frustrate, at all hazards, the inauguration of the President-elect, even at the cost of his life.

"The characters and pursuits of the conspirators were various. Some of them were impelled by a fanatical zeal which they termed patriotism, and they justified their acts by the example of Brutus, in ridding his country of a tyrant. One of them was accustomed to recite passages put into the mouth of the character of Brutus, in Shakspeare's play of "Julius Cæsar." Others were stimulated by the offer of pecuniary reward. These, it was observed, staid away from their usual places of work for several weeks prior to the intended assault. Although their circumstances had previously rendered them dependent on their daily labor for support, they were during this time abundantly supplied with money, which they squandered in bar-rooms and disreputable places.

"After the discovery of the plot, a strict watch was kept by the agents of detection over the movements of the conspirators, and efficient measures were adopted to guard against any attack which they might meditate upon the President-elect until he was installed in office.

"Mr. Lincoln's family left Harrisburg for Baltimore, on their way to Washington, in the special train intended for him. And as, before starting, a message announcing Mr. Lincoln's departure and arrival at Washington had been telegraphed to Baltimore over the wires, which had been repaired that morning, the passage through Baltimore was safely effected.

"The remark of Mr. Lincoln, during the ceremony of raising the flag on Independence Hall on Friday morning, that he would assert his principles on his inauguration, although he were to be assassinated on the spot, had evident reference to the communication made to him by the detective on the night preceding.

"The names of the conspirators will not at present be divulged; but they are in possession of responsible parties, including the President.

"The number originally ascertained to be banded together for the assassination of Mr. Lincoln was twenty; but the number of those who were fully apprised of the details of the plot became daily smaller as the time for executing it drew near.

"Some of the women employed by the detective went to serve as waiters, seamstresses, etc., in the families of the conspirators, and a record was regularly kept of what was said and done to further their enterprise. A record was also kept by the detective of their deliberations in secret conclave, but, for sufficient reasons, it is withheld for the present from publication. The detective and his agents regularly contributed money to pay the expenses of the conspiracy."

In the mean time, while the triumphal progress of Mr. Lincoln was brought to so inglorious a close by his

forced flight to the capital, and the country was rejoicing at his escape from his enemies, the Senate was busily at work striving, by excited debate and discordant motions, to compose the country. The "Crittenden Compromise" continued to be the main subject of discussion, which promised to be indefinitely protracted by the perplexing amendments of the secessionists on the one hand, and the Republicans on the other. The "Peace Conference," too, was in constant session, and after a long labor finally adjourned *sine die*, after having brought forth a proposition of compromise which was destined to prove, like the rest, but an abortive attempt to conciliate discordant factions. The more important points of this plan were embraced in these two sections of the thirteenth article :

Feb. 27.

"*Sec.* 1. In all the present territory of the United States north of the parallel of 36 degrees 30 minutes of north latitude, involuntary servitude, except as punishment of crime, is prohibited. In all the present territory south of that line the status of persons held to service or labor, as it now exists, shall not be changed. Nor shall any law be passed by Congress or the territorial legislature to hinder or prevent the taking of such persons from any of the States of the Union to said territory, nor to impair the rights arising from said relation. But the same shall be subject to judicial cognizance in the Federal courts, according to the course of the common law. When any territory, north or south of said line, with such boundary as Congress may prescribe, shall contain a population equal to that required for a member of Congress, it shall, if its form of government be republican, be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, with or without involuntary servitude, as the constitution of such State may provide.

"*Sec.* 2. Territory shall not be acquired by the United States, unless by treaty ; nor, except for naval and commercial stations and dépots, unless such treaty shall be ratified by four-fifths of all the members of the Senate."

The other articles prohibited Congress from abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia without the consent of Maryland and of the owners, and without making due compensation ; from abolishing slavery in the United States dock-yards ; and from taxing slaves higher than land. One article prohibited the slave-trade forever ; and another aimed at a more thorough execution of the Fugitive Slave law.

These propositions of the peace conference seemed to meet with no more favor than the other attempts to harmonize the discordant opinions of the Senate. The people of the North, however, were still hopeful, though they despaired of the efficacy of congressional action. It was to the future President that the universal attention was directed. Various speculations were indulged in, in regard to his policy ; but while some believed that it would be conciliatory or conservative, as they termed it, and others, that it would

be in strict conformity with his party pledges and fatal to all hopes of compromise, none doubted that the power of the Federal authority would be asserted by the new President with more firmness than it had been by his predecessor.

The day for the inauguration of the new President came. The usual ceremonies were observed, with the addition, however, of some details peculiar to the times. While "thirty-four young ladies in white, seated in a van, labeled Constitution," ostentatiously represented the sisterly union of the thirty-four States in the public procession, a considerable force of regulars and militia had, by the cautious prevision of the veteran commander-in-chief, Lieutenant-General Scott, been secretly disposed, so as to be in readiness to suppress any hostile attempt to disturb the national programme.

March 4th.

Mr. Lincoln having reached, in company with President Buchanan, the platform on the portico of the Capitol, where the judges of the Supreme Court, the senators, and members of the House of Representatives, the foreign ambassadors, and other notable persons had assembled, was formally introduced to the twenty-five thousand people gathered below, and in "a clear, strong voice" proceeded to read his inaugural:

"Fellow-Citizens of the United States:

"In compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take, in your presence, the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President before he enters on the execution of his office.

"I do not consider it necessary, at present, for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement. Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that, by the accession of a Republican administration, their property, and their peace, and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches, when I declare that 'I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists.' I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. Those who nominated and elected me, did so with the full knowledge that I had made this, and made many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And more than this, they placed in the platform, for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

"'*Resolved*, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institions according to its own judgment ex-

clusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.'

"I now reiterate these sentiments; and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in anywise endangered by the now incoming administration.

"I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause, as cheerfully to one section as to another.

"There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

"'No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.'

"It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the lawgiver is the law.

"All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as well as any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause 'shall be delivered up,' their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?

"There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by state authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done; and should any one, in any case, be content that this oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?

"Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in the civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not, in any case, surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guaranties that 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States?'

"I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules; and

while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

"It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our national Constitution. During that period fifteen different and very distinguished citizens have in succession administered the executive branch of the Government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope for precedent, I now enter upon the same task, for the brief constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulties.

"A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted. I hold that in the contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our national Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

"Again: if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of a contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it? Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself.

"The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation, in 1778; and, finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was to form a more perfect Union. But if the destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less than before, the Constitution having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

"It follows from these views that no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

"I therefore consider that in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union

is unbroken, and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union shall be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this, which I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, I shall perfectly perform it, so far as is practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisition, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary.

"I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

"In doing this there need be no bloodshed nor violence, and there shall be none, unless it is forced upon the national authority.

"The power confided to me *will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government*, and collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere.

"Where hostility to the United States shall be so great and so universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people that object. While the strict legal right may exist of the Government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of such offices.

"The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union.

"So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection.

"The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper; and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised according to the circumstances actually existing, and with a view and hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

"That there are persons, in one section or another, who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny. But if there be such, I need address no word to them.

"To those, however, who really love the Union, may I not speak, before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes? Would it not be well to ascertain why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you—while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from—will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake? All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution, has

been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted, that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this.

"Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, n a moral point of view, justify revol ion; it certainly would if such right ere a vital one. But such is not our c e.

"All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guarantees and prohibitions in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain, express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authorities? The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities.

"If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the Government must cease. There is no alternative for continuing the Government but acquiescence on the one side or the other. If a minority in such a case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will ruin and divide them, for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such a minority. For instance, why not any portion of a new confederacy, a year or two hence, arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this. Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new Union as to produce harmony only, and prevent renewed secession? Plainly the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy.

"A majority held in restraint by constitutional check and limitation, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it, does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a majority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible. So that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

"I do not forget the position assumed by some, that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding in any case upon the parties to a suit as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel

cases by all other departments of the Government; and while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice.

"At the same time the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government upon the vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by the decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made, as in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own masters, unless having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal.

"Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink, to decide cases properly brought before them; and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes. One section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended; and this is the only substantial dispute; and the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave-trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived, without restriction, in one section; while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

"Physically speaking, we cannot separate—we cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face; and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you.

"This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise

their constitutional right of amending, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendment, I fully recognize the full authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself, and I should, under existing circumstances, favor, rather than oppose, a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it.

"I will venture to add, that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish either to accept or refuse. I understand that a proposed amendment to the Constitution (which amendment, however, I have not seen) has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.

"The chief magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix the terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves, also, can do this if they choose, but the Executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present Government as it came to his hands, and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor. Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences, is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of nations, with his eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal, the American people. By the frame of the Government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have with equal wisdom provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the Government in the short space of four years.

"My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time.

"If there be an object to hurry any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time;

but no good object can be frustrated by it.

"Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either.

"If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there is still no single reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulties.

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you.

"You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend" it.

"I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.

"The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

CHAPTER X.

The opinion of the Secessionists on the Message.—The opinion of the Unionists.—Unanimous satisfaction at the exit of Buchanan.—The fate of Buchanan.—A Nation's Reproach.—Difficulty of forming a Judgment.—What were the Motives of his conduct.—A fatal Administration.—Life of Buchanan.—Birth.—Origin.—Early Education.—Political Career.—Member of the Legislature.—Minister to Russia.—United States Senator.—Adherent of General Jackson.—Opposed to Nullification.—Political friend of Van Buren.—Supporter of his Policy.—Rallies to the support of Tyler.—In favor of the Recognition of Texas.—An advocate of the War with Mexico.—Secretary of State under Polk.—Retirement to Private Life.—Opposed to the Wilmot Proviso.—Advocates Compromises.—Ambassador to Great Britain.—The famous Ostend Conference.—Its Manifesto.—Return to the United States.—Candidate for President.—Elected President.—Public Confidence.—His conduct in regard to Kansas.—Charged with Partisanship.—Secession of Six States from the Union.—Historic importance of Buchanan.—Could Buchanan have checked the Rebellion?—Why he did not.—Last act of his Administration.—Opinion of Free Traders of his signing the Morrill Tariff.—The two Patriots in his Cabinet.—Lincoln's Cabinet.—Its party character.—William H. Seward.—His Life.—Education.—Political Career.—Character and Personal Appearance.—Salmon Portland Chase.—His Birth.—Education.—Professional success.—Opinions on Slavery.—Political Career.—Character.—Simon Cameron.—His Origin.—Influence in Pennsylvania.—His Character.—Gideon Welles: his Career and Character.—Montgomery Blair: his Career and Character.—Edward Bates: his Career and Character.—Caleb B. Smith: his Career and Character.

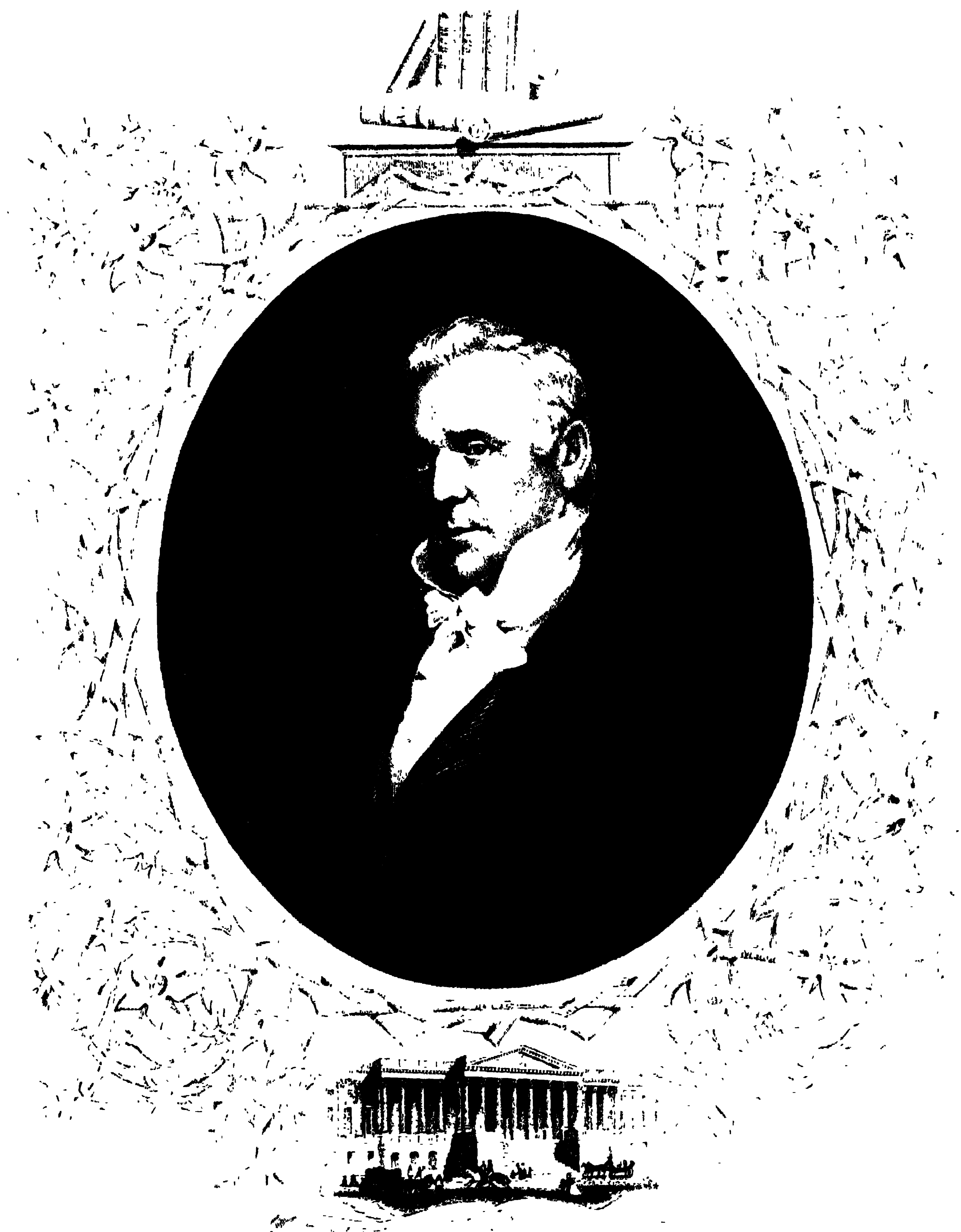
WHILE the secessionists pronounced the message of President Lincoln warlike, and affected great indignation, and even in Baltimore some of the daily journals declared it "sectional and mischievous," the unionists accepted the

document as firm, but conservative. Those in North Carolina who were still clear of the heresy of secession, welcomed it as a hopeful indication of the peace policy of the administration; and while in Missouri the exponent of one party declared that it "met the highest expectations of the country, both in point of statesmanship and patriotism," that of another expressed its disappointment at not having "a more conservative and conciliatory expression of sentiments."

Whatever may have been the difference of opinion in regard to Lincoln, there was a unanimous feeling of satisfaction, among all who continued loyal to the Union, that Buchanan was no longer President. It was said of him at this time that "whatever may be his hope of justification by posterity, he must resign himself for the present to the reproach of an afflicted people. With his administration will always be associated those complicated ills of factious and corrupt government, vacillating and contemned authority, to which are owing the present civil strife and the arrested progress of the country. It would be difficult in the heat of war and under the pressure of national suffering to assume that equanimity of temper or reach that elevated height necessary to a broad and dispassionate judgment of the degree of responsibility to be attached to the head of an administration which has proved so fatal to the country.

"Whether his conduct is to be attributed to habitual partisanship, evil counsel, corrupt motive, or senile weakness, cannot be easily determined. To the direful results of his administration, however, President Buchanan can triumphantly oppose a previous career of prosperous statesmanship and a private life of unquestioned purity."

James Buchanan, the fifteenth President of the United States, was born at Stony Batter, in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, on the 22d of April, 1791. His father was an Irishman who emigrated to America in 1783. His mother, however, Elizabeth Spear, was the daughter of a Pennsylvania farmer. In spite of the poverty of his parents, their son was sent to Dickinson College, where he graduated with the honors of his class. In 1812 he began to practice law at Lancaster, and with such success, that he retired, at the age of forty, with a fair competence. At twenty-three years of age he was elected a member of the Legislature. In 1820 he first entered Congress, and continued to serve until 1831, when he resigned, and was appointed minister to Russia by President Jackson, to whom he was a faithful adherent. In 1833 he returned, and was elected United States senator from Pennsylvania, and continued a firm supporter of Jackson's policy. He stood firmly by the President in his successful conflicts with the United States Bank and the nullification of South Carolina. During the agitation in 1835 of the question of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, he advocated the reception by Congress of petitions in its favor, but strove to resist their effect by the introduction of an act declaring that Congress had no power to



James Buchanan

legislate upon the subject. Buchanan gave to President Van Buren the same uncompromising political support that he had given to his predecessor.

On the change of policy effected by President Tyler, after the death of Harrison, Buchanan rallied to the support of the administration; he advocated the recognition of the independence of Texas, as he subsequently did its admission into the Union and the consequent war with Mexico. Under President Polk he became secretary of state, and at the expiration of the Presidential term retired to private life. He, however, used his great political influence in opposition to the Wilmot proviso, and in favor of an extension to the Pacific Ocean of the Missouri Compromise line of latitude 36 degrees 30 minutes north. On the accession of Pierce to the Presidency, Buchanan was appointed ambassador to Great Britain. It was while thus serving that he joined with the United States minister to Paris, and Pierre Soulé, the minister to Madrid, in forming the notable Ostend Conference, the object of which was to induce Spain to sell Cuba.

A memorandum of the proceedings of the conference was published, and has been dignified with the title of a protocol. This set forth the importance of Cuba, commercially and defensively, to the United States; the advantage to Spain in consenting to receive compensation for a possession the prolonged tenure of which was so uncertain, and the necessity—in case the island should fall under the control, like St. Domingo, of its African population—of the interference of the United States to secure the Southern slave States from so dangerous a neighborhood of free negroes.

Mr. Buchanan returned to the United States in the spring of 1856, and in the following June was unanimously nominated, by the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati, candidate for President. In November he was elected by the electoral vote of nineteen States. Upon his accession to office there was a general willingness to concede to him a disposition to repress sectional differences and to administer the Government with a national spirit. His administration, however, served only to reinvigorate factious dispute, and the Republican party attacked him with great animosity for his partisan efforts to secure the admission of Kansas as a slave State.

The most momentous event, however, during Buchanan's administration, was the secession of six States from the Union. This will always give him an historic importance, and serve to make his character and conduct subjects of the deepest interest to the investigator of the causes of the civil war initiated during his Presidency.

"That Buchanan could have checked the fatal movement [the rebellion], no one can affirm; but that it was his duty to make the effort, few will deny. That he did not do so, is attributed by some to corrupt connivance with the conspirators who shared his counsels; by some, to the timidity of enfeebled age; and by others, to the conviction that neither right nor expediency would justify an

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attempt to repress the rising rebellion. His irreproachable personal character, his previous career of reputable statesmanship, and his honored position as President, forbid the imputation of treasonable design or corrupt motive. It is more reasonable to attribute his conduct to the influence of unworthy but unsuspected counsellors acting upon an infirm judgment and unsteady moral courage."*

The last act of President Buchanan's administration was the signing of the Morrill tariff. This sanction of high protective custom dues was contrary to his professed opinion that duties should be levied only for revenue. The advocates of free trade, both in the United States and Europe, condemn this act as one of the most unworthy of his administration, while the protectionists doubtless commend it as the best.

Within a few weeks of the close of his term of office, Buchanan had called to his aid in the cabinet two statesmen whose energetic action, inspired by the truest patriotism, had served to redeem, to some degree, an administration which had proved so fatal to the country. These men were Joseph H. Holt, of Kentucky, and John A. Dix, of New York, the former the secretary of war, and the latter secretary of the treasury. It was hoped that Lincoln would have waived so far his party predilections as to have retained these statesmen, who had won the confidence of the nation by their loyal firmness in sustaining the dignity and power of the Federal authority against the menace of disaffection and the attack of treason.

The new President, however, in accordance with traditional practice, chose his cabinet from that party to which he was indebted for his own elevation. Wm. H. Seward, of New York, was appointed secretary of state; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, secretary of the treasury; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, secretary of war; Gideon Welles, of Connecticut, secretary of the navy; Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, postmaster-general; Edward Bates, of Missouri, attorney-general; and Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, secretary of the interior.

Some of these were known to the country as prominent statesmen; others, possessed only of local fame, were comparatively obscure, but all had been active promoters of the "Republican" cause. The most distinguished was the secretary of state.

William H. Seward was born in the village of Florida, Orange County, in the State of New York, on the 16th day of May, 1801. After a good elementary schooling he was sent to Union College, at Schenectady, where he received his academic degree with the honors of his class. In 1820 he became a student at law in the office of John Anthon, Esq., an eminent counsellor of the city of New York, but completed his studies under the guidance of Ogden Hoffman, then district attorney. In 1822 he was admitted to the bar at Goshen, in Orange County, but soon after removed to Auburn, where he formed a partnership with Judge Miller, whose daughter he

* Manuscript work, by the author.



subsequently married. His success as a lawyer was rapid and well assured, and he soon ranked among the most honored members of the profession.

His first political step was as a warm partisan of the anti-masonic cause, but in 1823 he appeared as a youthful leader in the canvass for the re-election of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency. Elected senator of his State in 1830, he soon became prominent as an advocate of measures of reform.

After four years' service in the Senate of New York, he was nominated the Whig candidate for Governor, but was defeated by his veteran Democratic opponent, William L. Marcy. Again a candidate at the succeeding election, he triumphed over his old competitor, and was elected Governor by the large majority of ten thousand. In 1840 he was a third time a candidate and once more successful, being chosen as a representative of the party which had triumphantly carried the election of President Harrison, of whom he had proved himself in the canvass an energetic supporter. In 1848 he advocated the nomination of General Zachary Taylor, and strove zealously in behalf of his election. The successful Whig party of the New York State Legislature soon after elected Seward senator of the United States. On the death of Taylor and the accession of Fillmore, Seward was suddenly deprived of that leadership upon which he had not unnaturally presumed. His supposed extreme opinions on the subject of slavery were undoubtedly averse to his being accepted, by Fillmore, as an exponent of the policy of his conciliatory administration. Seward opposed emphatically the compromise measures of 1850.

"I feel assured," said he, in his speech on the question, "that slavery must give way, and will give way to the salutary instructions of economy and to the ripening influences of humanity; that emancipation is inevitable and is near; that it may be hastened or hindered; that all measures which fortify slavery or extend it tend to the consummation of violence; all that check its extension and abate its strength tend to its peaceful extirpation. But I will adopt none but lawful, constitutional, and peaceful means to secure even that end; and none such can I or will I forego."

In 1852, Seward was an advocate for the election of General Scott as President, though he did not concur with the concessions made to the slave interests of the South in the manifesto of his party. In the Senate he at the same time continued his persistent opposition to the extension of slavery, and emphatically denounced the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

After the dissolution of the Whig party, and the formation of the new Republican combination, of which he was one of the prominent founders and leaders, he was a candidate for nomination as President. He, however, was forced to yield to the superior "availability" of Colonel Fremont, for whose election, notwithstanding, he canvassed vigorously.

During the summer of 1859, Mr. Sew-

ard visited Europe, and extended his tour to Syria and Egypt. His reception was everywhere studiously courteous in deference to his recognized position as a distinguished and leading statesman in his own country.

In 1860, Seward was forced again to yield his presumed claims to a comparatively obscure man. At the Republican Convention which met at Chicago, Seward was the leading candidate for nomination as President, but after several obstinate ballots gave way to Mr. Lincoln, who was chosen, and whose subsequent triumphant election to office was greatly due to the zealous efforts of his late rival.

Notwithstanding his previous persistent resistance to the encroachments of, and his apparent readiness for, the "irrepressible conflict" with slavery, Seward is considered to have been the most conciliatory of Lincoln's cabinet. Though some doubted his possession of that moral grandeur which was so necessary to the important office he had to administer, none questioned the secretary's mental capacity to master the ordinary technical difficulties of his office. A man of refined culture and tact, his speeches and writings possess a dignity of tone and a completeness of literary finish which are rarely to be discovered in the effusions of our extemporized speakers and writers.

Judging him from the rapid flashes of speech, struck off in the course of a heated political canvass, there are some, especially in Europe, who affect to think that Seward is more eager to captivate the undiscerning many than to convince the judicious few.

In appearance, Mr. Seward, with his slight figure of medium size, his heavy features, and his worn expression, is not imposing. His eyes, however, brighten with excitement, and his face not seldom assumes an attractive vivacity.

The secretary of the treasury, Salmon Portland Chase, was born at Cornish, in New Hampshire, on the 13th of January, 1808. Two years after the death of his father, and at the age of twelve, he was placed under the charge of his uncle, Bishop Chase, of Ohio, with whom he removed from Worthington to Cincinnati, and there entered the college of which the bishop had been appointed president. Here, however, he remained but a year, when he returned to his mother's home in Keene, New Hampshire. In 1824 he was admitted a student of Dartmouth College, where he received his degree after two years' study. After graduating, he opened a school at Washington, and numbered among his pupils the sons of Henry Clay, William Wirt, and Samuel L. Southard. In the mean time, he studied law under the direction of Wirt, and in 1829, quitting his school, he was admitted to the bar at Washington.

In 1830, Mr. Chase removed to Cincinnati, where he strove to establish himself as a lawyer. While waiting for practice, he published an edition of the Statutes of Ohio, with original notes, and a prefatory sketch of the history of the State. This work served to bring him into notice, and add to his legal

business. He now became a thriving practitioner, and was appointed solicitor of two of the banks.

Being employed in 1837 in behalf of a negro woman who was claimed to be a fugitive slave, Mr. Chase argued that Congress had not the right to impose upon State magistrates any duty or confer any power in such cases.

Again, soon after, while defending James E. Birny, who had been arrested for harboring a negro slave, he held that slavery is local, and dependent for its legality upon State law, and that therefore a slave who made his escape into Ohio became free, and might be harbored with impunity.

In 1846, Mr. Chase, together with William H. Seward, was defendant's counsel in the Van Zandt case, before the Supreme Court of the United States. In an elaborate argument, he contended that, by the ordinance of 1787, no fugitive from service could be reclaimed from Ohio unless there had been an escape from one of the original States; that it was the clear understanding of the framers of the Constitution, and of the people who adopted it, that slavery was to be left exclusively to the disposal of the several States, without sanction or support from the National Government; and that the clause in the Constitution relating to persons held to service was one of compact, and conferred no power of legislation on Congress.

Other cases ensued in which Mr. Chase defended the same positions, and thus became identified with those who resisted all national recognition of slavery.

Devoted to his professional pursuits, Mr. Chase avoided for a long time all positive alliances with political parties, but had voted sometimes with the Democrats, and at other times and more frequently with the Whigs. In 1841, however, he became one of the originators of the "Liberty" party of Ohio, and was the author of their address to the people. In 1843 he was a member of the convention of this party which met at Buffalo. While one of a committee nominated by said convention, he opposed the resolution, "to regard and treat the third clause of the Constitution, whenever applied to the case of a fugitive slave, as utterly null and void, and consequently as forming no part of the Constitution of the United States, whenever we are called upon or sworn to support it." This resolution was accordingly rejected by the committee, and not reported, although it was afterward renewed by its original mover, and adopted by the convention. When twitted in the United States Senate by Senator Butler, of South Carolina, for the mental reservation seemingly sanctioned by this resolution, Chase responded: "I have only to say, I never proposed the resolution; I never would propose or vote for such a resolution. I hold no doctrine of mental reservation. Every man, in my judgment, should speak just as he thinks, keeping nothing back, here or elsewhere."*

* The New American Cyclopedia. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

In 1845, a convention, at the suggestion of Mr. Chase, met in Cincinnati, of "all who, believing that whatever is worth preserving in republicanism can be maintained only by uncompromising war against the usurpations of the slave power, and are therefore resolved to use all constitutional and honorable means to effect the extinction of slavery within their respective States, and its reduction to its constitutional limits in the United States." The gathering was large, consisting of two thousand delegates and four thousand interested visiters. The address—the main burden of which was opposition to the extension of slavery—was written by Mr. Chase, and was widely circulated. When the second convention met, in 1847, Mr. Chase opposed the making of Federal nominations, believing that the general agitation throughout the country in regard to the Wilmot proviso would extend the basis of the movement against slavery extension, and afford a less restricted foundation for a party.

In 1848, however, distrusting the Whig and Democratic parties, Mr. Chase again called a convention in favor of free territory. It was largely attended, but it merged itself in the National Convention, which met at Buffalo in August of the same year, and nominated Martin Van Buren for President. The Democratic party of Ohio having now adopted the free-soil views of Mr. Chase, he accepted their nomination for the United States Senate, and in 1849 was elected. He continued to act with the Democrats of his State until 1852, when, upon the nomination of Pierce, they accepted the platform of the Baltimore Convention, approving of the compromise acts of 1850, and denouncing the further agitation of the question of slavery extension. Having abandoned his old allies, he gave in his adherence to the Independent Democratic Convention, assembled at Pittsburg in 1852, which adopted a manifesto mainly prepared by Mr. Chase.

When the Nebraska bill agitated the country, and induced the formation of the Republican party, Mr. Chase, finding its principles in consonance with his long established views, eagerly joined it, and became one of its leaders.

In 1855, Mr. Chase was nominated as Governor of Ohio, and being elected, was inaugurated in January of the succeeding year. He gave proof, in his new office, of a moderation and discretion which many were disposed to question, in consequence of his supposed extreme opinions on slavery. At the close of his first term he was disposed to retire, but was so urgently pressed to accept a re-nomination, that he was prevailed upon and re-elected Governor.

After the expiration of his second term he was again elected senator of the United States, but resigned his seat to accept the office of secretary of the treasury in the cabinet of Mr. Lincoln, of which he was considered not only one of the ablest, but firmest members.

Simon Cameron, a man of humble origin, successively a printer's apprentice, printer, journalist, a local politician, a United States senator, and afterward





secretary of war, was born in Pennsylvania. He has been for a long time one of the most influential men in that State, and the success of the Republican party there was greatly indebted to his efforts. Wielding a large capital actively employed in railroads, mining operations, and other active enterprises in Pennsylvania, he was enabled to exercise a wide influence, which was owing not less to his financial than to his political ability. His executive talents, thoroughly exercised by his extensive business relations, were calculated to make him an effective officer in the busy department of which he was the chief.

Gideon Welles was originally a printer, and subsequently editor of the Hartford *Times*, in the skilful conduct of which he has acquired all his political fame. His reputation had, however, hardly extended beyond the limits of his native State of Connecticut, when he was called to a position in Lincoln's cabinet, at the earnest solicitation, it is believed, of his brother-in-law, Vice-President Hamlin. As the editor of the Hartford *Times*, he was considered one of the most forcible exponents of the Democr tic policy. Warmly espousing the doctrine of non-extension of slavery, he soon identified himself with the Republican party, of which he was an ardent supporter. He has frequently represented his State in its own Legislature and Senate, but never in the Federal councils. It may be doubted whether, with his reflective habits as a political thinker and writer, and his restricted experience of the business of state, he had the scope of view and energy of action necessary to the chief of the naval department during a great war.

Montgomery Blair, a son of the vigorous Democratic journalist, Francis Preston Blair, the founder and editor of the Washington *Globe*, was born in Kentucky. Like his father, he is a valiant defender of the Republican cause, and is supposed to have been one of the most emphatic of the cabinet to urge the full exercise of the Federal authority in checking treason, as he was among the most resolute in favor of vigorously waging war against rebellion. His energy of will and sanguineness of temperament rendered him a spirited coadjutor of the executive in the stir of conflict; but in the quiet of peace, his fitness for office, and especially that practical one which he holds, might be more questionable.

Edward Bates, the attorney-general, was born in Goochland County, in Virginia, in 1791. Having been carefully educated by a relative of high culture, he emigrated with a brother to Missouri, where he began to practice law. He soon acquired eminence as a jurist. Although he served in the Legislature of Missouri, and represented that State in Congress, his life had been mostly devoted to the pursuits of his profession. In 1817, however, he was a member of the convention which met at Chicago for the advancement of internal improvements, where he commanded attention by a brilliant speech

and his impressive character. Efforts were made to induce him to give to the State the benefit of his acknowledged powers, but he refused office in Missouri and resisted the offer of a place in the cabinet of President Fillmore. His early political bias was shown by his support of Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams, with whose views of public policy he generally accorded. At a later period he opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise act, and the admission of Kansas as a State under the Lecompton Constitution, and otherwise exhibited his sympathy with the free-soil party. An accomplished jurist, he filled satisfactorily the office of attorney-general, and a man of dignified personal character, he gave increased weight to Mr. Lincoln's cabinet.

Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, the secretary of the interior, had brought with him from his own State a high reputation for ability and integrity, and he was also considered an effective member of the Government.

CHAPTER XI.

Action of the Confederate States.—Organization of an Army.—Its composition.—Officers.—Resignations in the United States Army.—Buchanan's sanction of Treason.—A change of conduct under Secretary Holt.—The Treason of Twiggs.—His Expulsion from the Army.—His Surrender of Government Property to the Authorities of Texas.—Its Character and Value.—Military Career of General Twiggs.—His motives for Seceding.—Treachery.—Encouragement of the Confederate States.—Defiant Tone and Attitude.—Commissioners to Washington.—Their Letter to the Secretary of State.—A polite Rebuff.—The Commissioners linger in Washington.—Career of Independent Government of the Confederate States.—A new Flag.—A Political Blunder.—The influence of a bit of Bunting.—The motive for adopting a new Flag.—The Confederate Flag described.—Active preparation for War.—General Beauregard sent to Charleston.—Call upon the Confederate States for Militia.—Progress of the Works in the Harbor of Charleston.—Soldiers and Negroes.—Floating Battery.—Ardent Gentlemen as Privates.—Statesmen in the Ranks.—Rumored Evacuation of Fort Sumter.—Courteous relations between Major Anderson and Citizens of Charleston.—Messengers from the Federal Government.—Vigilance of the Batteries.—An Eastern Schooner driven out of the Harbor.—Perplexities of Lincoln and his Cabinet.—A Decision at last.—A Demonstration to be made in favor of Major Anderson.—Preparations.—A Special Messenger sent to the Authorities of Charleston.—The purport of his Message.—The effect upon the Southern Confederacy.—Excitement at Charleston.—Appeal to Arms.—Departure of the Confederate Commissioners from Washington.—Their parting Defiance.—Correspondence between Beauregard and the Secretary of War of the Confederates.—Correspondence between Beauregard and Anderson.

THE "Confederate States" having organized a government, proceeded
1861. to prepare to sustain it by the formation of a military establishment. This was composed of one corps of engineers, one corps of artillery, six regiments of infantry, one regiment of cavalry, and of a staff department, making in all ten thousand seven hundred and forty-five officers and men. Those who had abandoned the United States for the Confederate service gave the new army a large supply of highly educated and experienced officers. This number was daily increasing.

The government of Buchanan had at first sanctioned the disloyalty of many of our officers by accepting their resig-

nations, though their purpose in giving up their commissions could not be doubted. Inspired, however, by the patriotic counsels of his new secretary of war, Holt, Buchanan had become less considerate toward treason. When, therefore, General Twiggs, a veteran officer of the army of the United States, surrendered the posts which he commanded to the commissioners of Texas, the President, with unusual impatience and severity, did not wait for a resignation, but expelled the disloyal officer from the army.

Feb. 18.

By this action of General Twiggs, the State authorities of Texas, which was on the eve of its secession from the United States, became possessed of an immense supply of arms and military stores of all kinds, to be added, as none could doubt, to the resources of the Confederate States. In San Antonio, the arsenal contained forty-four cannon and howitzers of different calibres, one thousand nine hundred muskets, rifles, and Sharp's carbines, four hundred Colt's pistols, two magazines full of ammunition, containing one million five hundred thousand ball-cartridges, and five thousand five hundred pounds of powder.

At Forts Brown, Duncan, and Clark there were large numbers of cannon and magazines filled with ammunition. At the various posts there were several thousand mules and horses, many hundred wagons, abundant clothing and stores, and a great variety of valuable implements. The whole of the Federal property thus traitorously disposed of amounted in value to nearly a million and a half of dollars.

General Daniel E. Twiggs was one of the oldest officers in the United States army, which he had entered in 1812, at the age of twenty-two years. He had served under our flag with a fair reputation. He was a captain during the war with Great Britain; served as a major under Generals Gaines and Jackson in the Florida campaign; took part in the Black Hawk war; was in command of the arsenal at Augusta during the nullification excitement, and in the Mexican war received the rank of brevet brigadier-general for his services at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma; commanded a division at Monterey, and shared with General Scott in the triumphs of our army from Vera Cruz to the capital of Mexico. He was in command of the department of Texas, with his headquarters at San Antonio, when he brought to so dishonorable a close his long career of reputable military service. He ranked next to Lieutenant-General Scott, and would have been entitled, if he had remained loyal to his country, to have succeeded him in the chief command of our army. A Georgian by birth, and a large owner of land and slaves, his adherence to his own State was not unexpected, but few thought that one of the most honored officers of the Federal army would have been guilty of adding treachery to treason.

Encouraged by the addition of Texas to the confederacy, and an unconcealed sympathy on the part of some of the

other slave States, which gave promise of further acquisitions, the new government at Montgomery, Alabama, assumed a more independent tone and defiant attitude. Commissioners Messrs. John Forsyth and Martin J. Crawford were appointed to negotiate with the United States. On their arrival at Washington they presented themselves as the representatives of an independent power.

March 12. "Seven States," they said, "of the late Federal Union having, in the exercise of the inherent right of every free people to change or reform their political institutions, and through conventions of their people, withdrawn from the United States and reassumed the attributes of sovereign power delegated to it, have formed a government of their own. The Confederate States constitute an independent nation *de facto* and *de jure*, and possess a government perfect in all its parts and endowed with all the means of self-support." With this assumption of independence, the commissioners proceeded to declare their purpose. "With a view to a speedy adjustment of all questions growing out of this political separation upon such terms of amity and good-will as the respective interests, geographical contiguity, and future welfare of the two nations may render necessary," they said that they were instructed to "make to the Government of the United States overtures for the opening of negotiations, assuring the Government of the United States that the President, Congress, and people of the Confederate States earnestly desire a peaceful solution of those great questions; that it is neither their interest nor their wish to make any demand which is not founded in strictest justice, nor to do any act to injure their late confederates."

The secretary of state, Mr. Seward, had already declined the request of the commissioners for an unofficial interview with him, and now refused their demand for an official presentation to the President. It is curious, however, at this period, to note with what studied courtesy a high state officer is constrained to address, and with what diplomatic consideration to argue the question of rebellion with its confessed representatives. "The secretary of state," wrote Mr. Seward, "frankly confesses that he understands the events which have recently occurred, and the condition of political affairs which actually exists in the part of the Union to which his attention has thus been directed, very differently from the aspect in which they are presented by Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford. He sees in them, not a rightful and accomplished revolution and an independent nation, with an established government, but rather a perversion of a temporary and partisan excitement to the inconsiderate purposes of an unjustifiable and unconstitutional aggression upon the rights and the authority vested in the Federal Government, and hitherto benignly exercised, as from their very nature they always so must be exercised, for the maintenance of the Union, the preservation of liberty, and the society, peace, welfare, happiness, and aggrandizement of the

American people. The secretary of state, therefore, avows to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford that he looks patiently but confidently for the cure of evils which have resulted from proceedings so unnecessary, so unwise, so unusual, and so unnatural, not to irregular negotiations, having in view new and untried relations with agencies unknown to and acting in derogation of the Constitution and laws, but to regular and considerate action of the people in those States, in co-operation with their brethren in the other States, through the Congress of the United States, and such extraordinary conventions, if there shall be need thereof, as the Federal Constitution contemplates and authorizes to be assembled.

"It is, however, the purpose of the secretary of state, on this occasion, not to invite, or engage in, any discussion of these subjects, but simply to set forth his reasons for declining to comply with the request of Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford.

"On the 4th of March inst., the newly elected President of the United States, in view of all the facts bearing on the present question, assumed the executive administration of the Government, first delivering, in accordance with an early, honored custom, an inaugural address to the people of the United States. The secretary of state respectfully submits a copy of this address to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford.

"A simple reference to it will be sufficient to satisfy those gentlemen that the secretary of state, guided by the principles therein announced, is prevented altogether from admitting or assuming that the States referred to by them have, in law or in fact, withdrawn from the Federal Union, or that they could do so in the manner described by Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, or in any other manner than with the consent and concert of the people of the United States, to be given through a national convention, to be assembled in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. Of course the secretary of state cannot act upon the assumption, or in any way admit that the so-called Confederate States constitute a foreign power, with whom diplomatic relations ought to be established."

The commissioners, in spite of this rebuff, or encouraged probably by the courteous style in which it was conveyed, still lingered at the capital awaiting the issue of events.

The Confederate States continued to pursue with vigor their career of independent government. Having set up a constitution and an administration of their own, they now adopted a flag. In this respect they acted with less than their usual discretion. Presuming, as they still did undoubtedly, however justly or unjustly, upon a strong sympathy in the border and middle States with their movement, it was not politic in them to disregard the revered symbol of the united glory of the country. They thought, doubtless, that it was merely a matter of a bit of bunting with more or less colored stripes and

stars, but they forgot how such trifles are endeared to the heart of a nation when they have once become associated with its history.

The committee to whom was referred the subject of the Confederate flag, seemed not altogether unconscious of the influence of the stars and stripes upon the national sentiment, and in their report thus ingeniously strove to weaken it: "Whatever attachment may be felt, from association, for the 'stars and stripes' (an attachment which, your committee may be permitted to say, they do not all share), it is manifest that in inaugurating a new government, we cannot," said the committee, "retain the flag of the government from which we have withdrawn, with any propriety, or without encountering very obvious practical difficulties. There is no propriety in retaining the ensign of a government which, in the opinion of the States composing this confederacy, had become so oppressive and injurious to their interests as to require their separation from it. It is idle to talk of 'keeping' the flag of the United States when we have voluntarily seceded from them. It is superfluous to dwell upon the practical difficulties which would flow from the fact of two distinct and probably hostile governments, both employing the same or very similar flags. It would be a political and military solecism. It would produce endless confusion and mistakes. It would lead to perpetual disputes. As to 'the glories of the old flag,' we must bear in mind that the battles of the Revolution, about which our fondest and proudest memories cluster, were not fought beneath its folds; and although in more recent times—in the war of 1812 and in the war with Mexico—the South did win her fair share of glory, and shed her full measure of blood under its guidance and in its defence, we think the impartial page of history will preserve and commemorate the fact more imperishably than a mere piece of striped bunting. When the colonies achieved their independence of the 'mother country' (which up to the last they fondly called her), they did not desire to retain the British flag or anything at all similar to it. Yet under that flag they had been planted, and nurtured, and fostered. Under that flag they had fought in their infancy for their very existence against more than one determined foe. Under it they had repelled and driven back the relentless savage, and carried it farther and farther into the decreasing wilderness as the standard of civilization and religion. Under it the youthful Washington won his spurs, in the memorable and unfortunate expedition of Braddock, and Americans helped to plant it on the Heights of Abraham, where the immortal Wolfe fell, covered with glory, in the arms of victory. But our forefathers, when they separated themselves from Great Britain—a separation not on account of their hatred of the English constitution or of English institutions, but in consequence of the tyrannical and unconstitutional rule of Lord North's administration, and because

their destiny beckoned them on to independent expansion and achievement—cast no lingering, regretful looks behind. They were proud of their race and lineage, proud of their heritage in the glories, and genius, and language of Old England, but they were influenced by the spirit of the motto of the great Hampden, '*Vestigia nulla retrorsum.*' They were determined to build up a new power among the nations of the world. They therefore did not attempt 'to keep the old flag.' We think it good to imitate them in this comparatively little matter, as well as to emulate them in greater and more important ones."

The committee (of which it may not be impertinent to say that a South Carolinian was chairman, who, from the traditional disloyalty of his native State, was less likely to sympathize with the reverence of the nation for the symbol of its union) therefore recommended a new flag for the Confederate States, which was adopted, "consisting of a red field with a white space extending horizontally through the centre and equal in width to one third the width of the flag, the red spaces above and below being of the same width as the white; the union blue extends down through the white space, but terminates at the lower red one. In the blue are stars corresponding in number to the States of the confederacy. The three colors, red, white, and blue, are the true republican colors. In heraldry they are emblematic of the three great virtues, of valor, purity, and truth," reported the committee, while they added, "the colors constrast admirably, and are lasting."

The Confederate Government began to prepare actively for war. The governors of the several States having been ordered by President Davis, issued proclamations, calling upon the militia to muster. General Beauregard, formerly a major in the United States engineer corps, was dispatched to take command of the works and forces at Charleston. **March 5.** In the mean time the South Carolinians had made great progress in strengthening and manning their defences. The people of Charleston were becoming each day more excited as they contemplated the flag of the Union persistingly raised in their harbor. "The fate of the Southern Confederacy hangs," they said, "by the ensign halliards of Fort Sumter." The Governor of South Carolina made repeated calls for troops, until seven thousand men had been gathered, and immense gangs of negro slaves brought from the plantations in the interior and set to work upon the fortifications. The floating batteries, which had been in course of construction for months, were now finished, mounted, manned, and anchored in the harbor. Ardent gentlemen of South Carolina volunteered as privates, among whom there was a large number of the members of the convention, which had lately adjourned. Senators and members of Congress from Carolina and other seceded States had offered their services, and while some, like Senator Wigfall, of Texas, received appointments on General

Beauregard's staff, others were constrained to take their places in the ranks.

In the mean time, however, there were still rumors that a conflict would be avoided by the evacuation of Fort Sumter by Major Anderson, with whom there continued to be preserved a courteous relation by the citizens of Charleston, who not unfrequently had him to dinner, or supplied him with delicacies from their tables and madeira from their cellars. Messengers traveling by land passed between the Federal Government and the fort, with the concurrence of the authorities of South Carolina. The batteries in the harbor, however, abated not a jot of their vigilance, and were determined not to let a vessel enter under the flag of the United States. A trading schooner of Boston, laden with ice, having drifted in a dense fog over the Charleston bar, close to the fort on Morris Island, was fired at. The captain hoisted the stars and stripes, but this only increased the intensity of the attack; and he was glad finally to make his escape to sea, after having received several thirty-two-pounder shots in his rigging.

At Washington, the President and cabinet were supposed to be a long time perplexed how to act in regard to Fort Sumter, but finally came to a decision. It was determined to make a demonstration at least of sustaining Major Anderson. A fleet was hurriedly fitted out for the purpose, and prepared to sail, the destination of which it was not doubted was Charleston, although not publicly announced. At the same time a special messenger was sent by the United States Government to the authorities at Charleston, bearing the message that a peaceable effort would be made to supply the garrison of Fort Sumter with provisions, and that if this were not permitted, force would be tried.

The Southern Confederacy accepted this as a menace of hostility. The people of Charleston were roused to a high degree of excitement. "We have patiently submitted," they said, "to the insolent military domination of a handful of men in our bay for over three months after the declaration of our independence of the United States. The object of that self-humiliation has been to avoid the effusion of blood while such preparation was making as to render it causeless and useless.

"It seems we have been unable, by discretion, forbearance, and preparation, to effect the desired object, and that now the issue of battle is to be forced upon us. The gage is thrown down, and we accept the challenge. We will meet the invader, and the God of battles must decide the issue between the hostile hirelings of Abolition hate and Northern tyranny, and the people of South Carolina defending their freedom and their homes. We hope such a blow will be struck in behalf of the South, that Sumter and Charleston harbor will be remembered at the North as long as they exist as a people."*

The commissioners of the Confederate States now left Washing- **April 9.**

* Charleston *Mercury*.

ton, after sending a defiant missive to the secretary of state: "It is proper, however, to advise you," they said in their dispatch to Mr. Seward, "that it were well to dismiss the hopes you seem to entertain, that, by any of the modes indicated, the people of the Confederate States will ever be brought to submit to the authority of the Government of the United States. You are dealing with delusions, too, when you seek to separate our people from our Government, and to characterize the deliberate, sovereign act of the people as a 'perversion of a temporary and partisan excitement.' If you cherish these dreams, you will be awakened from them, and find them as unreal and unsubstantial as others in which you have recently indulged. The undersigned would omit the performance of an obvious duty were they to fail to make known to the Government of the United States, that the people of the Confederate States have declared their independence with a full knowledge of all the responsibilities of that act, and with as firm a determination to maintain it by all the means with which nature has endowed them, as that which sustained their fathers when they threw off the authority of the British crown."

As soon as it was suspected at Charleston that there was an intention on the part of the Federal authorities to make an effort to sustain Major Anderson and his garrison, all communication between the people and the fort was at once stopped. Upon the arrival of the Federal messenger, Beauregard announced the fact by telegraph to the secretary of war of the Confederate States, Leroy P. Walker.

"An authorized messenger from President Lincoln just informed Governor Pickens and myself," wrote Beauregard, "that provisions will be sent to Fort Sumter peaceably, or otherwise by force." **April 8.**

To this the secretary answered:

"If you have no doubt of the authorized character of the agent who communicated to you the intention of the Washington Government, to supply Fort Sumter by force, you will at once demand its evacuation, and if this is refused, proceed in such a manner as you may determine to reduce it. Answer." **April 10.**

Beauregard briefly responded: "The demand will be made at twelve o'clock." **April 10.**

The secretary, in his impatience, again replied: "Unless there are especial reasons connected with your own condition, it is considered proper that you should make the demand at an early hour."

"The reasons are special for twelve o'clock," was the positive response of the General. **April 10.**

Accordingly Beauregard made his demand on the 11th of April, which led to the following correspondence:

"Headquarters, Provisional Army, C.S.A.
Charleston, S. C., *April* 11, 1861—2 P.M.

"Sir: The Government of the Confederate States has hitherto forborne from any hostile demonstration against Fort Sumter, in the hope that the Gov-

ernment of the United States, with a view to the amicable adjustment of all questions between the two governments, and to avert the calamities of war, would voluntarily evacuate it. There was reason at one time to believe that such would be the course pursued by the Government of the United States; and under that impression, my Government has refrained from making any demand for the surrender of the fort.

"But the Confederate States can no longer delay assuming actual possession of a fortification commanding the entrance of one of their harbors, and necessary to its defence and security.

"I am ordered by the Government of the Confederate States to demand the evacuation of Fort Sumter. My aids, Colonel Chesnut and Captain Lee, are authoized to make such demand of you. All proper facilities will be afforded for the removal of yourself and command, together with company arms and property, and all private property, to any post in the United States which you may elect. The flag which you have upheld so long and with so much fortitude, under the most trying circumstances, may be saluted by you on taking it down.

"Colonel Chesnut and Captain Lee will, for a reasonable time, await your answer.

"I am, sir, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"G. T. Beauregard,

"Brigadier-General Commanding.

"Major Robert Anderson, commanding at Fort Sumter, Charleston Harbor, S. C."

"Headquarters, Fort Sumter, S. C., April 11, 1861.

"General: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication demanding the evacuation of this fort; and to say in reply thereto, that it is a demand with which I regret that my sense of honor and of my obligations to my Government prevent my compliance.

"Thanking you for the fair, manly, and courteous terms proposed, and for the high compliment paid me,

"I am, General, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"Robert Anderson,

"Major U. S. Army, Commanding.

"To Brigadier-General G. T. Beauregard, commanding Provisional Army, C. S. A."

"Montgomery, *April* 11.

"Gen. Beauregard, Charleston:

"We do not desire needlessly to bombard Fort Sumter, if Major Anderson will state the time at which, as indicated by him, he will evacuate, and agree that, in the mean time, he will not use his guns against us, unless ours should be employed against Fort Sumter. You are thus to avoid the effusion of blood. If this or its equivalent be refused, reduce the fort as your judgment decides to be most practicable.

"L. P. Walker, Sec. of War."

"Headquarters, Provisional Army, C.S.A. Charleston, *April* 11, 1861—11 p.m.

"Major: In consequence of the verbal observations made by you to my aids, Messrs. Chesnut and Lee, in relation to the conditon of your supplies, and that you would in a few days be starved out

if our guns did not batter you to pieces—or words to that effect—and desiring no useless effusion of blood, I communicated both the verbal observation and your written answer to my communication to my Government.

"If you will state the time at which you will evacuate Fort Sumter, and agree that in the mean time you will not use your guns against us, unless ours shall be employed against Fort Sumter, we will abstain from opening fire upon you. Colonel Chesnut and Captain Lee are authorized by me to enter into such an agreement with you. You are therefore requested to communicate to them an open answer.

"I remain, Major, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"G. T. BEAUREGARD,

"Brigadier-General Commanding.

"Major ROBERT ANDERSON, commanding at Fort Sumter, Charleston Harbor, S. C."

"HEADQUARTERS, FORT SUMTER, S. C., 2.30 A.M., *April* 12, 1861.

"GENERAL: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your second communication of the 11th inst., by Colonel Chesnut, and to state, in reply, that cordially uniting with you in the desire to avoid the useless effusion of blood, I will, if provided with the proper and necessary means of transportation, evacuate Fort Sumter by noon on the 15th instant, should I not receive, prior to that time, controlling instructions from my Government, or additional supplies; and that I will not, in the mean time, open my fire upon your forces, unless compelled to do so by some hostile act against this fort or the flag of my Government, by the forces under your command, or by some portion of them, or by the perpetration of some act showing a hostile intention on your part against this fort, or the flag it bears.

"I have the honor to be, General,

"Your obedient servant,

"ROBERT ANDERSON,

"Major U. S. A. Commanding.

"To Brigadier-General G. T. BEAUREGARD, commanding Provisional Army, C. S. A."

"FORT SUMTER, S. C., *April* 12, 1861, 3.20 A.M.

"SIR: By authority of Brigadier-General Beauregard, commanding the Provisional forces of the Confederate States, we have the honor to notify you that he will open the fire of his batteries on Fort Sumter in one hour from this time.

"We have the honor to be, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servants,

"JAMES CHESNUT, Jr.,

"Aid-de-Camp.

"STEPHEN D. LEE,

"Captain S. C. Army and Aid-de-Camp.

"Major ROBERT ANDERSON, United States Army, commanding Fort Sumter."

CHAPTER XII.

Excitement in the North in regard to Fort Sumter.—Precarious position of Major Anderson and his Garrison.—Opinion of General Scott.—No effort to sustain Fort Sumter reported.—Effect of the Intelligence.—Government at last resolved to make an Attempt.—Change of Feeling at the North.—Preparations of the Federal Government.—A Fleet got Ready.—Its Composition and Force.—The proposed destination uncertain.—Arrival at the Rendezvous at Charleston.—Non-arrival of the Tug-boats.—Defeat of purpose.—Schemes concocted.—Failure.—Fort Sumter.—The Artificial Island.—Construction and Cost.—The Fortress.—Its Character.—Strength and number of Guns.—Its incompleteness.—Its Position and Distances.—Its meagre Garrison.—Activity of the Enemy.—Skilful Engineering of Beauregard.—Description of Fort Moultrie.—Its Strength and Armament.—The Iron Battery at Point Cummings.—The Floating Battery.—Its Construction and Efficiency.—The Batteries at Fort Johnson.—Their Strength and Construction.—The Force of the Enemy.—Defences of Charleston.—Skill of Beauregard.—Life of Beauregard.—Birth.—A Cadet at West Point.—Curious change of Name.—His Father.—Ducal descent of his Mother.—Graduation of Beauregard.—His Services in the War with Mexico.—Differs in opinion with his superior.—Beauregard's Judgment Triumphant.—Rewards of Gallantry.—Another illustration of superior Judgment and another Triumph.—Return to Louisiana.—Honor to the young Hero.—Government appointments.—Personal appearance and character.—Becomes a Secessionist.—Correspondence between Beauregard and Anderson.—Opening of the Fire upon Fort Sumter.—Extent of Fire surprising.—Tardy Response of Major Anderson.—Division of his Garrison.—Who fired the first Gun?—Enthusiasm of the Men.—Effect of the Fire.—The Enemy's Vigor.—The Parapet of Fort Sumter dreadfully damaged.—Danger to Life.—Havoc among the *Guns en barbette*.—The effect of the Enemy's Rifled Cannon.—On guard.—"Shot or Shell."—The laborers at the Guns.—A Hit in the Centre.—The Barracks on Fire.—Danger of the Magazine.—Continued Conflagration.—The descent of the Flag.—Only a Salute.—A genuine Shot.—The Flag still flying.—"Knocked down temporarily."—Cessation of the Fire of Fort Sumter during the Night.—The Enemy still firing.—Attempt to rig new Halyards for the Flag.—Expecting Aid or an Assault.—Saturday Morning.—The Conflagration of the Barracks continuing.—Its Effect.—Terrific Scene.—Danger of an Explosion.—Powder thrown overboard.—Scarcity of Cartridges.—An Explosion.—The Crash.—Breaking of the Flagstaff.—Flag nailed to its Place.—Arrival of a Stranger through an Embrasure.—The agitated Wigfall.—His purpose.—Displays his white Handkerchief.—An uncomfortable Post.—An Interview with the Major.—"I am General Wigfall."—Departure of Wigfall.—An unauthorized Messenger.—Commissioners from Beauregard.—Interview with Major Anderson.—Hoisting of the White Flag.—Terms of Surrender agreed upon.—Departure of Major Anderson and his Garrison.—Firing of Salute to the United States Flag.—Accident.—Major Anderson sails for New York.

THE public mind at the North had been greatly excited in regard to Fort Sumter. The position of Major Anderson with his meagre garrison was known to be very precarious, besieged as he was by the powerful works in Charleston harbor, with an infuriated mob of seven thousand men to defend them, and cut off from all communication by land or sea. The highest military authority of the Union, Lieutenant-General Scott, was reported to have given it as his opinion that it was impracticable, without such a military and naval force as the Government at that time could not command, to reinforce Fort Sumter. Anderson's masterly movement, in quitting Fort Moultrie, and his resolute and protracted support of the flag of the United States, while surrounded by those who with intense hostility were resolutely bent upon dishonoring it, had won for him the sympathy of the whole country. When, therefore, it was authoritatively declared again and again that no effort could or would be made to sustain him, an anguish of despair wrung every

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patriotic heart. A sudden change, however, came with the rumor that the Government had at last determined at all hazards to make the attempt, and the desponding nation was once more cheered with hope.

The Federal authorities were evidently preparing for some momentous movement. Orders had been issued to have the vessels of war at the various navy yards immediately detailed for service. A number of large merchant steamers and sailing vessels had been chartered. The garrisons of the various forts in the Northern harbors had been got ready to embark. The recruiting in the large cities for sailors and soldiers had been stimulated to an unusual degree. Finally, a fleet was got ready and sailed, and although the Government strove to keep its destination a secret, all suspected, as they hoped, that it was Charleston. The vessels sailed from the various ports where they happened to be, to meet at a certain rendezvous determined upon. The steam sloop of war Pawnee, Captain S. C. Rowan, of ten guns, and with two hundred men, sailed from Washington with sealed orders on the morning of Saturday,
April April 6th. On the afternoon of
6th. the same day, the steam sloop of war Powhatan, of eleven guns, and with two hundred and seventy-five men, left the Brooklyn navy yard.

On the following Monday, the revenue
April cutter Harriet Lane, after having
8. exchanged her revenue flag for that of the United States, sailed from the harbor of New York with an armament of five guns and a crew of ninety-six men.

Three of the largest and swiftest of the merchant steamers hitherto engaged in peaceful commerce had been chartered, and now laden with armed men and munitions of war joined the expedition. The Atlantic, with three hundred and fifty-eight troops, com- April
posed of Companies A and M of 7.
the Second Artillery, Companies C and H of the Second Infantry, and Company A of Sappers and Miners, from West Point, steamed out of the harbor of New York on the morning of Sunday, April 7th. Two days after, the Baltic followed, with a hundred and sixty April
troops, Companies C and D, which 9.
had been lately recruited and stationed at Governor's Island, in New York bay. On the same day the Illinois put to sea with three hundred troops, made April
up of Companies B, E, F, G, and H, 9.
of a detachment of Company D, and two companies of the Second Infantry gathered from the recruits at Governor's Island, Bedloe's Island, and Fort Hamilton.

Two steam-tugs—the Yankee, which sailed on Monday, the 8th of April, April
and the Uncle Ben, which followed 8.
on the day after—completed this hurriedly gathered but not unimposing naval force.

Thirty launches were also distributed among the larger steamers, to be used for the purpose of landing the troops through the surf under the cover of the fire of the armed vessels, or, being protected with sand-bags, and armed with

swivel guns and riflemen, to aid in the attack of batteries.*

Of this force, though the whole was supposed by the people to be destined for Charleston, only the Powhatan, the Pawnee, the Harriet Lane, the Baltic, and the steam-tugs sailed for that port. The rest took their course for the Gulf of Mexico, to reinforce the garrisons of the Federal forts on the coasts of Alabama and Florida.

April 12. The Pawnee, the Harriet Lane, and the Baltic reached the rendezvous off Charleston on the 12th of April, but the Yankee and Uncle Ben had failed to arrive, having been detained by unfavorable weather. The orders of the fleet were, that unarmed boats should first be sent in with stores; but if they were fired upon, an effort was to be made to relieve the fort by force. Without the tug-boats, the proposed object of the expedition could not be effectually accomplished, as the only unarmed steamer, the Baltic, was of too great a draught of water to pass the bar of Charleston, and the steam-tugs were alone capable of approaching the fort through the shallow water. The naval commanders, however, after a council, determined to make an effort for the relief of Major Anderson, who was already under shot, for as soon as the first rockets had been sent up to signalize the concentration of the fleet, the enemy had opened fire. The plan agreed upon was to hoist out the small boats and launches, load them with men and stores, and to tow them as far as possible, and then, while covering them with the guns of the steamers, to send them in alone. This, however, failed in consequence of the Baltic having got aground during the night, while preparations were being made to disembark her stores and troops. Other schemes were devised, but before they could be put into execution, the time for action had past. Fort Sumter had fallen.

Fort Sumter had been considered one of the strongest works in the United States. The island upon which it is built was artificially constructed by placing upon the original sand and mud a large quantity of refuse granite, brought from Northern quarries, and pressing it deeply down until an unyielding foundation was laid. This alone cost the labor of ten years and an expense of five hundred thousand dollars, to which another half million was added before the completion of the whole fort. The walls of the fortification, composed of brick and compact concrete, are sixty feet in height and from eight to twelve feet in thickness. The fort is pentagonal, and is pierced for three tiers of guns, on all sides but the southern, where are the sally-ports and docks, which had been left unpro-

* The whole force may be thus recapitulated:

Vessels.	*Guns.*	*Men.*
Sloop of war Pawnee	10	200
Sloop of war Powhatan	11	275
Cutter Harriet Lane	5	96
Steam transport Atlantic	—	353
Steam transport Baltic	—	160
Steam transport Illinois	—	300
Steam-tug Yankee	Ordinary crew.	
Steam-tug Uncle Ben	Ordinary crew.	
Total number of vessels		8
Total number of guns (for marine service)		26
Total number of men and troops		1,384

tected, as it looks toward the land, and the work had been mainly intended as a defence against attack from the sea.

Although it was originally designed to have armed the fort with one hundred and forty cannon of various calibres, there were but seventy-five in position when the enemy opened fire. Of these, eleven were Paixhans, and a number, thirty-two pounders, four of which were *en barbette*, and uncovered, and being on pivots could be made to take a wide range. Fort Moultrie was within command of nine of the Paixhans, and the two others pointed toward Castle Pinckney, too far distant, however, to be within range. Most of the large columbiads in the fort were not yet mounted. The magazines were well supplied with ammunition, sufficient it was thought for a year, and artificial wells had been constructed capable of holding a supply of water for the same period.

The distance from Fort Sumter to Charleston is three miles and three eighths of a mile. Together with Fort Moultrie, which had been abandoned by Anderson, Sumter was surrounded by Cumming's Point and Fort Johnson, where strong works had been constructed and mounted, and a floating battery. From Fort Moultrie, Fort Sumter is distant one and one-eighth of a mile; from Cumming's Point three-fourths of a mile; from Fort Johnson one and one fourth of a mile; while the floating battery had been anchored about half a mile from the weak side of Sumter. The greatest range of the guns of Fort Sumter was estimated at three miles, which placed the city of Charleston beyond reach of its fire.

Six hundred men would have been required fully to garrison the fort and work the guns; but Major Anderson could only muster one hundred and nine,* of whom thirty were laborers, and fifteen composed the band.

The enemy had diligently improved every moment in strengthening the Federal forts they had taken possession of, and in adding new works, under the skilful direction of General Beauregard, once esteemed as among the ablest officers of engineers in the United States service.

Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's Island, had been repaired, its dismantled guns unspiked and mounted again, and the lateral spaces between the cannon protected by sand-bags, to secure them against a flank fire. Though a weak work, in comparison with Fort Sumter, its walls, built of brick, capped with stone and filled in with earth, presented a solid enclosure of nearly sixteen feet in thickness. Its original armament

* The garrison was thus composed:

Officers.	Rank.	Regiment or Corps.	Original Entry into Service.	Born in
R. Anderson	Major	1st Artillery	July 1, 1825	Ky.
S. W. Crawford	Ass't Surgeon	Medical Staff	March 10, 1851	Penn.
A. Doubleday	Captain	1st Artillery	July 1, 1842	N. Y.
T. Seymour	Captain	1st Artillery	July 1, 1846	Vt.
T. Talbot	1st Lieut.	1st Artillery	May 22, 1847	D. C.
Jeff. C. Davis	1st Lieut.	1st Artillery	June 17, 1848	Ind.
J. N. Hall	2d Lieut.	1st Artillery	July 1, 1849	N. Y.
J. G. Foster	Captain	Engineers	July 1, 1846	N. H.
G. W. Snyder	1st Lieut.	Engineers	July 1, 1856	N. Y.
R. K. Meade	2d Lieut.	Engineers	July 1, 1857	Va.

Officers	9
Band	15
Artillerists	55
Laborers	30
Total	109

was composed of eleven guns of heavy calibre and several powerful mortars.

On Cumming's Point the enemy had erected a battery made of thick logs of yellow pine. This was covered with a slanting roof of the same material, which had been rendered ball-proof by railroad iron dovetailed and riveted together. The port-holes were supplied with iron shutters, which opened as the guns were thrust out to fire, and fell as they recoiled after a shot, and thus shut in the artillerists within an iron-bound and impenetrable cover. This novel battery was mounted with three columbiads, which bore directly on the southern and weakest side of Fort Sumter.

The most curious, and not the least effective, perhaps, of the enemy's works, was the floating battery, which in the course of its construction had given rise to much speculation and not a little ridicule. This, too, was constructed of heavy pine logs and faced with a double layer of railroad iron. It was about a hundred feet in length and twenty-five in width. Its face presented an angle horizontally disposed, formed by its retreating roof and the front wall inclining backward as it descended to the water. It was mounted with four guns of the heaviest calibre, which were said to require sixty men to work them. A magazine for ammunition was built in the hold, below the water-line, and lined with sand-bags, laid seven feet thick, not only to protect it from shot, but to act as ballast necessary to counterpoise the heavy armament above. To the stern of this strange structure was attached a floating hospital, to provide for the ordinary emergencies of war.

At Fort Johnson—so called from its being the site of an old work no longer existing—on James' Island, two long batteries were erected of sand, and mounted with heavy cannon and mortars. Other temporary structures were raised, some of palmetto logs, and others of earth and sand, on Morris and Stono islands, Hadril's Point, and other parts of the harbor, which bore on its approaches, or upon Fort Sumter.

A large force, said to have amounted to over seven thousand men, had been mustered to the defence of Charleston. Four thousand of these were manning the works in the harbor, while the rest were held in reserve on Sullivan and Morris islands and in Charleston, to be ready to repel any attack by land.

The city itself was immediately defended by the fort at Castle Pinckney, and cannon on the Battery in front of Charleston. These, however, could only be of service in case the above works had failed to keep out any intruder. Castle Pinckney is situated at the southern extremity of Shute's Folly Island. Its armament consists of some thirty-two pounders, columbiads, and mortars, amounting in all to about twenty-five pieces. Its walls are six feet in thickness, and are pierced for one row of guns, while there is another *en barbette*. The work is small, and of little importance in an attack from the sea. All the old defences had been greatly improved, and new ones constructed, by the skilful engineering of General Beauregard, the



officer who had been sent by the government of the Confederate States to take command at Charleston.

Peter Gustavus Toutant Beauregard had already, while in the service of the United States, won a distinguished reputation as an engineer. He was born on his father's plantation, near New Orleans. The family name is said to be Toutant, and that of the estate Beauregard, which, by a curious accident, was originally attached to the patronymic, and assumed by the present bearer, in this wise: The youth, when admitted a cadet at West Point, was presented as Toutant de Beauregard, signifying merely that he was a Toutant of the plantation of Beauregard, and thus entered upon the records of the institution. This, however, was supposed to be his surname, and he was so called. Not averse, probably, to the dignified sounding of the appellation, the youth did not care to correct the error, and subsequently assumed the name of Beauregard as his own.

His father was a wealthy creole, with extensive estates in Louisiana, and a descendant of a reputable French family. His mother's name was Reggio, for whom has been claimed a descent from the Italian ducal house of the Reggios of Italy. In 1834, young Beauregard entered the military academy at West Point, where he graduated in 1838, ranking the second of a class of forty-five cadets. On his graduation, he received the commission of a second lieutenant in the First Regiment of Artillery, but in a week after was transferred to the Corps of Engineers. In June, 1839, he was promoted a first lieutenant, and was serving in this grade when the war with Mexico broke out. He accompanied the army to Vera Cruz, and continued with it during its career of conquest to the capital of Mexico.

At the very first moment he gave indications of that surety of eye, precision of foresight, and carefulness of judgment which are his distinguishing qualities. Before Vera Cruz, he was sent out at the head of a party of sappers and miners to dig and prepare a trench, in accordance with the directions of his colonel. Upon examining the ground, however, he appeared to find serious obstacles to the proposed plan. To assure himself, he climbed a tree, and with the aid of his glass took a careful survey, which resulted in confirming the objections to his colonel's plan. He discovered that the trench, if made as proposed, would be enfiladed by the enemy's guns. It was a difficult position for a young subaltern thus to find himself at variance with the judgment of his superior. He, however, did not hesitate, but returned to his colonel without having turned a sod. The officer, surprised to see him so soon, asked if he had done the work already. Beauregard replied that he had not touched it, and gave his reasons. The colonel was still more startled by the presumption of the youthful subaltern who had ventured to dispute the judgment of his superior, instead of submissively obeying his orders. He accordingly, with the characteristic peremptoriness of the

military commander, reminded him of duties of obedience, and at the same time impatiently declared that "the ground had been thoroughly examined, a perfect reconnoisance had been made, and that a mistake was impossible." Notwithstanding this, he was impressed by the judgment of Beauregard, and took another survey of the ground, when he found reason to concur with the view of his young lieutenant.

For his gallant conduct at Contreras and Cherubusco, Beauregard was brevetted captain, to date from 20th of August, 1847, and again for his services at Chapultepec, he was promoted to the brevet rank of major, to date from the 13th of September of the same year.

At the assault of the Belen gate of the city of Mexico, Beauregard was wounded, and throughout the whole campaign he was not only among the most brave, but ranked among the ablest and most useful of the officers. General Scott, in his dispatch from the capital of Mexico, into which he had just entered as conqueror, spoke of Beauregard as one of "our distinguished engineers," by the aid of whose efficient and daring reconnoissances, he was enabled to follow up the victory of El Molino del Rey with the triumphal capture of the city of Mexico. Again, in his official report, Scott alluded to Beauregard as one of the five lieutenants of engineers "who were the admiration of all" during the storming of the fortress of Chapultepec, the struggle at the gates, and the entrance into the capital.

Another illustration of the correctness of his judgment is given in the following incident, said to have occurred before the city of Mexico:

A night or two before the attack, a council of war was held. There were assembled all the officers, from the Lieutenant-General, including Major-General Worth and others, down to Beauregard, the youngest in the room. The council sat many hours. All the officers, but one, had spoken, and unanimously maintained a plan of operations at variance with that of Scott. The officer who had not tendered his opinion was Beauregard. At last General Pierce crossed over and said: "You have not expressed an opinion." "I have not been called on," said Beauregard. Pierce, soon resuming his seat, announced that Lieutenant Beauregard had not given his views. Being then called upon, he remarked, that if the plan which had received the consent of all but the commanding general was carried into effect, it would prove disastrous. It would be another Cherubusco affair. He then detailed the objections to it at length; and taking up the other, urged the reasons in its favor with equal earnestness. The council reversed their decision.' The city of Mexico was entered according to the plan urged by the young lieutenant, and it would seem that his reasons influenced the decision. A few days afterward, General Scott, in the presence of a number of general officers, alluded to Lieutenant Beauregard's opinion at the council, and the consequences which had followed from it.

On his return to Louisiana, the young

hero was presented with a costly sword. The Government of the United States appointed him the chief engineer to superintend the construction of the Mint and Custom-house at New Orleans, and of the fortifications at the mouth of the Mississippi.

Beauregard at this time was forty-three years of age, and with his healthful manhood, his vigorous and concentrated frame, his promptitude of movement and power of endurance, had all the bodily qualifications for a hardy campaigner. His abilities and thorough culture as an engineer are unquestioned, and his admirers claim for him great capacity as a strategist and leader of armies.

Born in Louisiana, and bound to it by the strong ties of family and property, he had not unnaturally joined his destiny to the fate of his native State. He is, moreover, supposed to have been early involved in the Southern conspiracy, through the influence of his brother-in-law, John Slidell, the former senator of the United States from Louisiana, and one of the main instigators of the late rebellion.

"By authority of Brigadier-General Beauregard, commanding the provisional
April forces of the Confederate States,
12. we have the honor to notify you that he will open the fire of his batteries on Fort Sumter in one hour from this time." This was the communication addressed by the aids-de-camp of Beauregard to Major Anderson at twenty minutes past three o'clock on the morning of Friday, the 12th of April. At twenty minutes past four o'clock, accordingly, the batteries surrounding Fort Sumter opened fire. Major Anderson waited until full daylight, as he did not care to waste any of his ammunition before replying. He, however, immediately ordered the sentinels away from the parapets, the posterns closed, the flag drawn up, and forbid his men to leave the bomb-proofs until summoned by the drum.

The extent of the enemy's fire greatly surprised the garrison, which, however, was now explained by the revelation, for the first time, of a battery of which there had been hitherto no suspicion. This was a battery on Sullivan's Island, masked by a cover of brush-wood and other materials. Skilfully constructed, heavily mounted, and artfully protected, its fire was very effective. It showed seventeen mortars, throwing ten-inch shells, and thirty-three heavy cannons, most of which were columbiads. The shots from these powerful guns struck against the walls of Fort Sumter with a "terrific crash," as the defenders declared, and several of the shells burst inside the fort.

Major Anderson, however, did not respond, and as late as half-past six o'clock had not fired a shot, the men at that hour being at breakfast, which they ate "leisurely and calmly." Immediately after, however, everything was got ready for work. The garrison was so few in number and so worn out by the harassing labors of a long siege, that it was found necessary to husband its strength. The whole was accordingly divided into three reliefs or parties, which were to

work the batteries in turns each during four hours.

The first relief was under the command of Captain Doubleday, of the Artillery, and Lieutenant Snyder, of the Engineer Corps. Upon this party accordingly devolved the duty of opening the fire, and at seven o'clock in the morning the first gun was fired by Doubleday. The fire was directed against the batteries at Cumming's Point, sixteen hundred yards distant; the iron floating battery, anchored about two thousand yards away, and Fort Moultrie and the additional batteries on Sullivan's Island. The cannonade was kept up with great spirit for four hours; and such was the enthusiasm of the garrison, that it was impossible to prevent the reliefs off duty from taking part in the work. The fire told apparently with good effect upon the walls of Fort Moultrie, the embrasures of which were considerably damaged. The battery on Cumming's Point, however, seemed invulnerable, shot and shell glancing harmlessly off from its mail of iron.

The enemy's fire was constant and effective. Their shells burst in rapid succession against all parts of the fort, scattering the loosened brick and stone in every direction, breaking the windows and setting fire to whatever wood-work they touched. The gorge in the rear of the fort was already so pierced with balls that it looked like a sieve.

The enemy poured their heaviest fire on the parapet of the fort, and it became impossible to go there without the certainty of death. Their shot, aimed principally at the guns *en barbette*, soon made great havoc among them, disabling one ten-inch columbiad, one eight-inch columbiad, one forty-two pounder, and two eight-inch howitzers. At the same time, a large portion of the parapet, upon which these guns were placed, was carried away, and Major Anderson was obliged to forbid his men to expose themselves there any longer in manning the *barbette*, or uncovered, cannons. The garrison was thus limited to the use of the two lower tiers of guns, which were protected by casemates.

An English rifle cannon, which had been presented to Charleston by an enthusiastic friend of secession at Liverpool, was fired with great accuracy. Its balls frequently entered the embrasures of Fort Sumter, and on one occasion slightly wounded four men. More mischief would have been done, had not a man been kept constantly on the lookout to cry, whenever the enemy fired, "shot" or "shell," as it happened to be, so that our men could seek safety under cover. Our soldiers never faltered at their work, and even the laborers, though at the beginning reluctant to handle the guns, finally took hold and vied with the others in the dangerous service.

"We had to abandon one gun," wrote one of the officers, "on account of the close fire made upon it. Hearing the fire renewed, I went to the spot. I there found a party of workmen engaged in serving it. I saw one of them stooping over, with his hands on his knees, convulsed with joy, while the tears rolled down his powder-begrimed cheeks.

'What are you doing here with that gun?' I asked. 'Hit it right in the centre,' was the reply; the man meaning that his shot had taken effect in the centre of the floating battery."

The shot of the enemy was particularly destructive to the barracks where the officers had their quarters. Most of the brick work was demolished, and the interior, of wood, was in flames several times. As the day advanced, the fire was continued with more vigor by the enemy than ever, while Major Anderson soon found his ability to respond greatly diminished. His cartridges became exhausted about noon, and he was forced to set his men to work in the magazine, making them of blankets and shirts.

The frequent conflagration of the officers' barracks was now a source of increased annoyance and danger. Three times they had caught, and three times been put out. While extinguishing the flames, the men were obliged to go out upon the parapet, where, though directly exposed to the thickest of the shower of balls, they could not resist the temptation of discharging clandestinely the cannon which had been loaded and pointed on the day before, ready to fire.

The soldiers throughout exhibited great daring. On Friday, when some of our vessels outside having saluted the fort, Major Anderson ordered his flag to be lowered and raised in response, Sergeant Hart, catching a glance at it just as it was descending, and thinking it had been cut away by a shot, rushed out into the open parade in the thickest of the fire, in order to raise it. As it rose, a ball really did come which divided the halyards, but the rope caught by the wind twisted around the staff and held the flag in its place.

A veteran sergeant, of the name of Kearnan, who had served in the Mexican campaigns, was struck on the head by a portion of masonry shivered by a shot, and felled to the ground. On rising, he was asked if he were badly hurt. "No," said he, "I was only knocked down temporarily." The men were now obliged to keep so close to their work, that their meals were served to them while at their guns. The fire of the enemy became more brisk and accurate as the day was closing. Their iron battery at Cumming's Point, with its rifled cannon, was making great havoc, striking the embrasures at every shot. During Friday night some of our men strove to climb the flagstaff and rig new halyards in place of those which had been cut away, but could not succeed. The flag, however, still was flying. At night, Major Anderson ordered the port-holes to be closed, and ceased active operations, but the enemy continued their fire. A shot or shell struck against the walls, within which the little garrison was cooped up, about every fifteen minutes during the whole night. Major Anderson stationed until next morning a non-commissioned officer and four men at each salient embrasure, to be in readiness for any boats that might come, whether from friend or foe, as relief from the fleet outside or an assault from the enemy was not improbable.

On Saturday morning the officers' quarters again caught fire from the bursting of a ten-inch shell discharged by the enemy. It was now found impossible even to make the attempt to put out the conflagration, as red-hot shot were pouring constantly into the fort, and from the general ruin the exposure was so great. The main gates were already destroyed, so that five hundred men could have readily formed in the gorge and marched in without opposition. The walls, too, were so weakened, it was feared that each shot might pierce or prostrate them. The fire of the barracks spread rapidly, and was soon sweeping up all the wood-work of the fortress.

April 13.

Great fears were now entertained for the safety of the magazine. Every man who could be spared was put to work in removing the powder. Ninety-six barrels were rolled out through the flames, at the imminent hazard of life, and most of them flung into the sea. Two hundred were left behind, as it was found impossible to make any further effort, in consequence of the excessive heat, to remove them. The doors of the magazine were now closed and locked, but there was a constant dread of an explosion as the flames gathered about the whole structure.

The direction of the wind was such that it blew the smoke into the fort, and so filled it that the men could no longer see each other, and the air became so hot and stifling that it was almost impossible to breathe. They were finally forced to cover their faces with wet cloths, and often thus to lie prostrate on the ground. Some, however, managed to grope their way to the cannon. A gun was occasionally fired, to give the fleet and the enemy notice that the garrison still held out, but the cannoneers could not see to aim, and the cartridges had became so scarce that there was hardly a cannon wad left. As the sparks flew thick in every direction, it was impossible to attempt to make fresh cartridges. The men at the same time had become prostrate, as much in consequence of their constant working at the guns as for want of proper food. They had eaten their last biscuit thirty-six hours previous.

In the mean time the enemy increased their fire, which, added to the conflagration, the heat and the smoke, the crash and the ruin, produced a scene of indescribable awe and confusion. "The crashing of the shot, the bursting of the shells, the falling of walls, and the roar of the flames made," reported an eye-witness, "a pandemonium of the fort."

Now, to add to the horror of the scene, the shells and ammunition in the upper service-magazines exploded, scattering the tower and upper portions of the structure in every direction. "The crash of the beams, the roar of the flames, the rapid explosion of the shells, and the shower of fragments of the fort, with the blackness of the smoke, made the scene," wrote one who was present, "indescribably terrific and grand."

The conflagration continued to spread, and having reached the men's quarters, soon enveloped them in flames. The

barrels of powder which had been taken out of the magazine and retained for use, were now in danger of explosion. All but four were accordingly thrown through the embrasures into the water, and those which were left were wrapped in many thicknesses of wetted woollen blankets. The garrison was now reduced to its last three cartridges, and those were already in the guns.

The flagstaff, which seemed to have been the constant aim of the enemy, had been struck already eight times, when it received a ninth shot, which broke it at about fifty feet from the truck and brought down the flag. "The flag is down—it has been shot away!" was the cry, when Lieutenant Hall rushed out and brought it in safely. It was found impossible, from the entanglement of the halyards, to hoist it again, and it was accordingly nailed to the broken staff and planted upon the ramparts in the midst of a shower of shot and shell from the enemy's busy batteries. Soon after the flag had fallen, and toward the close of day, a man presented himself at one of the embrasures of the fort in a boat, with a white handkerchief tied to a sword, asking to see Major Anderson. In his impatience, however, to get under cover, he climbed up, and was crawling through the embrasure when he was told that Major Anderson was at the main gate. He, however, did not heed what was said, but continued to make his way into the fort, where, on landing, he said, hurriedly:

"I wish to see Major Anderson; I am General Wigfall, and come from General Beauregard;" while he added, with great agitation, "let us stop this firing. You are on fire, and your flag is down. Let us quit."

Lieutenant Davis replied:

"No, sir—our flag is not down. Step out here and you will see it waving over the ramparts."

"Let us quit this," exclaimed the agitated Wigfall. "Here's a white flag [handing his handkerchief]—will anybody wave it out of the embrasure?"

"That is for you to do, if you choose," was the reply; to which Wigfall rejoined:

"If there's no one else to do it, I will;" and jumping into the embrasure through which he had just crawled, he waved his white handkerchief toward Fort Moultrie. The firing, however, of the enemy still continued, to the evident disappointment of Wigfall, who, after repeated requests on his part, was relieved from his hazardous position by a corporal who took his place and waved the flag. The enemy, however, still gave it no heed, and the corporal, finding the shot falling thick and fast about him, leaped down from the embrasure, exclaiming: "Damn it! they don't respect this flag—they are firing at it."

"They fired at me two or three times, and I stood it," answered Wigfall, "and I should think you might stand it once."

As he spoke, he turned toward the officers and added: "If you will show a white flag from your ramparts, they will cease firing." Lieutenant Davis replied: "If you request that a flag shall be shown there while you hold a

conference with Major Anderson, and for that purpose alone, it may be done."

At this moment Major Anderson came up, and Wigfall said to him: "I am General Wigfall, and come from General Beauregard, who wishes to stop this."

The Major, rising on his toes, and coming down firmly on his heels, exclaimed, "Well, sir!"

"Major Anderson," resumed Wigfall, "you have defended your flag nobly, sir. You have done all that is possible for man to do, and General Beauregard wishes to stop the fight. On what terms, Major Anderson, will you evacuate this fort?"

"General Beauregard is already acquainted with my only terms," replied the Major.

"Do I understand that you will evacuate upon the terms proposed the other day?"

"Yes, sir, and on those conditions only."

"Then, sir," said Wigfall, "I understand that the fort is to be ours?"

"On those conditions only, I repeat," firmly declared Anderson.

"Very well—that's all I have to do. You military men will arrange everything else on your own terms," said the modest Wigfall, and retired.

He now left in his boat, his white handkerchief waving from the rampart where it had been placed at his request, but the United States flag nailed to the broken staff was no longer standing.

Shortly after his departure, Major Lee, the Honorable Porcher Miles, Senator Chesnut, and the Honorable Roger A. Pryor, the staff of General Beauregard, approached the fort with a white flag, and said they came from General Beauregard, who had observed that the flag had been down and raised again a few minutes afterward. The General had sent over, desiring to know if he could render any assistance, as he had observed that the fort was on fire. Major Anderson, in replying, requested them to thank General Beauregard for the offer, but it was too late, as he had just agreed with General Beauregard for an evacuation. The three, comprising the deputy, looked at each other blankly, and asked with whom? Major Anderson, observing that there was something wrong, remarked that General Wigfall, who had just left, had represented himself to be the Aid of General Beauregard, and that he had come over to make the proposition.

After some conversation among themselves, they said to Major Anderson that Wigfall had not seen General Beauregard for two days. Major Anderson replied that General Wigfall's offer and its acceptance had placed him in a peculiar position, and ordered the United States flag to be raised again. They then requested him to place in writing what General Wigfall had said to him, and they would lay it before General Beauregard, and at the same time urged him to leave the flag down in the meanwhile, with which request Anderson complied.

After the note reached General Beauregard, he sent his adjutant-general and other members of his staff, including the Honorable Roger A. Pryor and Gover-

nor Manning, proposing the same conditions which Major Anderson had offered to go out upon, with the exception only of not saluting his flag. Major Anderson said that he had already informed General Beauregard that he was going out. They asked him if he would not accept of the terms without the salute. Major Anderson told them, No; but that it should be an open point.

General Beauregard soon after sent word that Major Anderson's terms had been accepted, and that he would send the Isabel, or any other vessel at his command, to convey him and his men to any port in the United States he should choose.

The terms of evacuation were, that the garrison should take all their individual and company's property with them; that they should march out with their side and other arms, with all the honors in their own way and in their own time, and that they should salute their flag and bear it away with them. It was late on Saturday night when the terms demanded were finally agreed to by General Beauregard. Next morning, on Sunday, the Isabel came down from Charleston and anchored near Fort Sumter, and the little steamer Clinch lay alongside the wharf to transport Major Anderson and his men to the larger vessel.

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When the baggage had been all put on board the Clinch, the soldiers being inside of the fort under arms, a number were detailed to salute the United States flag. At the fiftieth gun, the flag was lowered and the men set up a loud cheer. In firing, however, this last discharge, a premature explosion took place which killed one man instantaneously, seriously wounded another, and injured less seriously two other men. These were the only casualties of moment during the whole conflict.

The troops, now being formed, were marched out, while the band played "Yankee Doodle" and "Hail to the Chief." Remaining on board the Isabel during the night, in consequence of the state of the tide, Major Anderson and his command were transferred next morning to the Baltic, and during the evening of the day after sailed for New York.

CHAPTER XIII.

Cannonade of Fort Sumter.—Its severity.—Damage to the Fortress.—The "Impress of Ruin."—The Interior of the Fort.—Its condition.—The Parade.—Dismantled Guns.—Walls hanging in Fragments.—The shattered Flagstaff.—The Parapet.—Its damaged condition.—The Guns.—Confusion.—The condition of the Guns.—Dismantled.—Flung everywhere.—Cracked.—Broken.—The effect of a Ninety-six Pounder.—The risk to the Magazine.—Grenades, Balls, Shells, Rammers, charred Timber, etc., etc.—The Exterior.—Peppered Walls.—Indentations of the Balls.—A threatened Breach.—Outside the Fort.—Effect of the Fire of Fort Sumter upon the Enemy's Works.—Fort Moultrie.—Its damaged condition.—Battered Archways.—Splintered Rafters.—Dropping Ceilings.—Innumerable Balls.—Barracks and Officers' Quarters.—The Confederate and Palmetto Flags.—How many times struck.—The Exterior.—No Hot Shot from Sumter.—The Battery at Point Cummings uninjured.—Indentations in its Iron Armor.—The interest of the People of Charleston at the approach of the Struggle.—Alert with expectation.—Firing of Signal Guns.—Alarm.—The City of Charleston aroused.—The Call to Arms.—The mustering of the Soldiery.—Deserted Homes.—The Guards trebled.—The Flotilla of Guard Boats.—A veteran Secessionist fires the First Gun.—A thronging Multitude spectators of the scene, Night and Day.—The raising of the Confederate Flag upon Fort Sumter.—"A merry Peal."—A People "wild with joy."—General Beauregard's Order.—Announcement of Victory—Delight in the Seceded States.—The effect of the news in Virginia.—The news in the North.—Conflicting Telegrams.—Effect.—Doubt and Fear.—The Truth at last.—Opinions of the conduct of Anderson.—His Life.—Birth.—Military Education.—Early Services.—Promotion.—Gallantry in the Mexican War.—His conduct at Fort Sumter.—Want of Concert with the United States Fleet explained.—His report of the Fall of Fort Sumter.—Complimentary tribute from the Government.—Anderson's Popularity.—His Personal Appearance and Character.—A pious Scene.—The United States Flag raised. Determination to Reinforce Fort Pickens.—The Forts in Pensacola Harbor seized by the Insurgents of Florida. General Bragg, of the Confederate Army.—Better known as Captain Bragg, of the United States Army. Description of Fort Pickens.—Its Construction and Strength.—Fort McRae.—Description.—Its Construction and Strength.—Fort Barrancas.—Its description.—Construction.—Strength.—Movement of Lieutenant Slemmer.—First successful attempt to Reinforce Fort Pickens.—The second attempt.—Arrival of the Atlantic.—Debarkation of Troops and Supplies.—Arrival of the Powhatan.—Arrival of the Illinois.—Debarkation of Troops and Supplies.—Colonel Brown in command of Fort Pickens.—Force and threatening position of the Enemy.

1861. Although not a man had been killed or seriously wounded on either* side by a hostile gun during the bombardment of Fort Sumter, the cannonade was certainly very heavy and well directed, as was proved by the condition of the works after the engagement.

All parts of Fort Sumter, except the outer walls and casemates, "bore the impress of ruin," declared a Southern writer. The interior structure was described as roofless, bare, blackened, and perforated by shot and shell, while the walls hung in fragments, ready to totter down. The parade was strewn with fragments of shell and of the shattered buildings. Four guns lay dismounted on the ramparts, and every step was impeded by portions of the broken structure. The remnant of the shattered flagstaff showed the marks of four balls. The parapet was torn in many places, and the guns were knocked in scattered confusion everywhere. Some were turned on their sides; some were entirely forced from their places, and many were so bruised and cracked, as to be no longer of use. The largest gun had been dismounted by its own

* Some have persistently declared that the Confederates suffered a great loss, but concealed it. There seems to be little doubt that not one of their men was killed.

recoil. In the magazine there was a hole made by a red-hot shot which had forced and bored its way half way through the wall of brick. A ninety-six pound shell, after shattering a granite block to pieces, had finally exploded against the magazine and forced the iron door from its place, thus exposing the powder within to the next shot. Grenades, balls, shells, rammers, charred timber, and fragments of brick and masonry were mingled in confusion everywhere.

The exterior walls, though not materially injured, presented the aspect, as described by a writer,* as if the stronghold had just recovered from an attack of small-pox, so "pitted" was it with the indentations of balls, which had torn away, as they struck, the brick-work by "bushels-full." There was, however, no breach made in the walls, though at the southeast angle there was sufficient damage done already as to threaten it. Upon the rim of the island, at the base of the fort, the stones were strewed with fragments of brick, concrete, shells, and cannon-balls.

The cannonade of Fort Sumter had been no less destructive to the works of the enemy, particularly to Fort Moultrie. A writer† who visited it immediately after the bombardment, wrote:

"The raking fire from Fort Sumter against Fort Moultrie was terribly destructive, and when viewed in connection with the fact that no life was lost, is the most extraordinary case ever recorded in history. As you enter, the eye falls upon the battered walls of the archway, with openings in some places large enough for windows. In other places may be seen the hanging splinters of the rafters, large pieces of ceiling seemingly about to drop, while the holes in the roof throw a clear light over the scene of destruction, which renders it painfully impressive. It would be an almost impossible task to count the number of balls discharged at this devoted fortress. The walls of the officers' quarters were battered with eight or ten balls, which had penetrated the whole depth of the building. The western wall on the upper balcony was entirely shot away. The barracks were almost entirely destroyed. The furnace for heating hot shot was struck four times, the flag of the Confederate States received three shots, and the Palmetto flag four—a rather singular and peculiar circumstance, when viewed in connection with the seven Confederate States. The merlons of sand-bags, etc., remain unbroken.

"On the outside walls we counted over one hundred shots. Laborers were engaged in clearing away fallen bricks, etc. It will be necessary to pull down the old walls and rebuild them. Even the beds and bedding in the officers' quarters and the men's barracks were cut and torn into splinters and shreds. Had it not been for the bomb-proof shelter, the loss of life would no doubt have been appalling. One shell entered the brick wall of Major Ripley's bedroom, ran down the wall, and burst on the bureau immediately over the head of the

* New York *Herald*. † Charleston *Courier*.

bed. Our limited time prevented us from visiting the battery to the north of Fort Moultrie. We learn, however, that though many of the buildings around it had been struck several times, and fences, trees, etc., cut away, the battery sustained no injury. Providentially, no hot shot was thrown from Sumter—probably from the fact that the garrison had no fuel."

The battery on Cumming's Point had escaped without damage, beyond six indentations in its iron armor, showing the accuracy of the firing of Fort Sumter, as well as proving the invulnerability of the novel structure.

The greatest interest had been naturally displayed by the people of Charleston at the approach of and during the bombardment of Fort Sumter. The enthusiasm was described as "intense, and the eagerness for the conflict, if it must come, as unbounded." For days before the attack, the citizens of Charleston were alert with expectation. Thus, at midnight, on one occasion, a discharge of the signal guns of Citadel Square being fired, the whole city was aroused. Hundreds of men left their beds, hurrying to and from their respective posts. In the absence of sufficient armories, the armed citizens gathered at the corners of the streets, in the public squares, and other convenient places, and all night long the roll of the drum, the steady tramp of the military, and the gallop of the cavalry resounding through the city betokened, apparently, the approach of the long-expected hostilities. The Home-Guard corps of old men, who from their age were exempt from the ordinary military duties, rode through the city, arousing the soldiers to arms, and doing other duty required by the emergency. Numbers of citizens were up all night. The Seventeenth Regiment, eight hundred strong, mustered in an hour, and left for the fortifications. The Rutledge Mounted Riflemen, the Charleston Dragoons, the German Hussars, and Phenix Sharpshooters, composed of the citizens of Charleston, followed, and in a short space several thousand homes were bereft for a time of all their male members capable of bearing arms.

The guards of the city were trebled. One hundred "beat men," armed with muskets and revolvers, who, at the first sound of the "bell of St. Michael's," would be reinforced by eight hundred more, patrolled the streets, in addition to the usual horse and foot police. A flotilla of small boats, with flaming torches, guarded the bar every night. A veteran Southern politician, well known as a secession agitator throughout the South, the Honorable Edmund Ruffin, of Virginia, a man over sixty years of age, shouldered his rifle and marched to the works as a private;* and even boys, hardly in their teens, volunteered to serve in the ranks, and bore part in the conflict.

From the firing of the first gun at Fort Sumter until its surrender, the intensity of interest continued unabated. Day and night the streets were thronged with people, "full of excitement and enthusiasm." The housetops, the Bat-

* He fired the first gun against Fort Sumter.

tery, the wharves, the shipping, and every place from which a view could be had of the scene, were thronged by an eager multitude. When at last, after thirty-three hours of impatient watching of the struggle, the Confederate flag rose upon the ruined walls of Fort Sumter, the bells of all the churches in the city of Charleston rang out "a merry peal," and the citizens became "wild with joy."*

General Beauregard announced the fall of Sumter in a general order, studiously flattering to his troops:

April 14.

HEADQUARTERS PROVISIONAL ARMY, C. S. A., CHARLESTON, S. C., *April* 14.

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 20.

"The Brigadier-General commanding is happy to congratulate the troops under his command on the brilliant success which has crowned their gallantry, privations, and hardships, by the reduction of the stronghold in the harbor of Charleston. This feat of arms has been accomplished after a severe cannonading of about thirty-three hours, in which all the troops have indicated, by their daring and bravery, that our cause must and shall triumph.

"Fort Sumter, which surrendered yesterday about 1.45 P.M., will be evacuated at 9 o'clock, A.M., to-day, and to show our magnanimity to the gallant defenders, who were only executing the orders of their government, they will be allowed to evacuate upon the same terms which were offered to them before the bombardment commenced. Our success should not lull us into a false security, but should encourage us in the necessary preparations to meet a powerful enemy, who may at any time attempt to avenge this, their first check in the present contest.

"The commandants of batteries will promptly send in their reports through the proper channels, giving a journal of the firing of their batteries against Fort Sumter, and of the fire of Fort Sumter against their batteries; furnishing the names of those who particularly distinguished themselves, and other incidents relative thereto, in order that the General commanding may be able to make known to the Confederate States Government, in a proper manner, their bravery and gallantry.

"The General is highly gratified to state that the troops, by their labor, privations, and endurance at the batteries, and at their posts, have exhibited the highest characteristics of tried soldiers, and he takes the occasion to thank all, his staff, the regulars, the volunteers, the militia, the naval forces, and the numerous individuals who have contributed to the surrender of Fort Sumter.

"By order of Brigadier-General Beauregard,

"D. R. JONES, Ass't. Adj.-General."

The authorities at Montgomery, the seat of the Confederate Government, were honored on the occasion by a serenade, when the secretary of war,

* A newspaper correspondent wrote:

"The scene in the city, after the raising of the flag of truce and the surrender, is indescribable; the people were perfectly wild. Men on horseback rode through the streets proclaiming the news, amidst the greatest enthusiasm.

"On the arrival of the officers from the fort they were marched through the streets, followed by an immense crowd, hurrahing, shouting, and yelling with excitement."

Walker, after exulting in the success at Charleston, prophesied "that the flag which now flaunts the breeze here [Montgomery], would float over the dome of the old Capitol before the first of May." "Let them try," he added, "Southern chivalry, and test the extent of Southern resources, and it might float eventually over Faneuil Hall itself."

Throughout all the States which had already seceded, great delight was manifested at the fall of Sumter. Even in Virginia, which still affected to be loyal, but whose convention was on the eve of passing an ordinance of secession, a "wild shout" of delight went up from the crowds which had gathered about the newspaper offices, eager for the news, when the telegram was announced: "Sumter is taken, and the Confederate flag waves over it!"

At the North, the progress of the bombardment, as it was briefly told in the hourly telegrams, was watched with painful anxiety. Many doubted, it is true, the ability of Major Anderson to hold out, although generally the hope was entertained of a successful issue to the attempt of the Government to reinforce him. When, therefore, the daily newspaper, so eagerly clutched and read, gave out with spasmodic emphasis its meagre revelations, the public mind was tortured with doubt and fear. First came the brief announcement: "The cannonading is going on fiercely from all points." Then followed immediately the ominous intelligence: "Fort Sumter is on fire!" relieved, however, by the cheering news: "The Federal flag still waves." Again the telegram declared: "Major Anderson is hemmed in by ruins and fire. Every building in Fort Sumter is burning." This alarming intelligence was, however, mitigated by the encouraging assurance, "This does not in anywise diminish his strength." "The destruction of Fort Sumter is inevitable," was the next disheartening word; but in a succeeding paragraph hope smiled once more with the declaration, that "Two ships are making in toward Morris Island, with a view to land troops and silence the batteries there." "The flames have nearly subsided in Fort Sumter," was again a hopeful gleam of sunshine, blotted out, however, by the dark line which closed the paragraph: "but Major Anderson does not fire any guns." Finally came the announcement of the last scene of the exciting drama:

"CHARLESTON, *via* AUGUSTA, *April* 13, 1861.

"FORT SUMTER HAS SURRENDERED!

"The Confederate flag floats over its walls!

"None of the garrison or Confederate troops are hurt.

"The bombarding has closed.

"*Major Anderson has drawn down the stripes and stars, and displays a white flag, which has been answered from the city, and a boat is on the way to Sumter.*"

The conduct of Major Anderson was freely discussed; but though there were some to question his military capacity, and even to doubt his loyalty, the country finally settled into the conviction that he had acted bravely and prudently, and resolutely persisted in claim-

ing him as one of its heroes who had gallantly sustained the honor of the United States flag.

Robert Anderson was born in Kentucky. In 1821 he was admitted a cadet at the military academy of West Point. After completing the usual four years' course of study, he graduated on the 1st of July, 1825, and entered the army as second lieutenant of the Second, but was soon after transferred to the Third, Artillery. During the Black Hawk war, in 1832, he served as acting inspector-general of the Illinois volunteers, of which Mr. Lincoln, late President, was captain.

In June, 1833, Anderson was promoted to a first lieutenancy, and in 1835 he became assistant instructor of artillery in the military academy at West Point. After serving for three or four months in the subordinate position, he was appointed instructor-in-chief of this branch of study, and held the place until 1837. In 1838, he was selected by General Scott as one of his aids-de-camp, and served in the campaign against the Indians in Florida. He was rewarded for his gallant conduct by promotion, in 1838, to the brevet rank of captain. In the same year he served as adjutant-general, but resigned in 1841, on being promoted to the captaincy of his own regiment.

During the Mexican war, Captain Anderson served under General Scott, whom he accompanied in all his triumphs, from the siege of Vera Cruz to the capture of the Mexican capital. He greatly distinguished himself at El Molino del Rey, one of the hardest fought battles of the whole campaign. Here, while acting field officer, he was severely wounded, but continued at the head of his column, "regardless of pain and self-preservation, and setting a handsome example"—wrote Captain Blake in his report—"to his men, of coolness, energy, and courage." His services on that day won for him his brevet as major. His conduct of the battery he commanded at Chapultepec elicited the praise of Scott, who mentioned him in his dispatches with an emphatic declaration of his great services.

On the 18th of November, 1860, Major Anderson was ordered to Fort Moultrie, in the harbor of Charleston, to relieve Colonel Gardiner, sent to Texas. His judicious movement in abandoning this post, as well as his defence and final surrender of Fort Sumter, have been already described.

The want of concert of action between Major Anderson and the fleet has been the source of perplexity. Some have attributed it to the fact that the message to him, conveying the intention of his government, had been studiously withheld by the authorities at Charleston. Others, however, have surmised that it was never seriously designed to expose the armed vessels to the fire of the Charleston forts, and that Major Anderson, made aware of this circumstance through his private dispatches, had acted accordingly. It has been also suggested that the administration at Washington had intended only to make a demonstration of force, without con-

templating the exercise of it, either for the purpose of intimidating the people of Charleston, or precipitating them, if war was their purpose, into the first act of hostility, while the Government was performing an obvious act of duty in making an attempt to supply a starving garrison with provisions. Whatever may have been the real or pretended object, the first gun fired by the Charleston forts was considered an act of war against the Union, and rallied all its friends to its defence.

Anderson's report of the surrender of Fort Sumter was brief, and to the point:

"Having defended," he wrote to the secretary of war, Cameron, "Fort Sumter for thirty-four hours, until the quarters were entirely burned, the main gates destroyed by fire, the gorge wall seriously injured, the magazine surrounded by flames, and its door closed from the effects of the heat, four barrels and three cartridges of powder only being available, and no provisions but pork remaining, I accepted terms of evacuation offered by General Beauregard, being the same offered by him on the 11th instant [April], prior to the commencement of hostilities, and marched out of the fort Sunday afternoon, the 14th instant [April], with colors flying and drums beating, bringing away company and private property, and saluting my flag with fifty guns."

The secretary of war responded with a complimentary tribute:

"I am directed," he wrote, "by the President of the United States, to communicate to you, and through you to the officers and men under your command at forts Moultrie and Sumter, the approbation of the Government of your and their judicious and gallant conduct there, and to tender to you and them the thanks of the Government for the same."

Major Anderson, as an adopted hero of the country, became at once an object of universal curiosity. His portrait was displayed in every shop-window, and his name was soon familiar to every ear. Personally there is nothing very impressive about the "hero of Fort Sumter." A man of small stature and shrunken frame, he would easily pass unnoticed. The general expression of his face is that of quiet amiability, yet in the keenness of his concentrated eyes and in the firm closure of his thin lips there are signs of a resoluteness equal to the severest trials of a soldier's profession.

There is a simple earnestness, to which a certain puritanical fervor of piety gives zest, that marks all his words and writings, and commends him to the sympathy of the unsophisticated multitude.

His raising of the flag he had brought with him from Fort Moultrie, as he took possession of Fort Sumter, was accompanied by a ceremony characteristic of Major Anderson's devotional tendencies. Having gathered all his men about the staff, he himself took the halyards in his hand, and kneeling down, directed the chaplain to offer a prayer. At its close, having fervently uttered the "Amen," in which he was

joined by the rest, he slowly raised the flag, as the band struck up "Hail, Columbia!"

When the United States Government had resolved upon an attempt to send provisions to Fort Sumter, it also determined to reinforce Fort Pickens, which was the only one of the several public works in the harbor of Pensacola which remained in the possession of the Federal Government. The insurgents of Florida had seized all the rest early in January, and now held them with a strong force under the command of General Bragg, of the Confederate army, more honorably known as Captain Bragg, the commander of the battery which did such good service in the battle of Buena Vista, and to whom General Taylor addressed his famous command: "A little more grape, Captain Bragg."

Pensacola being one of the largest and safest harbors on the Southern coast, had been chosen as the principal naval station of the South. Here, accordingly, a large navy-yard and arsenal had been established, and strong works of defence constructed. The principal of these was Fort Pickens, built upon the island of Santa Rosa, a long stretch of low land which intervenes between the harbor and the sea. The fortress rises upon the extreme western point of the island, and commands both the harbor and approaches. It is a bastioned work of great strength and extent, requiring a garrison of one thousand two hundred and sixty soldiers. The walls are of granite — forty-five feet high and twelve feet thick, pierced for three tiers of guns, two of which are concreted, and the third *en barbette.* Its whole armament, when complete, consists of sixty-three forty-two pounders, seventeen thirty-two pounders, forty-nine twenty-four pounders, five eighteens, thirteen twelves, six brass field-pieces, twenty-six brass flank howitzers, thirteen heavy eight-inch howitzers, one thirteen-inch mortar, four heavy ten-inch mortars, four light eight-inch mortars, four sixteen-inch stone mortars, and five cohorns—making in all two hundred and ten guns. Fort Pickens was begun in 1828, and completed in 1853, at a cost of one million of dollars.

Directly opposite, on the mainland, stands Fort McRae, also a bastioned work of considerable strength, with walls of brick, twelve feet thick, and mounting one hundred and fifty cannon, in three tiers—two under casemates, and the third *en barbette.* When properly garrisoned, it contains six hundred and fifty men. The guns, like those of Fort Pickens, have a wide range, and, together with the water-battery of eight guns toward the south, Forts Pickens and McRae defend the harbor of Pensacola from every approach in the direction of the Gulf of Mexico.

On the mainland, directly north of Fort Pickens, is another strong bastioned work, called Fort St. Carlos de Barrancas, from the ancient Spanish fortress originally standing upon the same site. It is mounted with forty-nine guns, and requires a garrison of two hundred and fifty men. A strong redoubt is built in its rear to give it ad-

ditional support. Forts McRae and Barrancas, together with the navy-yard and arsenal, having been seized by the Confederates, there seemed imminent danger of their getting possession also of Fort Pickens, but they were thwarted in their design by Lieutenant Slemmer, the United States commander. This young officer being on the alert, no sooner discovered their purpose, than he concentrated his little garrison of eighty men within the fort, and kept the enemy at bay until the 12th of April, when the first successful attempt was made to reinforce him. This was effected by the United States man-of-war Brooklyn, and is thus described by one* who shared in the enterprise:

"On Friday, April 12th," says he, "our captain received orders to prepare for landing the troops (Company A, First Artillery) which we brought from Fort Monroe. After sunset, all the boats were hoisted out and dropped astern. Volunteers were called for to man them, and every man in the ship volunteered. After selecting the crews, they were armed to the teeth for covering the landing of the troops. As the enemy threatened to prevent the landing, having stationed coast-guards along shore for that purpose, it was necessary to send a considerable force; so the Sabine and St. Louis' boats were sent to assist our men. After the moon had set, all deck lights were extinguished, to prevent the enemy discovering our movements. Strange to say, the light-house on shore, whose powerful light would make the position of our ships visible, was put out about the same time. Between ten and eleven o'clock the ship got under way, creeping slowly toward the shore and sounding all the way, anchoring in seven fathoms of water, which indicated close proximity to the shore. The boats were then got alongside, and the men disembarked. At this time the ship's deck presented an interesting and lively spectacle, though all was done very quietly, reflecting great credit upon the officers in command. After all was ready, Lieutenant Albert N. Smith, who had command of the boat expedition, shoved off, and the other boats followed in line. He intended landing on the beach near the ship and marching to the fort, a distance of about three miles; but finding the surf too heavy, he determined to pull into the harbor and land in front of Pickens. He was successful; the doors of the fort were opened, and the troops entered. In the mean while the Wyandotte carried all the Sabine's marines and put them on the Brooklyn, which, together with the Brooklyn's marines, were to go also. The boats made a second trip, being successful in getting the marines into the fort; but day broke before the boats got out of the harbor, making the sleepy sentinels on McRea and Barrancas rub their eyes in astonishment, not daring to molest the returning party."

This landing of marines was, however, but a temporary provision. The regular reinforcements soon arrived and took their place. The transport steamer Atlantic was the first to arrive, with four

* Correspondent "Harpers' Weekly."

hundred and fifty men, sixty-nine horses, and large supplies of food and munitions. She sailed from New York on the 7th of April, and having stopped on her way at Key West to take on board additional men and supplies, arrived on the evening of the 16th off the island of Santa Rosa, and anchored four miles from the shore, close to the frigate Sabine. The Sabine, 50 guns, was the flag-ship under Captain Adams, the commander of the squadron, which was composed in addition of the steam-corvette Brooklyn, 14 guns, the corvette St. Louis, 22 guns, the Water-Witch, Crusader, the Wyandotte and Mohawk, each 10 guns, for some time stationed off Pensacola. Immediately after the arrival of the Atlantic, the operation of landing her reinforcements began. Taking in tow the small boats of the fleet, some twenty in number, and the night having closed in and all lights being put out, the steamer stood in toward the shore and anchored within a mile of Fort Pickens. The guns of Fort McRae and of the water batteries, in command of the rebels, were in direct range, and signal rockets were firing from Fort Pickens, indicating the expectation of an attack. The first boat from the Atlantic pushed off at half-past nine o'clock, containing Colonel Brown, the commander, who was to supersede the intrepid subaltern, Lieutenant Slemmer. The other boats containing the troops soon followed, and before midnight the most of the officers and troops had reached the fort in safety. On the next morning, at an early hour, the rest of the men were landed, with the exception of the artillerists of Barry's Flying Artillery. To land these with their horses, the Atlantic weighed anchor and moved to a point three and a half miles distant from Fort Pickens, but within half a mile of the beach of the island of Santa Rosa. The troublesome work of landing the horses did not commence before noon, and continuing all night, was not completed until next morning.

April 16.

April 17.

The steamer Powhatan, Commander David D. Porter, had in the mean time arrived, and in two days after was followed by the transport steamer Illinois, which had been detained by long-continued severe weather. The reinforcements brought by the Illinois consisted of three hundred men and a number of horses, besides five hundred muskets and a large quantity of munitions of war and provisions. The troops were landed in safety during the next morning, but three days passed before the horses, forage, the ordnance, provisions, and general stores were conveyed to the shore. Four of the horses on board the Illinois had perished during the stormy passage, one was drowned alongside the ship, another had his neck broken while landing through the surf, and a third died from exhaustion. During the debarkation, the steamers Powhatan and Brooklyn took such a position that they could at the same time shield the transports under the cover of their guns, and prevent the enemy on the mainland from attempting to invade

April 17.

April 19.

the island, and thus obstruct the landing.

Colonel Brown now being the senior officer, assumed the command of Fort Pickens. He succeeded, with additional men and defences, in keeping at bay the large forces of the Confederates gathered on the mainland opposite. The rebel General Bragg was reported to have had under his command, at various times, no less than ten thousand men, who were kept busily strengthening the works in the harbor and entrenching their camp.

CHAPTER XIV.

Divided Opinion of the North in regard to the Political Causes of the Civil Quarrel.—Uniformity of Sentiment in regard to the Attack on Fort Sumter.—The National Dignity insulted.—Necessity of Striking in behalf of the National Honor.—The cry of the Masses.—Their faith in the indissolubility of the Union.—The Flag to be again raised all over the United States.—The Opinions of the Press. War pronounced to be inevitable.—Change of Sentiment.—Union Sentiment of a Journal once threatened by the Mob for its Sympathy with the South.—The Tirades of the Ultra-Republicans. An Ultra-Republican Paper on the Unity of Feeling. The Proclamation of President Lincoln.—Its effect at the North.—Enthusiasm of the People.—A sudden and universal blazing of the "Stars and Stripes."—Scarcity of Bunting.—Patriotic Waistcoats and Boddices.—Patriotic Neckerchiefs and Mantillas.—Patriotic Shopkeepers and Patriotic Customers.—Patriotic fervor of the Newspapers.—Flowers of Rhetoric.—A fervid Leader.—Exceptional cases of protest at the North against the President's Proclamation.—Bold dissent in New England.—An Appeal in behalf of the Secessionists from Maine.—An Opposition to the War from Connecticut.—A vigorous word for the Union from Kentucky.—Call for Militia.—Circular of the Secretary of War.—Quotas of Militia of each State.—The Patriotic Response from the North.—The Refusal and bold Defiance of the Slave States.—The Answer of the Governor of Virginia.—Answer of the Governor of Missouri.—Answer of the Governor of North Carolina.—Answer of the Governor of Kentucky.—Answer of the Governor of Tennessee.—Poetical Response from President Jefferson Davis.—His Privateering Proclamation. His Call for Soldiers.—The effect of his Proclamation at the North.—Opinion of Privateering, which is pronounced Piracy.—President Lincoln's Proclamation.—A Blockade announced.—Southern Privateers to be dealt with as Pirates.

ALTHOUGH opinion at the North, in regard to the political causes of the
1861. civil quarrel, was still widely divided, there was little diversity of sentiment concerning the blow which had been struck by the rebellious South at Fort Sumter. It was universally felt that in this violence to its flag, a gross indignity had been offered to the nation, and that it had become necessary, in order to vindicate the national honor, as well as to preserve the national existence, to meet force with force. The few who were less sanguine as to the issue even acknowledged that an appeal to arms was absolutely obligatory, were it only to assert the idea of government, and thus save the country from anarchy and social disorder. The more hopeful, however, who formed the great mass of the people, were eager not only to avenge the insulted flag, but to restore it to its former proud position throughout the wide domain of the United States. With their traditional reverence for the Union, and faith in its power, they could not contemplate the possibility of its disruption; and doubting the

persistency of secession, and presuming on its weakness, they fondly believed that with a single effort of the Federal might, rebellion could be suppressed, and the flag raised once more over a united land.

Though the expression of opinion by the press was toned somewhat by its various shades of partisanship, there was hardly a journal which ventured to dispute the necessity of war. They indulged, it is true, in mutual recriminations, charging each other with having caused an event which they all now acknowledged to be inevitable. One journal, which had before so warmly and perseveringly advocated the cause of secession as to bring upon itself the anger of a Northern mob, now declared: "In a conflict of this sort, there can be but two parties—a Northern and a Southern party; for all other parties will cease to exist. The political principles, organizations, and issues which have divided our country and our people, in various shapes and forms, since the treaty of our independence with England, will all be very soon overwhelmed in the sweeping changes of a civil war. It would be folly now to argue what might, could, would, or should have been done by Southern fire-eaters and Northern disorganizers in 1854, 1860, or by Mr. Buchanan, or by Mr. Lincoln, or by the late session of Congress. Civil war is upon us, and the questions which now supersede all others are: What are the consequences now before us? Where is this war to end, and how, and when? What is our duty under this warlike condition of things? and what are the movements and the conditions necessary to change this state of war to a state of peace?"

An ultra Republican journal, after giving vent to a tirade against "our journals lately parading the pranks of the secessionists with scarcely disguised exultation," declares, "Democrat as well as Republican, Conservative, and Radical, instinctively feel that the guns fired at Sumter were aimed at the heart of the American Republic. Not even in the lowest groggery of our city [New York] would it be safe to propose cheers for Beauregard and Governor Pickens. The Tories of the Revolution were relatively ten times as numerous here as are the open sympathizers with the Palmetto rebels. It is hard to lose Sumter; it is a consolation to know that in losing it we have gained a united people. Henceforth, the loyal States are a unit in uncompromising hostility to treason, wherever plotted, however justified. Fort Sumter is temporarily lost, but the country is saved. Live the Republic!"

The proclamation of the President, giving an authoritative sanction to the national sentiment, served still more to arouse the spirit of union.

PROCLAMATION OF THE PRESIDENT.

"Whereas the laws of the United States have been for some time past, and now are, opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, by combinations too powerful to be sup-

pressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law; now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution and the laws, have thought fit to call forth, and hereby do call forth, the militia of the several States of the Union to the aggregate number of 75,000, in order to suppress said combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed.

"The details for this object will be immediately communicated to the State authorities through the War Department. I appeal to all loyal citizens to favor, facilitate, and aid this effort to maintain the honor, the integrity, and existence of our national Union, and the perpetuity of popular government, and to redress wrongs already long enough endured. I deem it proper to say that the first service assigned to the forces hereby called forth will probably be to repossess the forts, places, and property which have been seized from the Union; and in every event the utmost care will be observed, consistently with the objects aforesaid, to avoid any devastation, any destruction of or interference with property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens in any part of the country; and I hereby command the persons composing the combinations aforesaid to disperse, and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within twenty days from this date.

"Deeming that the present condition of public affairs presents an extraordinary occasion, I do hereby, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution, convene both Houses of Congress. The senators and representatives are therefore summoned to assemble at their respective chambers at twelve o'clock, noon, on Thursday, the fourth day of July next, then and there to consider and determine such measures as, in their wisdom, the public safety and interest may seem to demand.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the city of Washington, this fifteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

"Abraham Lincoln.

"By the President.

"Wm. H. Seward, Secretary of State."

Throughout the North the effect of this proclamation was to excite the people to an intense enthusiasm. The population of the large cities became suddenly so absorbed in the excitement of the hour, that all the ordinary transactions of business were suspended. Flags floated from every public building, church steeple, and private house. Such was the demand for bunting, that the ordinary supply was soon exhausted, and the ardent gathered every chance-colored rag or ribbon that fell in their way, to fashion into the "stars and stripes" of their patriotic desire. Union devices and badges were sold at the corners of every street, and flaunted upon each patriotic waistcoat and boddice.

Shop windows patriotically glowed with the national colors, and a display of bonnets and mantillas, not less abundant than neckerchiefs and shirt bosoms, profusely studded with stars and variegated with red and white stripes, revealed the enthusiasm of patriotic dealers, and awakened the longing of patriotic wearers.

The newspapers forgot their factious contentions and joined in a fervid expression of Union sentiments. Their leading articles burst forth into unusual flowers of patriotic rhetoric. The language of one* may serve to show the spirit pervading all: "The incidents of the last two days will live in history. Not for fifty years has such a spectacle been seen, as that glorious uprising of American loyalty which greeted the news that open war had been commenced upon the Constitution and Government of the United States. The great heart of the American people beat with one high pulsation of courage, and of fervid love and devotion to the great Republic. Party dissensions were instantly hushed; political differences disappeared, and were as thoroughly forgotten as if they had never existed; party bonds flashed into nothingness in the glowing flame of patriotism; men ceased to think of themselves or their parties, they thought only of their country and of the dangers which menace its existence. Nothing for years has brought the hearts of all the people so close together—or so inspired them all with common hopes, and common fears, and a common aim, as the bombardment and surrender of an American fortress.

"We look upon this sublime outburst of public sentiment as the most perfect vindication of popular institutions—the most conclusive reply to the impugners of American loyalty, the country has ever seen. It has been quite common to say that such a Republic as ours could never be permanent, because it lacked the conditions of a profound and abiding loyalty. The Government could never inspire a patriotic instinct, fervid enough to melt the bonds of party, or powerful enough to override the selfishness which free institutions so rapidly develop. The hearts of our own people had begun to sink within them, at the apparent insensibility of the public to the dangers which menaced the Government. The public mind seemed to have been demoralized—the public heart seemed insensible to perils which threatened utter extinction to our great Republic. The secession movement, infinitely the most formidable danger which has ever menaced our Government, was regarded with indifference and treated as merely a novel form of our usual political contentions. The best among us began to despair of a country which seemed incompetent to understand its dangers, and indifferent to its own destruction.

"But all this is changed. The cannon which bombarded Sumter awoke strange echoes, and touched forgotten chords in the American heart. American loyalty leaped into instant life, and stood radiant and ready for the fierce

* New York *Times*, April 16th.

encounter. From one end of the land to the other—in the crowded streets of cities, and in the solitude of the country—wherever the splendor of the stars and stripes, the glittering emblems of our country's glory, meets the eye, come forth shouts of devotion and pledges of aid, which give sure guarantees for the perpetuity of American freedom. War can inflict no scars on such a people. It can do them no damage which time cannot repair It cannot shake the solid foundations of their material prosperity, while it will strengthen the manly and heroic virtues which defy its fierce and frowning front."

Although the prevailing tone of the North was one of enthusiasm in behalf of waging war against those who had insulted the flag of the Union, there were still some of the Northern papers which ventured to protest against the President's proclamation. From New England, by a strange contrast with its general feeling, came some of the boldest dissent from the predominating sentiment of the nation.

"Democrats of Maine!" was the daring appeal of an audacious Northern editor,* "the loyal sons of the South have gathered around Charleston as your fathers of old gathered about Boston in defence of the same sacred principles of liberty—principles which *you* have ever upheld and defended with your vote, your voice, and your strong right arm. Your sympathies are with the defenders of the truth and the right. Those who have inaugurated this unholy and unjustifiable war are no friends of yours, no friends of Democratic liberty. Will you aid them in their work of subjugation and tyranny?

"When the Government at Washington calls for volunteers or recruits to carry on the work of subjugation and tyranny under the specious phrase of 'enforcing the laws,' 'retaking and protecting the public property,' and 'collecting the revenue,' let every Democrat fold his arms and bid the minions of Tory despotism do a Tory despot's work. Say to them, fearlessly and boldly—in the language of England's great lord, the Earl of Chatham, whose bold words in behalf of the struggling Colonies of America, in the dark hours of the Revolution, have enshrined his name in the heart of every friend of freedom and immortalized his fame wherever the name of liberty is known—say in his thrilling language: 'If I were a Southerner, as I am a Northerner, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I would never lay down my arms—*never, never, never!*'"

Another,* more calmly, but not less decidedly, opposed the war:

"The President has issued his proclamation, calling Congress to meet on the 4th of July. Also calling for 75,000 volunteers to aid in carrying on a conflict with the South. The news already received from the border States indicates that they will leave the Union, and that the war will be between nineteen free and fifteen slave States.

"Could this war policy possibly save

* Bangor (Me.) *Union.*

* Hartford (Ct.) *Times.*

the Union and promote the welfare of the people, we could look upon it with more complacency. But as it must inevitably more completely divide the Union and injure the interests of the whole country, we believe it to be an unwise and unsafe policy. To march soldiers into the Southern country to contend with armies and yellow fever, and to end in no good, but much evil, does not seem to be a discreet or a righteous policy.

"A bloody conflict may be continued with the South for weeks, for months, or for years. At its close a compromise must be made no more favorable to the North than was the Crittenden compromise. But the evils of the unnecessary strife will continue into the long years of the future, and be felt by millions. No good whatever can come out of the shocking conflict.

"War has been commenced. Its origin is the negro agitation. Let the friends of the agitation point out the spot where a slave has been benefited, if they can. Great evils have come. Where are the benefits?"

As a set-off, however, to this expression of Southern opinion at the North, there was a vigorous word uttered for union in the slave State of Kentucky:

"The secession leaders," wrote the editor of the Louisville *Journal*, "are relying very largely upon the first shock of battle for the promotion of a general secession feeling in the Southern States. They ought, however, to consider that the sympathies of honest and sensible men are not likely to go with the wrongdoers. If the General Government commit any wrong or outrage upon South Carolina or Florida, it will be condemned; but if a United States vessel shall be fired into and her men slain for a mere attempt to take food to the Government's troops in the Government's own forts, and if war shall grow out of the collision, no spirit of secession or rebellion will be created thereby this side the cotton line. Such, at least, is our opinion, founded upon our conviction that the great mass of our fellow-citizens are sensible, and patriotic, and just. Who that loves his country would see it humiliated and its honor trampled on?"

With the proclamation by the President came the call upon the several States for their quotas of militia to make up the required number of troops to be mustered for the suppression of the rebellion and the defence of the Union. The following circular was addressed by the secretary of war to the governors not only of the free States, but of those slave States whose loyalty might be suspected, but which yet nominally continued to acknowledge the Federal authority:

"Sir: Under the act of Congress for calling out the militia to execute the laws of the Union to suppress insurrection, to repel invasion, etc., approved February 28, 1795, I have the honor to request your Excellency to cause to be immediately detailed from the militia of your State the quota designated in the table below, to serve as infantry or riflemen for a period of three months, unless sooner discharged. Your Excel-

lency will please communicate to me the time at about which your quota will be expected at its rendezvous, as it will be met as soon as practicable by an officer or officers to muster it into the service and pay of the United States. At the same time the oath of fidelity to the United States will be administered to every officer and man. The mustering officers will be instructed to receive no man under the rank of commissioned officer who is in years apparently over forty-five or under eighteen, or who is not in physical strength and vigor. The quota for each State is as follows:

Maine	1	Virginia	3
New Hampshire	1	North Carolina	2
Vermont	1	Kentucky	4
Massachusetts	2	Arkansas	1
Rhode Island	1	Missouri	4
Connecticut	1	Ohio	13
New York	17	Indiana	6
New Jersey	4	Illinois	6
Pennsylvania	16	Michigan	1
Delaware	1	Iowa	1
Tennessee	2	Minnesota	1
Maryland	4	Wisconsin	1

"It is ordered that each regiment shall consist, on an aggregate of officers and men, of 780. The total thus to be called out is 73,391. The remainder, to constitute the 75,000 men under the President's proclamation, will be composed of troops in the District of Columbia."

In response to this call, there came from all the free States, without an exception, an ardent expression of patriotic sympathy with the President's proclamation, and an immediate effort to meet its requirements. Proclamations were at once addressed by the governors to the people of the several Northern States, appealing to their loyalty, and invoking them to manifest it by taking up arms in defence of the Union.

The slave States, with the exception of Maryland and Delaware, answered with a resolute refusal, expressed in a tone of bold defiance of the Federal authority. The Governor of Virginia, John Letcher, wrote: "I have only to say, that the militia of Virginia will not be furnished to the powers at Washington for any such use or purpose as they have in view. Your object is to subjugate the Southern States, and a requisition made upon me for such an object—an object, in my judgment, not within the purview of the Constitution or the act of 1795—will not be complied with. You have chosen to inaugurate civil war, and having done so, we will meet it in a spirit as determined as the administration has exhibited toward the South."

C. F. Jackson, Governor of Missouri, wrote: "Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional, and revolutionary in its objects, inhuman and diabolical, and cannot be complied with. Not one man will the State of Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade."

John W. Ellis, Governor of North Carolina, wrote: "I have to say in reply, that I regard the levy of troops made by the administration for the purpose of subjugating the States of the South, as in violation of the Constitution, and a usurpation of power. I can be no party to this wicked violation of the laws of the country, and to this war

upon the liberties of a free people. You can get no troops from North Carolina."

Magoffin, the Governor of Kentucky, wrote: "I say emphatically that Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern States."

Governor Harris, of Tennessee, replied: "Tennessee will not furnish a single man for coercion, but fifty thousand, if necessary, for the defence of our rights, or those of our Southern brethren."

Governor Reeder, of Arkansas, answered with equal resoluteness of refusal, but less courtesy:

"In answer to your demand for troops from Arkansas to subjugate the Southern States, I have to say that none will be furnished. The demand is only adding insult to injury.

"The people of this Commonwealth are freemen, not slaves, and will defend to the last extremity their honor, lives, and property against Northern mendacity and usurpation."

President Davis, of the Confederate States, after venting this exulting *jeu d'esprit*,

> "With mortar, Paixhan, and petard
> We sent the foe our Beauregard,"

met the proclamation of President Lincoln with this menacing document:

"Whereas Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, has, by proclamation, announced his intention of invading the Confederacy with an armed force, for the purpose of capturing its fortresses, and thereby subverting its independence and subjecting the free people thereof to the dominion of a foreign power; and whereas it has thus become the duty of this Government to repel the threatened invasion, and defend the rights and liberties of the people by all the means which the laws of nations and usages of civilized warfare place at its disposal;

"Now, therefore, I, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, do issue this, my proclamation, inviting all those who may desire, by service in private armed vessels on the high seas, to aid this Government in resisting so wanton and wicked an aggression, to make application for commissions or letters of marque and reprisal, to be issued under the seal of these Confederate States; and I do further notify all persons applying for letters of marque, to make a statement in writing, giving the name and suitable description of the character, tonnage, and force of the vessel, name of the place of residence of each owner concerned therein, and the intended number of crew, and to sign each statement, and deliver the same to the secretary of state or collector of the port of entry of these Confederate States, to be by him transmitted to the secretary of state; and I do further notify all applicants aforesaid, before any commission or letter of marque is issued to any vessel, or the owner or the owners thereof, and the commander for the time being, they will be required to give bond to the Confederate States, with, at least, two responsible sureties not interested in such vessel, in the

penal sum of five thousand dollars; or if such vessel be provided with more than one hundred and fifty men, then in the penal sum of ten thousand dollars, with the condition that the owners, officers, and crew who shall be employed on board such commissioned vessel shall observe the laws of these Confederate States, and the instructions given them for the regulation of their conduct, that shall satisfy all damages done contrary to the tenor thereof by such vessel during her commission, and deliver up the same when revoked by the President of the Confederate States.

"And I do further specially enjoin on all persons holding offices, civil and military, under the authority of the Confederate States, that they be vigilant and zealous in the discharge of the duties incident thereto; and I do, moreover, exhort the good people of these Confederate States, as they love their country—as they prize the blessings of free government—as they feel the wrongs of the past, and those now threatened in an aggravated form by those whose enmity is more implacable, because unprovoked—to exert themselves in preserving order, in promoting concord, in maintaining the authority and efficacy of the laws, and in supporting and invigorating all the measures which may be adopted for a common defence, and by which, under the blessings of Divine Providence, we may hope for a speedy, just, and honorable peace.

"In witness whereof, I have set my hand and have caused the seal of the Confederate States of America to be attached this seventeenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one.

"JEFFERSON DAVIS.

"ROBERT TOOMBS, Secretary of State."

At the same time that President Davis thus threatened Northern commerce with a fleet of privateers, he called upon the Confederacy for a hundred and fifty thousand men, in addition to the thirty-two thousand already demanded. A loan of five millions of dollars had been issued, and subscriptions were reported to be rapidly coming in under the stimulus of approaching war.

Davis' invitation to applications for letters of marque created great alarm, and was received by the North with a universal burst of indignation. Privateering was pronounced an infamous weapon of warfare. The destruction of private property in the course of a conflict between two hostile parties was declared to be a relic of barbarism. Davis was reminded of the treaties of the United States with certain European powers, which prohibited citizens of either nation from accepting letters of marque from any authority hostile to the agreeing parties. This, they declared, would prevent his obtaining privateers from Europe, and destroy any hope of toleration from them from that quarter. It was declared that there was not one foreign port where, if Davis' privateers should venture to enter, they would not be seized as pirates, and dealt with accordingly. If any man, in this country, or in any other, dared to ac-

cept a letter of marque from the Confederacy and act upon it, he would, it was threatened, be hung as a pirate. The proclamation was, in a word, branded as a formal sanction of piracy, and it was met not only with the menace of the yard-arm, but its author was reminded that the most terrific retaliation awaited him if he should carry out his purpose. "The first seizure of an American vessel by one of his privateers will let loose," said a journalist,* "upon the South more John Browns than he can hire pirates in a year."

The commercial cities of the North were greatly fluttered by the prospect of a swoop by the rebellious birds of prey upon their fleets which were winging their way over every sea and ocean. The Chamber of Commerce of New York met and resolved, "That the proposition of Mr. Jefferson Davis to issue letters of marque to whomsoever may apply for them, emanating from no recognized government, is not only without the sanction of public law, but piratical in its tendencies, and therefore deserving the stern condemnation of the civilized world." To this was added the further resolution, that "it is the duty of our Government to issue at once a proclamation warning all persons that privateering under the commissions proposed will be dealt with as simple piracy."

The President promptly responded by establishing a blockade of the ports of the seceding States, and did not hesitate to warn all privateers sailing under the flag of the Confederates that they would be treated as pirates:

"Whereas an insurrection against the Government of the United States has broken out in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, and the laws of the United States for the collection of the revenue can not be efficiently executed therein conformably to that provision of the Constitution which requires duties to be uniform throughout the United States;

"And whereas a combination of persons, engaged in such insurrection, have threatened to grant pretended letters of marque to authorize the bearers thereof to commit assaults on the lives, vessels, and property of good citizens of the country lawfully engaged in commerce on the high seas, and in waters of the United States;

"And whereas an Executive Proclamation has been already issued, requiring the persons engaged in these disorderly proceedings to desist therefrom, calling out a militia force for the purpose of repressing the same, and convening Congress in extraordinary session to deliberate and determine thereon;

"Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, with a view to the same purposes before mentioned, and to the protection of the public peace, and the lives and property of quiet and orderly citizens pursuing their lawful occupations, until Congress shall have assembled and deliberated on the said unlawful proceedings, or until the same shall have ceased, have further

* New York *Times*.

deemed it advisable to set on foot a blockade of the ports within the States aforesaid, in pursuance of the laws of the United States and of the laws of nations in such cases provided. For this purpose a competent force will be posted so as to prevent entrance and exit of vessels from the ports aforesaid. If, therefore, with a view to violate such blockade, a vessel shall approach, or shall attempt to leave any of the said ports, she will be duly warned by the commander of one of the blockading vessels, who will endorse on her register the fact and date of such warning; and if the same vessel shall again attempt to enter or leave the blockaded port, she will be captured and sent to the nearest convenient port, for such proceedings against her and her cargo as prize as may be deemed advisable.

"And I hereby proclaim and declare, that if any person, under the pretended authority of said States, or under any other pretence, shall molest a vessel of the United States, or the persons or cargo on board of her, such person will be held amenable to the laws of the United States for the prevention and punishment of piracy.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"By the President.

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

"WASHINGTON, *April* 19, 1861."

CHAPTER XV.

Inquietude about the Border States.—The Convention of Virginia.—Committee appointed to wait upon the President.—Its Message.—President Lincoln's Answer.—Its effect.—Virginia Convention passes an Act of Secession.—Impatience of the Secessionists.—Proclamation of Governor Letcher.—Recognition of the Southern Confederacy.—Preparations for War.—The Harbor of Norfolk Obstructed.—Attempt on Harper's Ferry.—Description of the place.—Its picturesque beauty. Its Resources. Unhappy Associations.—Virginia Troops Mustering for an Attack upon Harper's Ferry.—A Force Marches.—Description of the March.—The Federal Commander and his little Garrison —Anticipated Attack.—Preparations to thwart its object.—Preparing for a Conflagration.—Positive Information.—The Torch applied.—Retreat of the Federal Commander and his Men.—An excited Populace.—Held at Bay.—Continued Flight of the Federal Commander.—Safe arrival in Pennsylvania.—Rewards of Gallantry.—Another Destruction of Public Property.—Hemming in of the Gosport Navy Yard.—Exulting Dispatch.—Description of the Navy Yard.—The Ships.—Resolution of Commodore Macaulay.—The Demand of the Insurgents.—Arrival of the Pawnee.—Her Sail from Fortress Monroe to Norfolk.—Boisterous Welcome.—The Marines set to work.—Securing the Papers.—Destruction of Arms.—The Firing of the Barracks.—Laying of the Trains.—Departure of the Pawnee.—A Signal.—The Conflagration of Ships and Navy Yard.—The Burning of the old Pennsylvania.—The People of Norfolk bursting through the Gates of the Navy Yard.—The Havoc.—Incomplete Destruction.—Curious Reasons for it.—Details of the Property destroyed.—The Feeling at the North.—The Destruction pronounced unnecessary.—Quick work of the Insurgents.—Erection of defiant Batteries.

1861. THE greatest inquietude had long existed at the North in regard to the action of the border States, and more especially of Maryland and Virginia. In the latter State a convention had been for some time in secret session, and the result was awaited with intense anxiety. A committee, consisting of

Messrs. Preston, Stuart, and Randolph, had been appointed to wait upon the President at Washington, and to present to him the following preamble and resolution passed by the Convention of Virginia:

"Whereas, in the opinion of this Convention, the uncertainty which prevails in the public mind as to the policy which the Federal Executive intends to pursue toward the seceded States is extremely injurious to the industrial and commercial interests of the country, tends to keep up an excitement which is unfavorable to the adjustment of the pending difficulties, and threatens a disturbance of the public peace, therefore,

"*Resolved*, That a committee of three delegates be appointed to wait on the President of the United States, present to him this preamble, and respectfully ask him to communicate to this Convention the policy which the Federal Executive intends to pursue in regard to the Confederate States."

The bearers of this demand, courteous in form but insolent in substance, were duly presented at the White House, and received from Mr. Lincoln a response in which he characteristically rather discussed the question amiably with his interlocutors, than firmly asserted his Executive authority.

April 13.

"In answer, I," said the President, "have to say that having, at the beginning of my official term, expressed my intended policy as plainly as I was able, it is with deep regret and mortification I now learn there is great and injurious uncertainty in the public mind as to what course I intend to pursue. Not having as yet seen occasion to change, it is now my purpose to pursue the course marked out in the inaugural address. I commend a careful consideration of the whole document as the best expression I can give to my purposes As I then and therein said, I now repeat: 'The power confided in me will be used to hold and possess property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imports; but beyond what is necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against and among the people anywhere.' By the words 'property and places belonging to the Government,' I chiefly allude to the military posts and property which were in possession of the Government when it came into my hands. But if, as now appears to be true, in pursuit of a purpose to drive the United States authority from these places, an unprovoked assault has been made upon Fort Sumter, I shall hold myself at liberty to repossess it, if I can, and like places which had been seized before the Government was devolved upon me; and in any event I shall, to the best of my ability, repel force by force. In case it proves true that Fort Sumter has been assaulted, as is reported, I shall, perhaps, cause the United States mails to be withdrawn from all the States which claim to have seceded, believing that the commencement of actual war against the Government justifies and possibly demands it. I scarcely need to say that I consider the military posts and property situated

within the States which claim to have seceded, as yet belonging to the Government of the United States, as much as they did before the supposed secession. Whatever else I may do for the purpose, I shall not attempt to collect the duties and imposts by any armed invasion of any part of the country; not meaning by this, however, that I may not land a force deemed necessary to relieve a fort upon the border of the country. From the fact that I have quoted a part of the inaugural address, it must not be inferred that I repudiate any other part, the whole of which I reaffirm, except so far as what I now say of the mails may be regarded as a modification."

This answer, however, was sufficiently firm to convince the Virginian commissioners that the President had determined to exercise his proper authority in the suppression of rebellion. Their return to Richmond with this response served to precipitate the action of the Convention, and accordingly it passed, in secret session, on the 17th of April, an ordinance of secession, conditional, however, upon its ratification by a majority of the votes of the people of the State on the fourth Thursday in the ensuing month of May. The secession leaders of Virginia, however, in their impatience to rebel, could not await the deliberate course of law, and began at once a series of hostile acts, soon to result in open war against the Federal authority.

April 17.

Letcher, the Governor of Virginia, issued a proclamation in which he recognized the independence of the seceded States, declaring that they have, "by authority of their people, solemnly rescued the powers granted by them to the United States, and have framed a constitution and organized a government for themselves, to which the people of those States are yielding willing obedience, and have so notified the President of the United States by all the formalities incident to such action, and thereby become to the United States a separate, independent, and foreign power." At the same time he thought proper "to order all armed volunteer regiments or companies within the State forthwith to hold themselves in readiness for immediate orders."

April 17.

Before the people of the State, however, had an opportunity of expressing their will as legally provided by the acts of the Virginia Legislature and Convention, Governor Letcher commenced to wage war against the United States. He ordered the main entrance of the harbor of Norfolk to be obstructed by the sinking of small boats, to prevent communication with the Federal navy-yard at that port, which he had evidently determined to seize on the first occasion favorable to his purpose, as will be developed in the course of this narrative.

His first attempt, however, was to capture the United States arsenal and armory at Harper's Ferry. This town, now so memorable, is in Jefferson Co., Virginia. It is situated on the Potomac River, just where the Shenandoah enters, and the two streams united pass through the Blue Ridge. The town originally

clustered about the base of a hill, but is gradually rising up its steep sides, and some scattered hamlets and houses have already reached the table-land on the summit, nearly four hundred feet above the water. The ridge on either side of the gap through which the Potomac, united with the Shenandoah, forces its way, rises in steep and bare cliffs to an elevation of twelve hundred feet or more, the simple grandeur of which, contrasting with the picturesque beauty of the lesser and cultivated heights, gives to the surrounding scenery of Harper's Ferry the most impressive effect. Thomas Jefferson said that it was "one of the most stupendous scenes in nature, and well worth a voyage across the Atlantic to witness."

The town is described as at this time "containing a population of 10,000, and of considerable trading importance as the point of junction of the Baltimore and Ohio and the Winchester and Potomac railways. A bridge of nine hundred feet in length connects it with the opposite shore of Maryland. The main business of the place is manufacturing. It has one of the largest mills in the United States for grinding flour." Additional importance was given to the town by the establishment there of the Federal arsenal and armory. Ninety thousand stand of arms were ordinarily stored in the dépots, and the work-shops were capable of producing twenty-five thousand annually.

The place had already acquired an unhappy association with our sectional quarrels, by the invasion of John Brown, who, at the head of twenty-two men, had taken possession of the town and strove to excite the negroes of Virginia to insurrection. It has again repeatedly become a scene of commotion and conflict during this civil war.

The Governor of Virginia was eager to possess himself of the arsenal and armory, and thus supply his secession allies with the means of carrying on the war against the United States, which he contemplated. He accordingly sent secret orders to Charlestown, the county seat of Jefferson, to muster a force for the purpose of seizing the Federal property at Harper's Ferry. Some three thousand men had been summoned, but only two hundred and fifty, in consequence of the suddenness of the call, mustered at Halltown, the rendezvous half way between the county town and Harper's Ferry, and about four miles from each place. Here they remained until night, that they might have the cover of darkness for their intended act of violence against the laws of the United States. April 18.

The force having been formed, consisting of a small body of infantry, termed the Jefferson Battalion, commanded by a Captain Allen, one piece of artillery, and a squad of "Fauquier" cavalry, under a Captain Ashby, marched, at about eight o'clock in the night of the very day on which the order had been received from Richmond. April 18.

"The troops marched," says one who was with them, "in silence, and about a mile from the starting-point the column was challenged by sentries posted

in the road. They halted, loaded with ball-cartridge, and advanced with fixed bayonets until they reached the brow of the hill overlooking the town and at the outskirts of the village of Bolivar. Here the advance was again challenged, and the column halted. As these sentries were known to be employes of the armories, and as it was thought probable from the temper manifested during the day that the whole body of workmen had united with the Government troops, thus giving them four hundred effective men, with full preparation and choice of position, it was thought proper to send a flag into the town to ascertain how matters stood. An influential gentleman accompanying the troops, offered his services to execute this delicate duty, and to dissuade the citizens, if possible, from taking part in the contest. From after-knowledge it was ascertained that this precaution was unnecessary, as the mass of the inhabitants were loyal to the soil where they lived, and such as might have entertained different sentiments were silenced by the reports of the imposing force which was supposed to be at hand.

"While the Virginia officers were in consultation, there was seen in the direction of the armory a flash, accompanied by a report like the discharge of a cannon, followed by a number of other flashes in quick succession, and then the sky and surrounding mountains were lighted with the steady glare of ascending flames. Captain Ashby, with his squad, immediately rode down into the town, and in a short time returned with the report that the troops had fired the public buildings and retreated across the Potomac bridge, taking the mountain road toward Carlisle Barracks, in Pennsylvania.

"On our way down we met a long line of men, women, and boys, carrying loads of muskets, bayonets, and other military equipments. The streets at the confluence of the two rivers were brilliantly illuminated by the flames from the old arsenal, which burned like a furnace. The inclosure around these buildings was covered with splintered glass, which had been blown out by the explosion of the powder-train. A few arm-boxes, open and empty, lay near the entrance; but nearly all the muskets in this building, fifteen thousand, as stated, were destroyed.

"Of the armory buildings on Potomac Street, one large work-shop was in a light blaze, and two others on fire. Alarmed by the first explosions, the citizens hesitated to approach the workshops, and warned the Virginia troops not to do so, supposing them to be mined; but presently becoming reassured on that subject, they went to work with the engines, extinguished some of the fires, and prevented their extension to the town and railroad bridges."

The plans of the secessionists had been anticipated and their designs thwarted by the Federal commander and his little force at Harper's Ferry. The Federal garrison consisted of a detachment of United States Rifles, amounting to about forty in number,

under the command of Lieutenant Roger Jones. This officer had been notified some days previously by the Government at Washington of the danger which threatened his post. On the 17th of April, before the march of the Virginians, he learned from various sources that the attack was to be made on the succeeding day. The militia of the town of Harper's Ferry, although they professed loyalty, were either alarmed at the rumors of an approaching force, or unwilling to oppose it, and consequently disbanded. The workmen employed at the arsenal and armory showed symptoms, if not of disaffection, at least of great uneasiness. Every hour brought with it fresh rumors, more or less exaggerated, of the advancing secessionists. The railroad was in their power, and a special train, bearing armed men, was known to be hurrying forward. Troops, amounting to two thousand in number, were reported to have gathered from Winchester, Charleston, and other neighboring points, and to be marching to Harper's Ferry.

April 17.

Lieutenant Jones, conscious of the purpose of this movement, and unable, with his meagre garrison of forty men in a country believed to be hostile, to defend his post, determined to destroy the arsenal and armory, lest their important works and valuable supplies of arms should fall into the possession of those who were undoubtedly determined to use them in waging war against the Federal Government.

Early in the evening of the 17th of April, accordingly, the Lieutenant set his men to work in making preparations for the destruction of the public property, should it prove necessary. With swords the soldiers cut up the planks and other timber to supply wood for firing the buildings. The mattresses were ripped up, their contents emptied out, and then filled with powder. This was all done inside of the arsenals and armories, to conceal the purpose from the people of the town, whose loyalty was suspected, and who, if they should discover it, might rise and prevent it. The arms, some fifteen thousand stand, were now collected and piled together, and the chipped wood and mattresses filled with powder were so placed that the guns and the buildings might all be destroyed together in one common explosion and conflagration. On the next night, having received "positive and reliable information that twenty-five hundred or three thousand State troops would reach Harper's Ferry in two hours from Winchester, and that the troops from Halltown, increased to three hundred, were advancing, and even at that time—a few minutes after ten o'clock—within twenty minutes' march of the Ferry," Lieutenant Jones gave the order to apply the torch. The windows and doors of the buildings had been opened so that the flames could have free sway, and when all was ready, the fires were started in the carpenter's shop, and the trains leading to the powder ignited. This done, the Lieutenant marched out his men and began a rapid retreat. In three minutes after, the buildings of the arsenal

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and the carpenter's shop were in a "complete blaze."

The fire alarmed the town, and its excited populace pursued Lieutenant Jones and his men, coming upon them just as they had reached the bridge, for the purpose of escaping across. The crowd pressed forward, crying vengeance upon them for having set fire to the buildings. Jones wheeled his men, and facing the multitude declared, unless they dispersed, he would fire upon them. The intimidated throng shrunk back, and Jones took the occasion to continue his retreat and take to the woods, followed, however, by several shots, which fortunately were without effect. He now hurried northward, his way being lighted up by the blazing buildings. The explosion took place almost as soon as he got beyond the town, and he flattered himself that the destruction of the arsenal and armory had been complete. Hurriedly marching all night across streams and bogs, he reached Hagers-
April 19. town in safety on the next morning, at seven o'clock, and thence pursued his way to Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania, where, confident of being among a loyal people, he could stop to refresh his wayworn men, who had marched all night and eaten nothing since they left Harper's Ferry. Four of his little garrison, however, were missing, and it was feared that they had been captured, or perhaps slain.

From Chambersburg Lieutenant Jones proceeded with his men to Carlisle Bar-
April 20. racks, a Federal post, whence he dispatched a report of his proceedings to the United States Government.

His conduct met with the approbation of the President, who, in consideration of "his skilful and gallant conduct at Harper's Ferry," gave him the commission of assistant-quarter-master-general with the rank of captain, and sent to him through the secretary this flattering tribute:

"War Department, Washington,
April 22d, 1861.

"Lieutenant Roger Jones:

"My dear Sir: I am directed by the President of the United States to communicate to you, and through you to the officers and men under your command at Harper's Ferry armory, the approbation of the Government of your and their judicious conduct there, and to tender to you and them the thanks of the Government for the same.

"I am, sir, very respectfully,

"Simon Cameron,

"Secretary of War."

This was soon followed by another more important, but less justifiable destruction of public property in Virginia. It will be recollected that Governor Letcher had already ordered the main entrance of the harbor of Norfolk to be obstructed by the sinking of small boats. Seven vessels had been sunk at the mouth of the Elizabeth River, the only channel of communication between the sea and the Gosport navy-yard. The obvious object of this was to hem in that important naval station, so that by preventing the egress of the United States vessels there, or the ingress of

any force that might be sent to their aid, the navy-yard with its ships and its stores should be at the mercy of the State of Virginia. The dispatch which announced the execution of the Governor's order exultingly declared: "Thus have we secured for Virginia three of the best ships of the navy," alluding to the Cumberland, Merrimac, and Pennsylvania, then among the vessels in the Gosport navy-yard at Norfolk. The inhabitants had, moreover, shown their hostile intentions by seizing the United States magazine, situated below the city, and containing four thousand kegs of powder.

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The navy-yard was in command of Commodore Charles S. Macaulay, a veteran naval officer. The establishment, one of the largest in the United States, contained not only stores of naval and military munitions of war and ships, but arsenals, foundries, workshops, and docks—a mass of public property which had cost the United States over fifty millions of dollars.

There were twelve vessels of war stationed at the yard, with an aggregate tonnage of about thirty-five thousand tons, and an armament of six hundred and fifty guns. These were the Pennsylvania, a sailing vessel, the largest line-of-battle-ship ever built in the United States. Her tonnage was three thousand three hundred and forty-one tons, and she was built to carry a hundred and twenty guns, to work which and the ship would have required a crew of a thousand men. Launched in 1837, at Philadelphia, she remained there as the wonder of all sight-seers, until she sailed to Norfolk, many years after, where she remained a useless hulk, too unwieldly and too expensive for service.

The Delaware, also a sailing line-of-battle-ship, was of two thousand six hundred and thirty-three tons, carrying an armament of eighty-four guns, and a crew of eight hundred men. She, however, was rotten, and had been long condemned as unfit for service.

The Columbus, a line-of-battle-ship, of two thousand four hundred and eighty tons burthen, and rated for eighty guns and eight hundred men, was also useless as a sailing vessel, but was thought capable of being converted into a steamer. The Raritan, a frigate of one thousand seven hundred and twenty-six tons, and fifty guns, was another vessel which had been condemned as unfit for service.

The Plymouth, a first-class sloop-of-war, of nine hundred and eighty-nine tons, and twenty-two guns, was undergoing repairs, and was a vessel of little value.

There was the New York, the keel of which was laid forty-five years ago, still on the stocks, and was hardly thought to be available. To these vessels of little value, may be added the old United States, built in 1797.

There were, however, the four sailing ships, the fine frigate Cumberland, the Germantown, the Columbia, and the brig Dolphin, which were for the most part in good condition and capable of the best service. In addition was the first-class steam frigate the Merrimac,

of three thousand two hundred tons, and forty guns. Built at the Charlestown navy-yard, near Boston, in 1855, she had proved herself ever since to be one of the most powerful and valuable steamers in the United States navy.

Commodore Macaulay, supposed to be acting with the concurrence of the authorities at Washington, now determined to save what little he could of this valuable Government property, and destroy the remainder in order to prevent its falling into the possession of the Virginians. April 20. The commander of the insurgents at Norfolk, General Taliafero, had already demanded the surrender of the navy-yard, and after a conference with the Commodore, at noon, declared that he had his assurance that "none of the vessels should be removed, nor a shot fired, except in self-defence." However this may be, the Commodore doubtless was so persuaded of the hostile intent of the force assembled in Norfolk, as to believe that the most decided measures had become necessary to thwart it.

In the evening the United States April 20. steamer the Pawnee arrived from Washington with two hundred volunteers and a hundred marines, in addition to her own crew, and after stopping at Fortress Monroe and taking on board a reinforcement of men, proceeded at once to co-operate with Commodore Macaulay, and aid him in whatever action he had determined upon.

It was about seven o'clock, on a clear April 20. moonlight night, that the Pawnee, Captain Paulding, flying at her peak the commodore's pennant, moved from the dock of Fort Monroe cheered by the shouts of the garrison gathered on the parapet of the fortress, and steamed off for Norfolk. Notwithstanding the sunken vessels in the channel, the steamer passed without difficulty up Hampton Roads, past Norfolk, to Gosport navy-yard, where she arrived at half-past eight o'clock. The people of Norfolk and Portsmouth were greatly disturbed by her approach, as they believed she had come to aid in bombarding their towns. Overcome with fright, and unprepared for resistance, they made no show of opposition, but every inhabitant took care to keep at a discreet distance.

Our people at the navy-yard, expecting the coming of the Pawnee, were on the alert, and as she came alongside the dock, the sailors on board the Cumberland and Pennsylvania, crowding into the shrouds and manning the yards, heartily cheered her. Cut off as they had been for so long a time from all communication with the town, insulted and threatened daily and hourly by the infuriated insurgents of Virginia, they saw, in the arrival of the Pawnee, a means of relief, if not an opportunity of vindicating the national dignity, and exulted greatly.

As soon as the steamer had made fast to the dock, Colonel Wardrop, the military commander, marched out his men and stationed them at the gates of the navy-yard, to prevent the entrance of the insurgents, should they make the attempt. The marines of the different

vessels were now mustered and set busily to work. Some collected the records, papers, and archives from the offices and placed them on board the Pawnee, and some gathered whatever was valuable, important, and easily transferable from the various ships, and stored it in the Cumberland. After thus having secured what could be readily carried away, the marines were ordered to begin the work of destruction. Many thousand stands of arms, and a large quantity of pistols and revolvers, were broken by severing the barrels from the stocks, and thrown into the river. Thousands of shot and shell followed, and everything on the ships that might be of service to the insurgents met with the same fate. The cannon which were still left unspiked were now spiked and dismounted, and some fifteen hundred, of which several were Dahlgrens and columbiads, were thus rendered useless. The men persevered in this work of destruction from nine o'clock in the evening until midnight, when the moon sunk below the horizon. The barracks, situated within the yard, were then set on fire, in order that the marines might, by the glare of the flames, be enabled to continue their labors, which they renewed with increased spirit, as if enlivened by the crackling and blaze of the conflagration. The day, however, was approaching, and it was feared that the insurgents, gathering in force, might obstruct the escape of the Pawnee and the Cumberland. Gunpowder trains were now laid upon the decks of the doomed ships and the ship-houses. The crews of the various ships and all who belonged to the navy-yard, with the exception of two left behind to fire the trains, now hurried on board of the Pawnee and Cumberland. The former left the dock on Sunday morning, at four o'clock, on her return. As she cast off her moorings she sent up a signal rocket, and as it burst, the torch was applied, and in a moment the whole yard seemed to be wrapped in a common flame. Ships and ship-houses caught simultaneously, and the old New York, the keel of which had been laid forty-five years before, and was still on the stocks, burned, with its huge wooden cover, like tinder. The Pennsylvania, the Merrimac, the Germantown, the Plymouth, the Raritan, the Columbia, and the brig Dolphin caught at the same time, and were left in flames. Some of the guns were loaded, though not charged with shot, and when the fire reached them they exploded and added to the effect of this scene of destruction. "The Pennsylvania burned like a volcano for five hours and a half before her mainmast fell. I stood watching," says an eye-witness,* "the proud but perishing old leviathan, as this sign of her manhood was about to come down. At precisely half-past nine o'clock by my watch, the tall tree that stood in her centre tottered and fell, and crushed deep into her burning sides, while a stream of sparks flooded the sky."

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Two of the ships—the Delaware and Columbus—had been already scuttled and sunk on the day before the arrival

* New York *Times*, April 26.

of the Pawnee. The rest, with the exception of the old hulk, the United States, left untouched, had been fired. The only vessel thus which was saved was the fine man-of-war Cumberland, which, in tow of the Yankee tug-boat, followed the Pawnee down the river.

No sooner had the Pawnee steamed away, than the people of Norfolk and Portsmouth broke through the gates and filled the navy-yard. Soon after, a military company raised the flag of Virginia and took formal possession of the place in the name of that State. The insurgents, though grieved at the loss of the Cumberland, which they had hoped to secure, were surprised that the destruction, when once begun, had not been more thorough. A hopeful writer, whose sanguine speculations it is curious now to read, gave, at the time of the act, this reason for its incompleteness. "Long before," he says, "the workshops and armories, the foundries, and ship-wood left unharmed, can bring forth new weapons of offence, this war will be ended. And may be, as of yore, the stars and stripes will float over Gosport navy-yard. All that is now spared will then be so much gained!"

A Norfolk editor reported, after a cursory visit, that "the property destroyed embraced, besides the ship-houses and contents, the range of buildings on the north line of the yard (except the commodore's and commander's residences, which are unhurt), the old marine barracks and one or two work-shops, the immense lifting shears, the ships Pennsylvania, Merrimac, Raritan, Columbus, and brig Dolphin—burned to the water's edge; the sloop Germantown, broken and sunk; the Plymouth, scuttled and sunk even with her deck; and a vast amount of small arms, chronometers, and valuable engines and machinery in the ordnance and other shops, broken up and rendered utterly useless."

The feeling at the North, on the destruction of this valuable public property, was one of national humiliation, not unmixed with anger at the Government for not having avoided it by timely precaution. Every one spoke of it as a great loss and a national disgrace. By proper foresight, steam-tugs could have been provided, it was believed, to tow every vessel away from the navy-yard in safety. Even when by delay it had become too late to make such means available, it was thought that a more resolute commander would have been able to keep the insurgents at Norfolk at bay. With a fleet of ships heavily armed at his command, it was urged that he might have turned his guns upon the towns of Norfolk and Portsmouth, and have successfully repelled every attack.

The insurgents, on the very day of the departure of the Pawnee, had begun to unspike the cannon and remove them below Norfolk to mount the sand batteries which they had raised in defence of their harbor and in defiance of the Federal authorities.

The Cumberland was towed from the navy-yard by the steam-tug Yankee, which followed in the wake of the Pawnee. The three vessels proceeded down

the river until nine o'clock in the morning, when they came to anchor at the point where the channel had been obstructed with sunken vessels. Boats were sent out to sound, with the view of discovering another passage. This, however, proving without avail, the fleet weighed anchor and forced its way directly through the obstructions. The Cumberland got entangled with one of the sunken vessels and carried it along with her, and for a time there seemed danger of her drifting on the shore, where the enemy had their batteries. Another steamer, the Keystone State, however, arriving from Washington, went to her aid, and, in conjunction with the tug Yankee, succeeded in freeing her from the wreck and towing her safely under the guns of Fort Monroe.

CHAPTER XVI.

Increased War Spirit of the North.—Unity of Sentiment.—Great Meetings.—Great Meeting at New York.—The Patriotic Enthusiasm of the Citizens.—The display of Union Colors and Symbols.—The immense Gathering at Union Square.—A dozen "Monster Meetings."—Officers and Orators.—The supposed effect of the New York Demonstration upon the Southern Rebellion.—No passing Effervescence of Popular Emotion.—Generous Largesses of Men and Money.—Rapid Military Organization.—March to the Capital.—Dangers of Washington.—Precautions for its Safety.—Disaffection of Maryland.—An anxious Proclamation.—The Agitation of Baltimore.—Continued Anxiety about Washington.—Rumored Approach of Jefferson Davis.—The effect at the North.—Military Aspect of the Northern Cities.—March of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment.—Triumphal Ovations on its route.—Arrival in Baltimore.—Anxieties about its reception.—The Mob of Baltimore.—The Cars Attacked.—Obstruction of the Track.—The March of the Massachusetts Men through the Streets of Baltimore.—The Attack on them by the Mob.—The First Shot.—The Soldiers return the Fire.—A continued Struggle.—The tragic Result.—The Massachusetts Men Fight their way and reach Washington.—The Philadelphia Men turned back.—The Killed and Wounded.—Indignation at the North.—A pathetic Dispatch from the Governor of Massachusetts.—An Official Statement.—Determined Hostility of Maryland.—The impotent Authorities of Maryland.—Vague Response of the Mayor of Baltimore to the Governor of Massachusetts.—A decided Rejoinder.—The Governor of Maryland perplexed.—A Message to the President.—Commissioners sent.—The President's Answer.—Continued Alarm of the Governor of Maryland.—A strange Proposition.—A dignified Rebuke from the Secretary of State.

THE war spirit which had been aroused at the North by the fall of Fort Sumter continued to increase in intensity.
1861. Immense meetings were held in the free States, at which leading politicians of all parties vied in their expressions of devotion to the Union, and willingness to sustain it at all hazards to life and property. Stirring resolutions were passed and committees appointed to collect money and organize troops for the defence of the Union and vindication of an insulted government.

The most memorable of these great gatherings was that which was called by "leading citizens, without distinction of party," and assembled April 20.
around Union Square, New York. On the day appointed, the business of the city was by common consent arrested. Commerce, trade, and wealth all deserted their usual resorts, and sought to

join in the demonstration of patriotism. Immense numbers of people gathered from all parts of the town and flowed in continuous streams from early morning until evening, through the main streets, toward the square. The buildings everywhere were decorated with flags; the "stars and stripes" floated from church steeples, and canopied the thoroughfares. The national colors bloomed freshly upon patriotic coats and gowns, and the whole population was alive with the excitement of the occasion.

It was estimated that a hundred thousand people or more were gathered within and about Union Square. The throng was so immense, that, expanding beyond the limits of a single "monster meeting," it supplied material for a score. Separate "stands" were raised, and a dozen orators at the same moment found a crowd of earnest listeners to their fervid and patriotic rhetoric. Presided over by imposing dignitaries, aided by a long list of notable citizens as vice-presidents and secretaries, opened with prayer by civic divines of popular repute, and addressed by eloquent speakers, these meetings were conducted with unusual *éclat*. It was proclaimed in the gigantic capitals of the next morning's papers as "the greatest demonstration the world ever saw."

It was sanguinely believed by many that this emphatic expression of attachment to the Union, and resolution to uphold it, would alone suppress the Southern rebellion, the leaders of which were thought to have hitherto presumed upon a supposed sympathy with their cause of many people at the North. Nor was this great demonstration a mere passing effervescence of popular emotion. The people throughout the North soon gave a vigorous proof of the earnestness of their devotion to the Union by their generous largesses of money, so that, in two short weeks, about forty millions of dollars—more than two millions of which were given by the city of New York—were voluntarily contributed toward suppressing the rebellion; and those who offered their services to take up arms in behalf of the Union exceeded by several hundred thousand the whole number called for from both free and slave States by the President in his proclamation. The legislatures of the States passed war-bills, and voted large appropriations of money. In Boston, the banks agreed to lend ten per cent. of their whole capital to the State of Massachusetts to aid in the support of the Government. In other Northern cities, the municipal corporations voted large sums, and capitalists vied with each other in their generous offers of financial service.

Many of the regularly organized militia corps were at once ready to take the field, and march without delay to Washington, the capital, which was supposed to be in danger from the insurgents of Virginia and the disaffected of Maryland. The Virginians had already erected batteries on the Potomac, mustered large forces, and it was rumored that Ben McCulloch, the noted Texan ranger at their head, who had been lately seen in Washington, was, in con-

junction with confederates in that city and Maryland, preparing to seize upon the capital. The Federal Government itself showed great anxiety about its safety. Those of the militia of the District of Columbia whose loyalty could be trusted had been hurriedly mustered, and, together with the small regular force at that time in Washington, placed on guard. Soldiers were stationed at the Capitol and all the public buildings. Batteries of guns were posted at the "Long Bridge," which crosses the Potomac, and connects the city of Washington with the opposite shore of Virginia. All the avenues and railroads leading to the capital were guarded by detachments of the small force of militia and regulars at command.

Maryland was known to be greatly disaffected, although it had hitherto been restrained from any violent exhibition of its rebellious tendencies by the influence of its governor and a large number, like him, who were attached to the Union. The proclamation of Governor Hicks, after the fall of Sumter, and the call by the President for the militia of the various States, indicated the antagonism of opinion and the dangerous effervescence of feeling which existed in Maryland. He proclaimed:

April 18.

"To the People of Maryland.

"The unfortunate state of affairs now existing in the country has greatly excited the people of Maryland.

"In consequence of our peculiar position, it is not to be expected that the people of the State can unanimously agree upon the best mode of preserving the honor and integrity of the State, and of maintaining within her limits that peace so earnestly desired by all good citizens.

"The emergency is great. The consequences of a rash step will be fearful. It is the imperative duty of every true son of Maryland to do all that can tend to arrest the threatened evil. I therefore counsel the people, in all earnestness, to withhold their hands from whatever may tend to precipitate us into the gulf of discord and ruin gaping to receive us.

"I counsel the people to abstain from all heated controversy upon the subject; to avoid all things that tend to crimination and recrimination, in order that the origin of our evil day may be forgotten now by every patriot, in the earnest desire to avert from us its fruit.

"All powers vested in the Governor of the State will be strenuously exerted to preserve the peace and maintain inviolate the honor and integrity of Maryland.

"I call upon the people to obey the laws, and to aid the constituted authorities in their endeavors to preserve the fair fame of our State untarnished.

"I assure the people that no troops will be sent from Maryland, unless it may be for the defence of the national capital.

"It is my intention in the future, as it has been my endeavor in the past, to preserve the people of Maryland from civil war; and I invoke the assistance of every true and loyal citizen to aid me in this emergency.

"The people of this State will, in a short time, have the opportunity afforded them, in a special election of members of Congress of the United States, to express their devotion to the Union, or their desire to have it broken up. T. H. Hicks.

"*Baltimore*, *April* 18, 1861."

Baltimore especially, never renowned for its respect for public order, was suspected of a disposition to combine with the insurgents of Virginia, in a violent disruption of the Union.

The Virginians openly in arms, were thus threatening the capital of the United States on one side; the disaffected of Maryland on the other, were scarcely restrained from violence, while secret conspirators, and a suspected population in Washington itself, aroused the fears of the whole Northern people for its safety and quickened them to effort in its defence. An additional stimulus came in the rumor that Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederate States, was hurrying to the North, at the head of a considerable force which was rapidly increasing on the way. The militia from the nearest points pushed forward at once, and the volunteers of all the Northern States organized with great rapidity. The large cities assumed a warlike air. Men in uniform filled the streets; the public parks were turned into parade grounds; public buildings were appropriated and rude structures of wood raised for barracks; and troops were constantly marching in and out on their way to Washington.

The Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts militia was the first to march, and passed through a succession of triumphal ovations from town to town, greeted on their arrival with the cheers of immense multitudes of enthusiastic people, and urged forward on their patriotic mission with inspiriting shouts of encouragement. After having thus triumphantly passed through New York and Philadelphia, this noble regiment arrived in Baltimore, where a different reception awaited it. It was half-past ten o'clock in the morning when the Massachusetts men reached the city. Here horses were attached to the cars to convey them from one end to the other of the city to reach the dépot of the Baltimore and Washington Railroad. The regiment filled eleven cars. Meeting with no opposition on their arrival, or indication even of an unfriendly spirit, the regiment started in the most cheerful mood. Fears, it is true, had been expressed by some anxious inhabitants of the danger of an attack, but these were now deemed only the alarms of the timid. The cars, however, had only proceeded the length of two blocks, or squares of houses, when it became clear that the anxiety of the Baltimoreans was not unfounded. A great mass of excited people so obstructed the streets that the horses could hardly push through it. This mob at the same time began with hootings, yells, and threatening cries, to try to provoke the Massachusetts men. The soldiers, however, neither showed themselves nor responded to the insults they were receiving. Stones, brickbats, and

April 17.

April 19.



bits of pavement torn from the sidewalks were now thrown by the infuriated mob against the cars, smashing the windows and bruising some of the troops. In spite, however, of this attack, nine of the cars moved steadily on, and deposited their inmates in safety at the dépot. Two cars, with the rest of the Massachusetts men, were yet behind.

In the mean time, the Baltimore mob had succeeded in obstructing the track by means of large and heavy iron anchors, lying near by, which they dragged into the street and placed across the rails. The mob having accomplished this work, began to exult with loud shouts for "the South," "Jefferson Davis," "South Carolina," and "secession," to give vent to their hatred of the North by groans for "Lincoln" and "Massachusetts," and to attack the soldiers, from some of whom they succeeded in snatching the muskets.

It was now determined to abandon the cars, and march through the streets to the dépot. The one hundred men, accordingly, who were all that were left behind of the regiment, alighted, and forming, prepared to push forward. Just as they began to move they were met by a large throng crowding down the street, with a secession flag borne at their head. As they approached they saluted the little band of Massachusetts men with a volley of stones, and cried out to them that they could not proceed through the city, and that if they attempted it, "not a white nigger of them would be left alive."

Nothing daunted, the soldiers continued their march, when the missiles from the mob began to fly thick and fast. The crowd increased at every step and became more violent each moment, hurling paving stones and brickbats at the soldiers continually. Two of them had been struck and knocked down by stones, when there came a shot from either pistol or gun. The captain in command of the Massachusetts men now ordered them to prime their guns, which had been hitherto loaded though not capped, and to protect themselves. The soldiers accordingly fired into the people, who, with renewed fury, returned the shot by an increased volley of missiles and the discharge of revolvers. The Mayor of Baltimore at last came forward, and occasionally putting himself at the head of the troops, made a show of protection, which proved, however, of little effect. The Massachusetts men were forced to fight their way through the streets to the dépot, a mile distant. The route was a continued scene of struggle between the mob and the soldiers—the one hurling missiles of all kinds, and occasionally discharging revolvers and guns, and the other returning the attack with a regular musket fire from their ranks. Many, both soldiers and citizens, fell dead by the wayside, some of whom were borne away by their comrades, while others were carried into the nearest apothecary shops. Reaching the dépot, the little band of soldiers, who had thus cut their way through the infuriated mob, once

more joined their fellows who awaited them, and the whole regiment prepared to start for Washington. The mob, however, had followed, and still beset them.

"The scene while the troops were changing cars," wrote an eye-witness, "was indescribably fearful. Taunts, clothed in the most fearful language, were hurled at them by the panting crowd, who, almost breathless with running, passed up to the car windows, presenting knives and revolvers, and cursed up into the faces of the soldiers. The police were thrown in between the cars, and forming a barrier, the troops changed cars, many of them cocking their muskets as they stepped on the platform.

"After embarking, the assemblage expected to see the train move off, but its departure was evidently delayed in the vain hope that the crowd would disperse; but no, it swelled; and the troops expressed to the officers of the road their determination to go at once, or they would leave the cars and make their way to Washington.

"While the delay was increasing the excitement, a wild cry was raised on the platform, and a dense crowd ran down the platform, and along the railroad toward the Spring Gardens, until the track for a mile was black with an excited, rushing mass. The crowd, as it went, placed obstructions of every description on the track. Great logs and telegraph poles, requiring a dozen or more men to move them, were laid across the rails, and stones rolled from the embankment.

"A body of police followed after the crowd, both in a full run, and removed the obstructions as fast as they were placed on the track. Various attempts were made to tear up the track with logs of wood and pieces of timber, and there was a great outcry for pickaxes and handspikes, but only one or two could be found. The police interfered on every occasion, but the crowd growing larger and more excited, would dash off at a break-neck run for another position farther on, until the county line was reached. The police followed, running, until forced to stop from fatigue. At this point many of the throng gave it up from exhaustion; but a crowd, longer-winded, dashed on for nearly a mile farther, now and then pausing to attempt to force the rails, or place some obstruction upon them. They could be distinctly seen for a mile along the track, where it makes a bend at the Washington road bridge. When the train went out, the mass of people had almost returned to the dépot."

In the same railroad train by which the Massachusetts regiment had come from Philadelphia, there were some Pennsylvania troops. These formed one half of the Washington Brigade, and consisted of six companies of the First Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Berry, and four companies of the Second Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Schoenleber and Major Gullman. Being, however, unarmed, they did not venture an attempt to force their way, and remained in the cars at the dépot where they had at first arrived.

They, too, were assailed by the insulting cries of the mob, and some of them were bruised severely by missiles hurled against the cars, which broke the windows and penetrated inside. After remaining for two hours thus exposed, they were finally protected by the police of Baltimore, but were obliged to retrace their way back to the North.

The total number of killed and wounded, in the street conflict between the Massachusetts regiment and Baltimore mob, amounted to twenty-two. Of these, nine citizens and two soldiers were killed, and three citizens and eight soldiers wounded. This tragic event excited great indignation throughout the North, and especially in Massachusetts, where the victims of the Baltimore riot were considered as martyrs who had been sacrificed in a holy cause. The Governor of the State expressed his reverence for their memory in this patriotic dispatch to the Mayor of Baltimore:

"I pray you cause the bodies of our Massachusetts soldiers, dead in battle, to be immediately laid out, preserved in ice, and tenderly sent forward by express to me. . All expenses will be paid by this Commonwealth.

"JOHN A. ANDREW,

"Governor of Massachusetts."

The occurrence,* however, presented a graver aspect than it showed merely in its sentimental bearings. The com-

* The following report by Captain Follambee, who commanded the Massachusetts men who fought their way through Baltimore, though not in every respect accurate, is interesting:

"We arrived in Baltimore about ten o'clock A. M. The cars are drawn through the city by horses. There were about thirty cars in our train, there being, in addition to Colonel Jones' command, 1,200 troops from Philadelphia, without uniforms or arms, they intending to get them here. After we arrived, the cars were taken, two at a time, and drawn to the dépôt, at the lower part of the city, a mob assaulting them all the way. The Lowell Mechanic Phalanx car was the ninth, and we waited till after the rest had left for our turn, till two men came to me and informed me that I had better take my command and march to the other dépôt, as the mob had taken up the track to prevent the passage of the cars. I immediately informed Captain Pickering, of the Lawrence Light Infantry, and we filed out of the cars in regular order. Captain Hart's company, of Lowell, and Captain Dilk's, of Stoneham, did the same, and formed in a line on the sidewalk. The captains consulted together, and decided that the command should devolve upon me. I immediately took my position at the right, wheeled into column of sections, and requested them to march in close order. Before we had started, the mob was upon us, with a secession flag attached to a pole, and told us we never could march through that city. They would kill every white nigger of us before we could reach the other dépôt. I paid no attention to them, but after I had wheeled the battalion, gave the order to march.

"As soon as the order was given, the brickbats began to fly into our ranks from the mob. I called a policeman, and requested him to lead the way to the other dépôt. He did so. After we had marched about a hundred yards, we came to a bridge. The rebels had torn up most of the planks. We had to play 'Scotch hop' to get over it. As soon as we had crossed the bridge they commenced to fire upon us from the streets and houses. We were loaded, but not capped. I ordered the men to cap their rifles and protect themselves, and then we returned their fire, and laid a great many of them away. I saw four fall on the sidewalk at one time. They followed us up, and we fought our way to the other dépôt, about one mile. They kept at us till the cars started. Quite a number of the rascals were shot after we entered the cars. We went very slowly, for we expected the rails were torn up along the road.

"I do not know how much damage we did. Report says about forty were killed, but I think that is exaggerated. Still, it may be so. There is any quantity of them wounded. Quite a number of horses were killed. The mayor of the city met us almost half way. He said that there would be no more trouble, and that we could get through, and kept with me for about a hundred yards; but the stones and balls whistled too near his head, and he left, took a gun from one of my company, fired, and brought his man down. That was the last I saw of him. We fought our way to the cars, and joined Colonel Jones and the seven companies that left us at the other end of the city; and now we are here, every man of

munication between the North and the capital was threatened with being cut off. The riot at Baltimore proved no mere sudden effervescence of popular fury, such as falls as rapidly as it arises, but the expression of a determined hostility on the part of a great portion of Maryland to the Federal Government. The authorities of the city of Baltimore, as well as of the State, confessed their powerlessness to control the people in their manifestations of opposition to the rightful authority of the Union, and by the weakness of their protests almost justified, if they did not sanction them. The Mayor of Baltimore gave this vague answer to the tender appeal of the Governor of Massachusetts:

"BALTIMORE, *April* 20, 1861.

"THE HON. JOHN A. ANDREW, GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS:

"SIR: No one deplores the sad events of yesterday in this city more deeply than myself, but they were inevitable. Our people viewed the passage of armed troops of another State through the streets as an invasion of our soil, and could not be restrained. The authorities exerted themselves to the best of their ability, but with only partial success. Governor Hicks was present, and concurs in all my views as to the proceedings now necessary for our protection. When are these scenes to cease? Are we to have a war of sections? God forbid. The bodies of the Massachusetts soldiers could not be sent out to Boston, as you requested, all communication between this city and Philadelphia by railroad, and with Boston by steamers, having ceased; but they have been placed in cemented coffins, and will be placed with proper funeral ceremonies in the mausoleum of Greenmount Cemetery, where they shall be retained until further directions are received from you. The wounded are tenderly cared for. I appreciate your offer, but Baltimore will claim it as her right to pay all expenses incurred. Very respectfully, your obedient servant, GEO. W. BROWN,

"Mayor of Baltimore."

The Governor of Massachusetts rejoined with a few words as direct in their significant expression of national duty as the Mayor of Baltimore's letter was vague and undecided:

"TO HIS HONOR GEO. W. BROWN, MAYOR OF BALTIMORE:

"DEAR SIR: I appreciate your kind attention to our wounded and our dead, and trust that at the earliest moment the remains of our fallen will return to us. I am overwhelmed with surprise that a peaceful march of American citizens over the highway to the defence of our common capital should be deemed aggressive to Baltimoreans. Through New York the march was triumphal.

"JOHN A. ANDREW,

"Governor of Massachusetts."

The Governor of the State, who was believed to be firmly attached to the

the old Phalanx, safe and sound, with the exception of a few marks made by brickbats, and all we want now is a chance to go to Baltimore and clean out all the roughs there. If Colonel Jones would march his command there, we would do it. There are five or six of the regiment missing, and all of the band. I am in hopes that most, if not all of them, are alive."

Union, seemed so overwhelmed by the responsibilities of his position, or so awed by the manifestations of disaffection in his State, as to be incapable of action. In conjunction with the Mayor of Baltimore, he sent a telegraphic dispatch to the President of the United States, which clearly revealed his agitated condition:—

"Mayor's Office, Baltimore,
April 19, 1861.

"To His Excellency the President of the United States:

"Sir: A collision between the citizens and the Northern troops has taken place in Baltimore, and the excitement is fearful. Send no more troops here. We will endeavor to prevent all bloodshed.

"A public meeting of citizens has been called, and the troops of the State and the city have been ordered out to preserve the peace. They will be enough. Respectfully,

"Thos. H. Hicks, Governor.
"Geo. Wm. Brown, Mayor."

This was immediately followed by the sending of three commissioners to explain, personally, to the President of the United States, the trepidation of the authorities caused by the riot at Baltimore, and the continued threats of the disaffected. These gentlemen were provided with the following manifesto:

"Mayor's Office, Baltimore,
April 19, 1861.

"To His Excellency the President of the United States:

"Sir: This will be presented to you by the Hon. H. Lenox Bond, Geo. W. Dobbin, and John C. Brune, Esqrs., who will proceed to Washington by an express train, at my request, in order to explain fully the fearful condition of our affairs in this city. The people are exasperated to the highest degree by the passage of troops, and the citizens are universally decided in the opinion that no more troops should be ordered to come.

"The authorities of the city did their best to-day to protect both strangers and citizens, and to prevent a collision, but in vain; and but for their great efforts a fearful slaughter would have occurred.

"Under these circumstances, it is my solemn duty to inform you that it is not possible for more soldiers to pass through Baltimore, unless they fight their way at every step.

"I therefore hope and trust, and most earnestly request, that no more troops be permitted or ordered by the Government to pass through the city. If they should attempt it, the responsibility for the bloodshed will not rest upon me.

"With great respect, your obedient servant,

"Geo. Wm. Brown, Mayor.

"I have been in Baltimore since Tuesday evening, and co-operated with Mayor Brown in his untiring efforts to allay and prevent the excitement and suppress the fearful outbreak as indicated above, and I fully concur in all that is said by him in the above communication.

"Very respectfully your obedient servant, Thos. H. Hicks,
"Governor of Maryland."

President Lincoln's answer was tenderly considerate of the nervous agitation of the Maryland officials, and indicated as well by its complacent concessions how at that early period the Government was embarrassed by the manœuvres of its enemies.

"WASHINGTON, *April* 20, 1861.

"GOVERNOR HICKS AND MAYOR BROWN:

"GENTLEMEN: Your letter, by Messrs. Bond, Dobbin, and Brune, is received. I tender you both my sincere thanks for your efforts to keep the peace in the trying situation in which you are placed. For the future, troops *must* be brought here, but I make no point of bringing them *through* Baltimore.

"Without any military knowledge myself, of course I must leave details to General Scott. He hastily said this morning, in the presence of these gentlemen, 'March them *around* Baltimore, and not through it.'

"I sincerely hope the General, on fuller reflection, will consider this practicable and proper, and that you will not object to it.

"By this a collision of the people of Baltimore with the troops will be avoided, unless they go out of their way to seek it. I hope you will exert your influence to prevent this.

"Now and ever I shall do all in my power for peace, consistently with the maintenance of the Government.

"Your obedient servant,

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

The Governor's agitation was not calmed, however, by the good-natured sympathy of President Lincoln and his readiness of concession. On the contrary, each day the disaffected people of Maryland became more threatening and their Governor more alarmed. He now begged that no more troops should be sent not only through Baltimore, but through Maryland, while he proposed, with a strange disregard of the dignity of the Government to which he claimed to be loyal, that the English ambassador at Washington should be invited to mediate between the United States and its rebellious citizens!

"EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, ANNAPOLIS, *April* 22, 1861.

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY A. LINCOLN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

SIR: I feel it my duty, most respectfully, to advise you that no more troops be ordered or allowed to pass through Maryland, and that the troops now off Annapolis be sent elsewhere, and I most respectfully urge that a truce be offered by you, so that the effusion of blood may be prevented. I respectfully suggest that Lord Lyons be requested to act as mediator between the contending parties of our country.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"THOS. H. HICKS."

The President, on receiving this remarkable missive, no longer trusted to his own amiable and informal mode of dealing with his adversaries, but submitted the Governor's dispatch to the secretary of state, to be dealt with according to that distinguished statesman's more official and dignified manner:

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
April 22, 1861.

"HIS EXCELLENCY THOS. H. HICKS, GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND:

"SIR: I have had the honor to receive your communication of this morning, in which you inform me that you have felt it to be your duty to advise the President of the United States to order elsewhere the troops then off Annapolis, and also that no more may be sent through Maryland; and that you have further suggested that Lord Lyons be requested to act as mediator between the contending parties in our country, to prevent the effusion of blood.

"The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of that communication, and to assure you that he has weighed the counsels which it contains with the respect which he habitually cherishes for the Chief Magistrates of the several States, and especially for yourself. He regrets, as deeply as any magistrate or citizen of the country can, that demonstrations against the safety of the United States, with very extensive preparations for the effusion of blood, have made it his duty to call out the force to which you allude.

"The force now sought to be brought through Maryland is intended for nothing but the defence of this capital. The President has necessarily confided the choice of the national highway, which that force shall take in coming to this city, to the Lieutenant-General commanding the army of the United States, who, like his only predecessor, is not less distinguished for his humanity than for his loyalty, patriotism, and distinguished public service.

"The President instructs me to add, that the national highway thus selected by the Lieutenant-General has been chosen by him, upon consultation with prominent magistrates and citizens of Maryland, as the one which, while a route is absolutely necessary, is furthest removed from the populous cities of the State, and with the expectation that it would, therefore, be the least objectionable one.

"The President cannot but remember that there has been a time in the history of our country when a General of the American Union, with forces designed for the defence of its capital, was not unwelcome anywhere in the State of Maryland, and certainly not at Annapolis, then, as now, the capital of that patriotic State, and then, also, one of the capitals of the Union.

"If eighty years could have obliterated all the other noble sentiments of that age in Maryland, the President would be hopeful, nevertheless, that there is one that would forever remain there and everywhere. That sentiment is, that no domestic contention whatever that may arise among the parties of this Republic ought in any case to be referred to any foreign arbitrament, least of all to the arbitrament of a European monarchy.

"I have the honor to be, with distinguished consideration, your Excellency's most obedient servant,

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD."

CHAPTER XVII.

Indignation against Maryland in the North.—To Washington *through* Baltimore.—An energetic Citizen of New York addresses the President.—An Editorial Re-echo.—Increased Martial Ardor.—The Seventh Regiment.—Its composition.—Anticipatory Heroes.—Their Departure from New York.—Enthusiasm of the People.—March of the Seventh.—Its Glorification.—An Account by an Historiographer from the Ranks.—The Eighth Massachusetts.—Obstructions to their March to the Capital.—General Butler in command.—His Promptitude and Energy.—Seizure of the Ferry-boat Maryland.—Arrival at Annapolis.—Rescue of "Old Ironsides."—The difficulty of the Achievement.—Honor to Butler.—His Biography.—Birth and Descent.—Education.—Professional Career.—Prominence as a Lawyer.—His Legal Characteristics.—First Appearance in Public Life.—A Delegate to the Democratic Convention at Charleston.—A Breckenridge Elector.—A Candidate for Governor of Massachusetts.—Suspiciously regarded.—A proof of Loyalty.—Welcomed as a Defender of the Union.—Appointed to Command by his Political Opponent.—His Energy and Success.—National Gratitude.—Personal Description and Character of Butler.—His Coolness in Danger illustrated.—Other proofs in the course of this History.

THE attack of the mob of Baltimore upon the Massachusetts troops, and the apparent determination of the secessionists of Maryland, by obstructing the railroads, tearing up the tracks, and burning the bridges, to cut off all communication through their State between Washington and the North, greatly angered the Northern people. The universal cry was now, "To Washington *through* Baltimore!" and the determination was expressed that the way must be cleared at all hazards. An energetic citizen* of New York addressed the President in an emphatic letter, in which he said: "It is demanded of Government that they at once take measures to open and establish those lines of communication, and that they protect and preserve them from any further interruption. Unless this is done, the people will be compelled to take it into their own hands, let the consequences be what it may and let them fall where they will." The press echoed these resolute sentiments of a private citizen with emphatic sympathy, and declared: "If any man of position as a military leader or as a strong, resolute commander, would offer to lead a force through Baltimore, with or without orders, he could have fifty thousand followers as soon as they could rush to his standard." To this, an editor added, alluding to the energetic private citizen already referred to, that he "could raise in three days volunteers enough to clear the track, even if it should leave Baltimore an ash-heap." The doom of that city was foreshadowed as a second Sodom which must be destroyed, "if it is necessary first to destroy the Government at Washington that now defends it."

1861.

In the mean time, the martial ardor of the country was daily intensifying. The choice military corps of the large cities hurried forward to the endangered capital. The Seventh Militia Reg-

* Mr. George Law.

iment of the city was the first to move of the large force rapidly mustering everywhere in New York. This corps, composed of young men belonging more or less to the wealthier classes, and long admired for the precision of their drill and the elegance of their *tenue*, was the pet regiment of the city. When, therefore, it was announced that these youthful soldiers, who had been hitherto the mere ornaments of a gala parade, had determined to come forward to assume the serious work of fighting for their country, the population of the city applauded their spirited resolution, and, confident of their good conduct, anticipated its rewards by bestowing upon them the honors of an accomplished heroism. On the day of their departure for Washington the city was unusually excited. "Never before," said a daily paper, "were the people moved to such a pitch of enthusiastic patriotism. There have been gala days, and funeral pageants, and military shows, and complimentary receptions, and triumphal processions that filled the streets with crowds of curious, wondering, sympathetic people, but never has there been developed such a universal, heartfelt, deep-rooted, genuine enthusiasm. The American colors were prominent everywhere—on housetops, on flagstaffs, on horses attached to all kinds of vehicles, on ropes stretched across the streets, on the masts of shipping in the harbor, on breastpins, on the lappets of coats, on the fronts of men's hats; on all sides the glorious old red, white, and blue waved in the joyous breeze and every eye was dazzled with bright colors. The awful solemnity of civil war came pressing home to our people who had sons, and brothers, and fathers just departing, perhaps never to return. The news of the difficulties in Baltimore, the struggle of the troops with the rabble, the reported death of many, the rumors of an attack on the capital, the tearing up of railroad tracks, and all the attendant horrors of internecine warfare, struck terror into many a stout heart, while the tears of kind-hearted women flowed copiously as a rain-storm."

April 19.

"It was many Fourths-of-July rolled into one," was the comprehensive climax arrived at by a writer* who had in vain attempted an adequate description of the scene.

The story of the journey of the Seventh to Philadelphia; its prudent dodging of the rioters at Baltimore, by passing down the Delaware and up the Chesapeake; its arrival and encampment at Annapolis, and its famous march to Washington were told again and again in daily newspapers, in pictorial weeklies, and in grave monthlies.

The regiment did not want for historiographers, as in its gallant ranks there were those who were not unknown to fame for their skill in the literary art. One† who recorded the eventful progress of the Seventh to Washington, gave an animating account, from which the following extracts are made:

"Swift through New Jersey. * * *

* New York *Times*, April 20.

† Captain Fitz-James O'Brien, in the New York *Times*.

All along the track shouting crowds, hoarse and valorous, sent to us, as we passed, their hopes and wishes. When we stopped at the different stations, rough hands came in through the windows, apparently unconnected with any one in particular until you shook them, and then the subtle magnetic thrill told that there were bold hearts beating at the end. This continued until night closed, and, indeed, until after midnight.

"Within the cars the sight was strange. A thousand young men, the flower of the North, in whose welfare a million of friends and relatives were interested, were rushing along to conjectured hostilities with the same smiling faces that they would wear going to a 'German' party in Fifth Avenue. It was more like a festivity than a march. Those fine old songs, the chorusses of which were familiar to all, were sung with sweet voice. * * *

"Our arrival at Philadelphia took place at four o'clock. We slept in the cars, awaiting orders from our Colonel, but, at daylight, hunger—and it may be thirst—becoming imperious, we sallied out and roamed about that cheerless neighborhood that surrounds the dépot. * * * Finding that we were likely to remain for some time in the city—although under the impression that we were to go straight through to Baltimore—we wandered away from the desert of the dépot and descended on civilized quarters. The superintendent of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum was a man for the emergency. He provided a handsome breakfast for all such members of the Seventh as chose to partake of it, and we commanded beefsteak on our fingers, and ordered tea by sign-manual. Great numbers of our regiment, being luxurious dogs, went down to the Continental and Girard hotels, where they campaigned on marble floors, and bivouacked on velvet couches; they are such delicate fellows, the Seventh Regiment! * *

"We, of course, were entirely ignorant of our route, or how we were going. The general feeling of the regiment was in favor of pushing our way *coute qui coute* straight through Baltimore. Rumors came along that the city was in arms. The Massachusetts troops had to fight their way through, killing eighteen, and losing two men. This seemed only to stimulate our boys, and the universal word was Baltimore! But, as it turned out afterward, we were under a wise direction, and the policy of our Colonel, to whom we perhaps are altogether indebted for bringing us safe here, was, I presume, to avoid all unnecessary collision, and bring his regiment intact into Washington. The rails were reported to have been torn up for forty miles about Baltimore, and as we were summoned for the defence of the capital, it follows, according to reason, that if we could get there without loss we would better fulfil our duty. As it happened afterward, we had to run through more peril than Baltimore could have offered.

"There seemed but little enthusiasm in Philadelphia. * * I understand that the people were out in large num-

bers to see us enter, but our delay disappointed them, and they went home. * * We came and went without a reception or demonstration.

"There was one peculiar difference that I noticed existing between the Massachusetts regiments that we met in Philadelphia and our men. The Massachusetts men—to whom all honor be given for the splendid manner in which they afterward acted in a most trying situation—presented a singular moral contrast to the members of the Seventh. They were earnest, grim, determined. Badly equipped, haggard, unshorn, they yet had a manhood in their look that hardships could not kill. They were evidently thinking all the time of the contest into which they were about to enter. Their grey, eager eyes seemed to be looking for the heights of Virginia. With us it was somewhat different. Our men were gay and careless, confident of being at any moment capable of performing, and more than performing, their duty. They looked battle in the face with a smile, and were ready to hob-nob with an enemy and kill him afterward. The one was courage in the rough; the other was courage burnished. The steel was the same in both, but the last was a little more polished.

"On April 20, at 4.20 P.M., we left the Philadelphia dock, on board the steamer Boston. The regiment was in entire ignorance of its destination. Some said we were going back to New York, at which suggestion there was a howl of indignation. Others presumed that we were going to steam up the Potomac—a course which was not much approved of, inasmuch that we were cooped up in a kind of river steamer that a shot from the fort at Alexandria might sink at any moment. * * *

"The first evening, April 20, on board the Boston, passed delightfully. We were all in first-rate spirits, and the calm, sweet evenings that stole on us as we approached the South, diffused a soft and gentle influence over us. The scene on board the ship was exceedingly picturesque. Fellows fumbling in haversacks for rations, or extracting sandwiches from reluctant canteens; guards pacing up and down with drawn bayonets; knapsacks piled in corners; bristling heaps of muskets, with sharp, shining teeth, crowded into every available nook; picturesque groups of men lolling on deck, pipe or cigar in mouth, indulged in the *dolce far niente*, as if they were on the blue shores of Capri rather than on their way to battle; unbuttoned jackets, crossed legs, heads leaning on knapsacks, blue uniforms everywhere, with here and there a glint of officers' red enlivening the foreground —all formed a scene that such painters as the English Warren would have revelled in.

"I regret to say that all was not rose-colored. The steamer that the Colonel chartered had to get ready at three or four hours' notice, he having changed his plans, in consequence of the tearing up of the rails around Baltimore. The result was that she was imperfectly provisioned. As the appetites of the men

began to develop, the resources of the vessel began to appear. In the first place, she was far too small to accommodate a thousand men, and we were obliged to sleep in all sorts of impossible attitudes. There is an ingenious device known to carpenters as 'dove-tailing,' and we were so thick that we had positively to dove-tail, only that there was very little of the dove about it; for when perambulating soldiers stepped on the faces and stomachs of the sleepers, as they lay on deck, the greeting that they received had but little flavor of the olive-branch.

"Notwithstanding that we found very soon that the commissariat was in a bad way, the men were as jolly as sandboys. I never saw a more good-humored set of men in my life. Fellows who would at Delmonico's have sent back a *turban de volaille aux truffes* because the truffles were tough, here cheerfully took their places in file between decks, tin plates and tin cups in hand, in order to get an insufficient piece of beef and a vision of coffee. But it was all merrily done. The scant fare was seasoned with hilarity; and here I say to those people in New York who have sneered at the Seventh Regiment as being dandies, and guilty of the unpardonable crimes of cleanliness and kid gloves, that they would cease to scoff and remain to bless had they beheld the square, honest, genial way in which these military Brummells roughed it. Farther on you will see what they did in the way of endurance and activity.

"April 21st was Sunday. A glorious, cloudless day. We had steamed all night, and about ten o'clock were in the vicinity of Chesapeake Bay. At eleven o'clock A.M. we had service read by our chaplain, and at one P.M. we were seven miles from the coast. The day was calm and delicious. In spite of our troubles with regard to food—troubles, be it understood, entirely unavoidable—we drank in with delight the serenity of the scene. A hazy tent of blue hung over our heads. On one side the dim thread of shore hemmed in the sea. Flights of loons and ducks skimmed along the ocean, rising lazily, and spattering the waves with their wings as they flew against the wind, until they rose into air, and, wheeling, swept into calmer feeding grounds. Now and then the calm of the hour was broken with the heavy tramp of men and the metallic voice of the corporal of the guard relieving his comrades. At five o'clock P.M. we passed a light-ship and hailed her, our object being to discover whether any United States vessels were in the neighborhood waiting to convoy us up the Potomac River. We had heard that the forts at Alexandria were ready to open upon us if we attempted to pass up, and our steamer was of such a build that, had a shell or shot struck it, we would have been burned or drowned. It therefore behooved us to be cautious. The answers we got from the light-ship and other vessels that we hailed in this spot were unsatisfactory, and although the feelings of the men were unanimous in wishing to force the Potomac, wiser counsels, as it proved, were behind us,

and we kept on. * * * All this time we were entirely ignorant of where we were going. The officers kept all secret, and our conjectures drifted like a drifting boat. On the morning of the 22d we were in sight of Annapolis, off which the Constitution was lying, and there found the Eighth Regiment of Massachusetts volunteers, on board the Maryland. They were aground, owing, it is supposed, to the treachery of the captain, whom they put in irons, and wanted to hang. I regret to say that they did not do it. During the greater portion of that forenoon we were occupied in trying to get the Maryland off the sand-bar on which she was grounded. From our decks we could see the men in file trying to rock her, so as to facilitate our tugging. These men were without water and without food, were well conducted and uncomplaining, and behaved, in all respects, like heroes. They were under the command of Colonel Butler. * * *

"On the afternoon of the 22d we landed at the Annapolis dock, after having spent hours in trying to relieve the Maryland. For the first time in his life your correspondent was put to work to roll flour barrels. He was intrusted with the honorable and onerous duty of transporting stores from the steamer to the dock. Later still he descended to the position of mess servant, when, in company with gentlemen well-known in Broadway for immaculate kids, he had the honor of attending on his company with buckets of cooked meat and crackers, the only difference between him and Co. and the ordinary waiter being, that the former were civil.

"After this I had the pleasing duty of performing three hours of guard duty on the dock with a view to protect the baggage and stores. It was monotonous —being my first guard—but not unpleasant. The moon rose calm and white. A long dock next to the one on which I was stationed stretched away into the bay, resting on its numerous piles, until it looked in the clear moonlight like a centipede. All was still and calm, until at certain periods the guard challenged persons attempting to pass. There was a holy influence in the hour, and somehow the hot fever of anxiety that had been over us for days, seemed to pass away under the touch of the magnetic fingers of the night.

"We were quartered in the buildings belonging to the Naval School at Annapolis. I had a bunking-place in what is there called a fort, which is a rickety structure that a lucifer match would set on fire, but furnished with imposing guns. I suppose it was merely built to practice the cadets, because as a defence it is worthless. The same evening, boats were sent off from the yard, and toward nightfall the Massachusetts men landed, fagged, hungry, thirsty, but indomitable. At an early hour there was a universal snore through the Naval School of Annapolis.

"The two days that we remained at Annapolis were welcome. We had been without a fair night's sleep since we left New York, and even the hard quarters we had there were luxury compared to

the dirty decks of the Boston. Besides, there were natural attractions. The grounds are very prettily laid out, and in the course of my experience I never saw a handsomer or better bred set of young men than the cadets; and they have proved loyal, only twenty having left the school owing to political conviction. The remainder are sound Union fellows, eager to prove their devotion to the flag. After spending a delightful time in the Navy School, resting and amusing ourselves, our repose was disturbed, at 9 P. M., April 23d, by rockets being thrown up in the bay. The men were scattered all over the grounds; some in bed, others walking or smoking, all more or less undressed. The rockets being of a suspicious character, it was conjectured that a Southern fleet was outside, and our drummer beat the roll-call to arms. From the stroke of the drum until the time that every man, fully equipped and in fighting order, was in the ranks, was exactly, by watch, *seven minutes*. It is needless to say anything about such celerity—it speaks for itself. The alarm, however, proved to be false, the vessels in the offing proving to be laden with the Seventy-first and other New York regiments; so that, after an unpremeditated trial of our readiness for action, we were permitted to retire to our virtuous couches, which means, permit me to say, a blanket on the floor, with a military overcoat over you, and a nasal concert all around you that, in noise and number, outvies Musard's celebrated *concerts monstres*.

"On the morning of the 24th of April we started on what afterward proved to be one of the hardest marches on record. The secessionists of Annapolis and the surrounding district had threatened to cut us off in our march, and even went so far as to say that they would attack our quarters. This, of course, was the drunken Southern ebullition. A civilian told me that he met in the streets of Annapolis two cavalry soldiers who came to cut our throats without delay, but as each brave warrior was endeavoring to hold the other up, my friend did not apprehend much danger.

"A curious revulsion of feeling took place at Annapolis, and indeed all through Maryland, after our arrival.

"The admirable good conduct which characterizes the regiment, the open liberality which it displays in all pecuniary transactions, and the courteous demeanor which it exhibits to all classes, took the narrow-minded population of this excessively wretched town by surprise. They were prepared for pillage. They thought we were going to sack the place. They found, instead, that we were prepared and willing to pay liberal prices for everything, and that even patriotic presentations were steadily refused. While we were in the Navy School, of course all sorts of rumors as to our operations were floating about. It surprised me that no one suggested that we were to go off in a balloon; however, all surmises were put to an end by our receiving orders, the evening of the 23d, to assemble in marching

order next morning. The dawn saw us up. Knapsacks, with our blankets and overcoats strapped on them, were piled on the green. A brief and insufficient breakfast was taken, our canteens filled with vinegar and water, cartridges distributed to each man, and after mustering and loading, we started on our first march through a hostile country.

"General Scott has stated, as I have been informed, that the march that we performed from Annapolis to the Junction is one of the most remarkable on record. I know that I felt it the most fatiguing, and some of our officers have told me that it was the most perilous. We marched the first eight miles under a burning sun, in heavy marching order, in less than three hours; and it is well-known that, placing all elementary considerations out of the way, marching on a railroad track is the most harassing. We started at about eight o'clock A. M., and for the first time saw the town of Annapolis, which, without any disrespect to that place, I may say, looked very much as if some celestial schoolboy, with a box of toys under his arm, had dropped a few houses and men as he was going home from school, and that the accidental settlement was called Annapolis. Through the town we marched, the people unsympathizing, but afraid. They saw the Seventh for the first time, and for the first time they realized the men that they had threatened.

"The tracks had been torn up between Annapolis and the Junction, and here it was that the wonderful qualities of the Massachusetts Eighth Regiment came out. The locomotives had been taken to pieces by the inhabitants, in order to prevent our travel. In steps a Massachusetts volunteer, looks at the piece-meal engine, takes up a flange, and says coolly, 'I made this engine, and I can put it together again.' Engineers were wanted when the engine was ready. Nineteen stepped out of the ranks. The rails were torn up. Practical railroad makers out of the regiment laid them again, and all this, mind you, without care or food. These brave boys, I say, were starving while they were doing this good work. What their Colonel was doing I can't say. As we marched along the track that they had laid, they greeted us with ranks of smiling but hungry faces. One boy told me, with a laugh on his young lips, that he had not eaten anything for thirty hours. There was not, thank God, a haversack in our regiment that was not emptied into the hands of these ill-treated heroes, nor a flask that was not at their disposal.

"Our march lay through an arid, sandy, tobacco-growing country. The sun poured on our heads like hot lava. The Sixth and Second companies were sent on for skirmishing duty, under the command of Captains Clarke and Nevers, the latter commanding as senior officer. A car, on which was placed a howitzer, loaded with grape and canister, headed the column, manned by the engineer and artillery corps, commanded by Lieutenant Bunting. This was the rallying point of the skirmishing party, on which, in case of difficulty, they could fall back. In the centre of the column came the

cars laden with medical stores, and bearing our sick and wounded, while the extreme rear was brought up with a second howitzer, loaded also with grape and canister. The engineer corps, of course, had to do the forwarding work. New York dandies, sir!—but they built bridges, laid rails, and headed the regiment through that terrible march. After marching about eight miles, during which time several men caved in from exhaustion, and one young gentleman was sun-struck and sent back to New York, we halted, and instantly, with the divine instinct which characterizes the hungry soldier, proceeded to forage. The worst of it was, there was no foraging to be done. The only house within reach was inhabited by a lethargic person, who, like most Southern men, had no idea of gaining money by labor. We offered him extravagant prices to get us fresh water, and it was with the utmost reluctance we could get him to obtain us a few pailfuls. Over the mantle-piece of his miserable shanty I saw—a curious coincidence—the portrait of Colonel Duryea, of our regiment.

"After a brief rest of about an hour, we again commenced our march; a march which lasted until the next morning—a march than which, in history, nothing but those marches in which defeated troops have fled from the enemy, can equal. Our Colonel, it seems, determined to march by railroad, in preference to the common road, inasmuch as he had obtained such secret information as led him to suppose that we were waited for on the latter route. Events justified his judgment. There were cavalry troops posted in defiles to cut us off. They could not have done it, of course, but they could have harassed us severely. As we went along the railroad we threw out skirmishing parties from the Second and Sixth companies, to keep the road clear. I know not if I can describe that night's march. I have dim recollections of deep cuts through which we passed, gloomy and treacherous-looking, with the moon shining full on our muskets, while the banks were wrapped in shade, and each moment expecting to see the flash and hear the crack of the rifle of the Southern guerrilla. The tree frogs and lizards made a mournful music as we passed. The soil on which we traveled was soft and heavy. The sleepers lying at intervals across the track made the march terribly fatiguing. On all sides dark, lonely pine woods stretched away, and high over the hooting of owls, or the plaintive petition of the whip-poor-will rose the bass commands of Halt! Forward! March!—and when we came to any ticklish spot, the word would run from the head of the column along the line, 'Holes,' 'Bridge, pass it along,' etc.

"As the night wore on, the monotony of the march became oppressive. Owing to our having to explore every inch of the way, we did not make more than a mile, or a mile and a half an hour. We ran out of stimulants, and almost out of water. Most of us had not slept for four nights, and as the night advanced, our march was almost a stagger. This was not so much fatigue as want of ex-

citement. Our fellows were spoiling for a fight, and when a dropping shot was heard in the distance, it was wonderful to see how the languid legs straightened and the column braced itself for action. If we had had even the smallest kind of a skirmish, the men would have been able to walk to Washington. As it was, we went sleepily on. I myself fell asleep walking in the ranks. Numbers, I find, followed my example; but never before was there shown such indomitable pluck and perseverance as the Seventh showed in that march of twenty miles. The country that we passed through seemed to have been entirely deserted. The inhabitants, who were going to kill us when they thought we daren't come through, now vamosed their respective ranches, and we saw them not. Houses were empty. The population retired into the interior, burying their money and carrying their families along with them. They, it seems, were under the impression that we came to ravage and pillage, and they fled as the Gauls must have fled when Attila and his Huns came down on them from the North. As we did at Annapolis, we did in Maryland State. We left an impression that can not be forgotten. Everything was paid for. No discourtesy was offered to any inhabitant, and the sobriety of the regiment should be an example to others. * * *

"The secret of this forced march, as well as our unexpected descent on Annapolis, was the result of Col. Lefferts' judgment, which has since been sustained by events. Finding that the line along the Potomac was closed, and the route to Washington by Baltimore equally impracticable, he came to the conclusion that Annapolis, commanding, as it did, the route to the capital, must of necessity be made the basis of military operations. It was important to the Government to have a free channel through which to transport troops, and this post presented the readiest means. The fact that since then all the Northern troops have passed through the line that we thus opened, is a sufficient comment on the admirable judgment that decided on the movement. It secured the integrity of the regiment, and saved lives the loss of which would have plunged New York into mourning. Too much importance can not be attached to this strategy."

The Eighth Massachusetts Regiment, which had passed through New York on the day of the departure of the Seventh Regiment, had, after reaching Philadelphia, pushed forward by the railway as far as the Susquehanna River. Here it was found impossible to continue the route through Maryland, in consequence of the destruction of the bridges by the secessionists. Brigadier-General Butler, of Massachusetts, had accompanied the Eighth on his way to Washington to assume the general command of the militia force of his State, sent to aid in the defence of the capital. He accordingly assumed the command and directed the movements of the Massachusetts soldiers when thus obstructed on their march. It was by his energy and promptitude of action that

April 19.

a way was finally cleared to the capital. General Butler seized the steam ferry-boat the Maryland, on the Susquehanna, and embarking his troops sailed down the river into Chesapeake Bay and took possession of the city of Annapolis. Here his first act was to save the ship Constitution—used by the cadets of the Naval School as an exercise ship, and familiarly known as "Old Ironsides," one of the most revered of our national relics—from the clutch of some insurgents who were about pouncing upon her. The General learning of the helpless condition, from want of a crew, of the old ship, mustered his men and declared "if there are any men in the ranks who understand how to manage a ship, let them step forward." Fifty-three presented themselves, and they were immediately put on board. The Maryland then took her in tow, and she was safely borne out of harm's way. The General's announcement of the event in his order of the day was characteristic:

April 22.

"The purpose which could only be hinted at in the orders of yesterday has been accomplished. The frigate Constitution has lain for a long time at this port, substantially at the mercy of the armed mob which sometimes paralyzes the otherwise loyal State of Maryland. Deeds of daring, successful contests, and glorious victories had rendered Old Ironsides so conspicuous in the naval history of the country, that she was fitly chosen as the school in which to train the future officers of the navy to like heroic acts. It was given to Massachusetts and Essex counties first to man her; it was reserved to Massachusetts to have the honor to retain her for the service of the Union and the laws. This is a sufficient triumph of right—a sufficient triumph for us. By this the blood of our friends, shed by the Baltimore mob, is so far avenged. The Eighth Regiment may hereafter cheer lustily upon all proper occasions, but never without orders. The old Constitution, by their efforts, aided untiringly by the United States officers having her in charge, is now 'possessed, occupied, and enjoyed' by the Government of the United States, and is safe from all her enemies."

The revered Constitution had been thus rescued with much difficulty from imminent danger. For four days and nights, previous to the arrival of General Butler, her crew had been at quarters with the guns shotted. The insurgents of Maryland were plotting her destruction or capture. It may easily be imagined that it was a work of no little difficulty to move her, threatened as she was by the people on shore. She had four anchors and seven chains out when the Maryland was ordered by General Butler alongside. One anchor alone was hove up, the rest were slipped, and finally by lighting and careening, and by dint of hard labor, she was dragged over the bar. The crew of the Maryland were only kept to their work and duty by placing a guard over them armed with revolvers. After dragging her over the bar, the vessel grounded on the Outer Spit. About ten

P.M., information having been brought off that the channel outside the ship would be obstructed, kedges were laid out, and it was endeavored to warp the ship over the Spit, part of the men being at the guns. The Maryland having been run aground by her officers during the warping, a squall came up and drove the ship ashore again. At daylight a steam-tug from Havre de Grace came in sight, and was taken to tow the ship out. She was then taken in tow by the R. R. Cuyler, and brought to New York. Subsequently she was sent to Newport, Rhode Island, whither the Naval School formerly at Annapolis was removed.

The General's next operation was to re-establish the railroad between Annapolis and Washington. His own ranks supplied skilled mechanics to reconstruct the broken engines, and the hardy men of Massachusetts, aided by the tender hands of the gentlemen of New York, performed the rude labor of laying the iron rails.

These timely services of General Butler won for him the gratitude of the whole Northern people who fondly cherished his rising military repute, and hailed him in advance as one of their future heroes.

Benjamin F. Butler was born in Deerfield, Rockingham County, New Hampshire, in 1818. He claims relationship with the Cilleys, a family of Revolutionary renown, from which sprang the Honorable Jonathan Cilley, who was killed in a duel with his associate in Congress, Graves, of Kentucky. Young Butler was educated at a Baptist college in Waterville, Maine. He subsequently studied law, and removing to Massachusetts commenced its practice at Lowell. Here he soon acquired prominence as a successful advocate in jury cases. He was remarkable for his devotion to the interests of his clients, and the oratorical vehemence with which he defended their cause. With an impulsive nature, and great flexibility and readiness of speech, restrained by no over-fastidiousness of rhetoric, his eloquence is distinguished rather by its force than its refinement.

Though long prominent as an active politician of the Democratic party, his first appearance in public life was in 1853, when he became a member of the Legislature of Massachusetts. In the same year he was elected to the Constitutional Convention, and in 1859–60 was senator of the State. In May, 1860, he was chosen a delegate to the Democratic Convention, which first met at Charleston. In the rupture which ensued in the party, he sided with the Southern faction, and was a member of the subsequent convention at Baltimore which nominated Breckenridge for President. He was appointed one of the Presidential electors for Massachusetts, and headed the electoral list on the Breckenridge ticket. He was also nominated as the candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, by that portion of the Democratic party supposed to be favorable to the policy of the slave States.

Though suspiciously regarded in the anti-slavery State of Massachusetts as a

political ally of the "States Rights" men of the South, he, on the first overt act of Southern rebellion, proved his loyalty to the Union by coming forward among the earliest to offer his services in its defence. Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, though always his political opponent, was glad to welcome so spirited and able a co-operator in the common cause of national unity, and appointed him commander of the Eighth Massachusetts Regiment. Leading this corps to the defence of the capital, he found his progress suddenly obstructed; and an occasion offering for the exercise of those energies which characterize him, he exerted them with a spirit and a success which won for him the gratitude of the whole nation.

General Butler is a man in the prime of life, being forty-three years of age. Though somewhat unwieldy in appearance, he is possessed of great physical activity. His expression, disfigured by a cast in his left eye, might be thought severe and even sinister by the casual observer, but by his friends he is esteemed as an amiable companion, and by his subordinates readily obeyed as a popular commander.

With his acknowledged energy in action, fertility of resource, and coolness in danger, there is reason to believe when his natural impulsiveness of character has been duly tempered by military experience, that he will become one of the most efficient leaders in the present war.

As proof of his coolness and intrepidity in danger, the following incident is told. It occurred in Lowell, Massachusetts, in 1856.

"It was during the Presidential contest, and Hon. Rufus Choate had been invited to address the conservative citizens. The largest hall of the city was crowded to excess; the audience was wild with enthusiasm, as the brilliant orator swayed them by his eloquence; but in the midst of the applause a jar was felt, a crash was heard, and every face save one turned pale as the cry went forth, 'The floor is sinking!' The man whose cheek knew no pallor was General Butler. He sprang up and calmed the fears of the multitude by telling them that he did not apprehend the least danger; that the architect was present; but to allay any misgiving, he would go with the architect and examine the building. An immediate investigation showed that the edifice was in the greatest possible danger, and a sudden movement, a rush on the part of the assembly, would result in the slaughter of thousands. Forgetful of himself, he bravely pushed through the dense crowd. He did not shriek—he showed no marks of trepidation—but with a bland countenance whispered a few apparently pleasant and assuring words to Mr. Choate. Mr. Butler then turned to the audience, and in a calm, clear voice remarked: 'My friends, there is no present danger; but as the house is overcrowded, it will be better to quietly adjourn to the open air; and I therefore invite you to the front of the Merrimack House.' The whole thing was accomplished in a few moments. It

was only by Mr. Butler's self-possession that the catastrophe was avoided. On this occasion he showed more cool courage than any battle will ever call into requisition. In the life of Mr. Choate we find, what the words were that blandly fell, *sotto voce*, from Mr. Butler, viz., 'Mr. Choate, I must clear this house, or we shall all be in h—ll in five minutes!'"* Before the close of this history, there will be many other more memorable incidents to record, in which Butler will have given proof of his characteristic energy and courage.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Perplexities of President Lincoln and his Cabinet.—Humiliating Expedients.—The Governor of Maryland and the Mayor of Baltimore summoned to Washington.—The Conference with the President.—Opinion of General Scott.—The Federal Authority agrees not to bring Troops through Baltimore.—End of the Conference.—Another Interview.—Troops Recalled from Cockeysville.—The continued Movement of Troops to Washington.—The Route by Annapolis kept open by General Butler.—Opposition from Maryland.—A Protest from the Governor.—Response of Butler.—Another Letter from Butler.—A pertinent Question as to the Loyalty of Maryland.—A Rebuke to the Governor.—Another Protest from Governor Hicks.—The Legislature of Maryland convened.—A Home-thrust from Butler.—Fastidious regard for Maryland.—Offer to suppress a Slave Insurrection. The offer declined.—The Legislature of Maryland meets at Frederick.—The Message of the Governor.—Amiable Rhetoric. Gentleness, Peace, and Neutrality.—The Secession tendencies of the Legislature. Hesitation.—Union Meetings.—A forcible Appeal to Loyalty.—Movement of Butler to the Relay House.—Indirect Action of the Legislature.—The "Board of Public Safety."—Its purpose.—Defeated by the Conservatives.—Animosity of the Legislature.—Expression of Opinion in regard to the Re-opening of Communications.—A *quasi* Justification of the violence of the Maryland Rioters.—Guarantees demanded from the Federal Government.—Commissioners sent to the President.—Their Report.—Sympathy with Secession manifested.

THE President and his cabinet, beset by a rebellion the extent of which it was impossible to measure, and unprepared to meet it with the scattered resources of a government they were so suddenly called to administer, were naturally perplexed. Surrounded with dangers, the greater as they were undefined, and prevented from the exercise of powers which, however great, were yet beyond their control, the Federal authorities were obliged to resort to the humiliating expedient of temporizing with the insurgents of Maryland. The President accordingly summoned the Governor of Maryland and the Mayor of Baltimore to Washington to "consult" with them for "the preservation of the peace of Maryland."

1861.

April 21.

"Governor Hicks not being at hand, Mayor Brown, with several notable citizens, proceeded without him to the capital in obedience to the summons of the President. An audience was immediately granted by President Lincoln, accompanied by all the members of his cabinet and Lieutenant-General Scott. A long conversation and discussion† en-

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* *Harper's Weekly.*

† The occurrences at this interview are related as reported in the "statement" of Mayor Brown, *National Intelligencer*, April 22.

sued. The President recognized the good faith of the city and State authorities of Maryland, and insisted upon his own. He admitted the excited state of feeling in Baltimore, and his desire and duty to avoid the fatal consequences of a collision with the people. He urged, on the other hand, the absolute, irresistible necessity of having a transit through the State for such troops as might be necessary for the protection of the Federal capital. The protection of Washington, he asseverated with great earnestness, was the sole object of concentrating troops there, and he protested that none of the troops brought through Maryland were intended for any purposes hostile to the State or aggressive as against the Southern States. Being now unable to bring them up the Potomac in security, the Government must either bring them through Maryland or abandon the capital.

"General Scott being called upon for his opinion, said that troops might be brought through Maryland, without passing through Baltimore, by either carrying them from Perryville to Annapolis, and thence by rail to Washington, or by bringing them to the Relay House, on the Northern Central Railroad, and marching them to the Relay House, on the Washington Railroad, and thence transporting them by rail to the capital. If the people of Maryland would permit the troops to go by either of these routes uninterruptedly, the necessity of their passing through Baltimore might be avoided. If, however, the General declared, the people would not allow them to take this circuitous route, the soldiers would be obliged to select their own best course, and, if need be, fight their own way through Baltimore, a result which he most earnestly deprecated.

"The President expressed his hearty concurrence with the desire of the General to avoid a collision, and said that no more troops should be ordered to pass through Baltimore, if they were permitted to go uninterruptedly by either of the routes suggested by General Scott. The secretary of war, Cameron, gave his assent to the decision of Mr. Lincoln.

"Mayor Brown assured the President that the city authorities would use all lawful means to prevent their citizens from leaving Baltimore to attack the troops in passing at a distance; but he urged at the same time the impossibility of their being able to promise anything more than their best efforts in that direction. The excitement was great, he told the President; the people of all classes were fully aroused, and it was impossible for any one to answer for the consequences of the presence of Northern troops anywhere within the borders of Maryland. He reminded the President, also, that the jurisdiction of the city authorities was confined to their own population, and that he could give no promises for the people elsewhere, because he would be unable to keep them if given. The President frankly acknowledged this difficulty, and said that the Government would only ask the city authorities to use their best

efforts with respect to those under their jurisdiction.

"The interview terminated with the distinct assurance on the part of the President, that no more troops would be sent through Baltimore, unless obstructed in their transit in other directions, and with the understanding that the city authorities should do their best to restrain their own people.

"The Mayor and his companions, before departing, urged upon the President in the most earnest manner a course of policy which would give peace to the country, and especially the withdrawal of all orders contemplating the passage of troops through any part of Maryland."

The Mayor had, however, just as he was about leaving the capital, received a dispatch informing him of the march of Pennsylvania troops to Cockeysville, in Maryland, only distant fifteen miles from Baltimore. This appeared to him as a threatening approach, and he hurried with his dispatch to the President, who expressed great surprise at its purport, and immediately summoned General Scott and the secretary of war, who at once appeared, in company with the other members of the cabinet. The dispatch containing intelligence of the movement of the Pennsylvania troops was now submitted to the whole conclave. Mr. Lincoln having declared that he had no idea that a force was to move on that day to Cockeysville, urged emphatically the immediate recall of the troops, to avoid the slightest suspicion of bad faith on his part in summoning the Mayor of Baltimore to Washington, and allowing troops to advance toward the city during his absence. The President then expressed his desire that the troops might, if practicable, be sent back at once to York or Harrisburg.

General Scott warmly concurred, and immediately issued an order to that effect and delivered it to an aid-de-camp, who departed on the instant. At the same time assurances were given that the troops at Cockeysville were not intended to march through Baltimore, but to the Relay House, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

The military activity, however, of the free States was quickly relieving the Government from its position of perplexity and humiliation. The militia regiments already organized, and the volunteer corps forming with wonderful rapidity, kept daily moving on toward the capital. Some reached Annapolis by the way of Philadelphia, while others were transported directly thither from Northern ports on steamers chartered by the Government for the purpose. The route from Annapolis to Washington, through a disaffected State, was kept clear by the energetic action of General Butler, who continued to hold the chief command in that quarter.

This spirited officer met with great opposition in Maryland from the authorities of that State, either intimidated by the rebellious, or disposed to sympathize with their disloyalty. Governor Hicks had repaired to Annapolis, the capital of Maryland, and remonstrated against Butler's landing of the troops:

April 20. "I would most earnestly advise," he wrote, "that you do not land your men at Annapolis. The excitement here is very great, and I think that you should take your men elsewhere. I have telegraphed to the secretary of war, advising against your landing your men here."

To this communication Butler merely answered, in the first place, that the arrival of his command at Annapolis was the result of circumstances beyond his control, and that their landing was a necessary part of the performance of his duty to the Federal Government. Receiving no reply, he wrote another communication to the Governor, demanding a direct answer to a question very pertinent to the loyalty of the State of Maryland: "'I desire of your Excellency an immediate reply," wrote Butler, "whether I have the permission of the State authorities of Maryland to land the men under my command, and of passing quietly through the State on my way to Washington, respecting private property, and paying for what I receive, and outraging the rights of none—a duty which I am bound to do in obedience to the requisitions of the United States." At the same time General Butler took occasion to object to the sectional character the Governor had attributed to the State troops, summoned to the defence of the Union: "I beg leave," he said, "to call your Excellency's attention to what I hope I may be pardoned for deeming an ill-advised designation of the men under my command. They are not Northern troops; they are a part of the whole militia of the United States, obeying the call of the President."

April 22.

Governor Hicks withheld his consent to the landing of the troops, but contented himself with a protest against the movement, declaring, that "in view of the excited condition" of Maryland, he considered it an "unwise step on the part of the Government."

In the mean time, Governor Hicks, though hitherto he had firmly refused, summoned the Legislature to meet at Annapolis. This was a timid concession to the secessionists, who were believed to control that body. Butler having, in spite of protests and threatened resistance, landed his troops, had, in order to secure their transit, taken possession of the Annapolis and Elk Ridge Railroad. The Governor protested against this seizure of the railroad, declaring that its military possession would prevent the members of the Legislature from assembling at Annapolis, the capital. He, however, thus exposed his secession proclivities, if not his complicity with the rebellious, which he had vainly attempted to conceal, but which had caused his ready compliance with their demands. Butler, in his answer to the Governor's protest, thrust this charge of prevarication home to him: April 26.

"Headquarters, Third Brigade, U. S. Mil.,
Annapolis, Md., *April* 23, 1861.

"To His Excellency Thos. H. Hicks, Governor of Maryland:

"You are credibly informed that I have taken possession of the Annapolis

and Elk Ridge Railroad. It might have escaped your memory, but at the official meeting between your Excellency and the Mayor of Annapolis, and the authorities of the Government and myself, it was expressly stated as the reason why I should not land, and that my troops could not land, because the company had taken up the rails, and they were private property. It is difficult to see how it could be that if my troops could not pass over the railroad one way, the members of the Legislature could pass the other way. I have taken possession for the purpose of preventing the carrying out of the threats of the mob, as officially represented to me by the master of transportation of this city, 'that if my troops passed over the railroad, the railroad should be destroyed.'

"If the government of the State had taken possession of the railroad in any emergency, I should have long waited before I entered upon it. But, as I had the honor to inform your Excellency in regard to insurrection against the laws of Maryland, I am here armed to maintain those laws, if your Excellency desires, and the peace of the United States, against all disorderly persons whatever. I am endeavoring to save, and not to destroy, to obtain means of transportation, so I can vacate the capital prior to the sitting of the Legislature, and not be under the painful necessity of occupying your beautiful city while the Legislature is in session. I have the honor to be your Excellency's obedient servant, Br.-Gen. B. F. BUTLER."

While thus resolute, however, in the performance of his duty to the General Government, Butler was not less solicitous to uphold the institutions and support the laws of Maryland. His fastidious regard for the State was manifest on the occasion of a threatened rising of the negroes. Butler offered the aid of his troops in suppressing the rumored insurrection.

"HEADQUARTERS THIRD BRIG. MASS. V. MIL., ANNAPOLIS, *April* 23, 1861.

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY THOMAS H. HICKS, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MARYLAND:

"I did myself the honor, in my communication of yesterday, wherein I asked permission to land the portion of the militia of the United States under my command, to state that they were armed only against the disturbers of the peace of the State of Maryland and of the United States.

"I have understood within the last hour that some apprehensions are entertained of an insurrection of the negro population of this neighborhood. I am anxious to convince all classes of persons that the forces under my command are not here in any way to interfere with or countenance any interference with the laws of the State. I am therefore ready to co-operate with your Excellency in suppressing most promptly and effectively any insurrection against the laws of Maryland.

"I beg, therefore, that you announce publicly that any portion of the forces under my command is at your Excellency's disposal, to act immediately for the preservation and quietness of the peace of this community.

"And I have the honor to be your Excellency's obedient servant,

"BENJAMIN F. BUTLER,

"General of Third Brigade."

The Governor gratefully acknowledged this tender of service, but, confident in the ability of the citizens themselves to suppress any insurrection of the slave population of Maryland, declined General Butler's conciliatory but officious offer.

The Legislature of Maryland, under the pretence that it was not safe to meet in Annapolis, the capital, while in the military possession of General Butler with Northern troops, convened at Frederick. The Governor, in his message, April 27. gave a resumé of his action, and after bewailing the angry disposition of the State, strove, in a strain of amiable rhetoric, to compose it by counseling gentleness, peace, and neutrality.

"It is my duty," he said, "to advise you of my own convictions of the proper course to be pursued by Maryland in the emergency which is upon us. It is of no consequence now to discuss the causes which have induced our troubles. Let us look to our distressing present and to our portentous future. The fate of Maryland, and perhaps of her sister border slave States, will undoubtedly be seriously affected by the action of your honorable body. Therefore should every good citizen bend all his energies to the task before us, and therefore should the animosities and bickerings of the past be forgotten, and all strike hands in the bold cause of restoring peace to our State and to our country. I honestly and most earnestly entertain the conviction, that the only safety of Maryland lies in preserving a neutral position between our brethren of the North and of the South. We have violated no right of either section. We have been loyal to the Union. The unhappy contest between the two sections has not been commenced or encouraged by us, although we have suffered from it in the past. The impending war has not come by any act or any wish of ours. We have done all we could to avert it. We have hoped that Maryland and other border slave States, by their conservative position and love for the Union, might have acted as mediators between the extremes of both sections, and thus have prevented the terrible evils of a prolonged civil war. Entertaining these views, I cannot counsel Maryland to take sides against the General Government until it shall commit outrages on us which would justify us in resisting its authority. As a consequence, I can give no other counsel than that we shall array ourselves for union and peace, and thus preserve our soil from being polluted with the blood of brethren. Thus, if war must be between the North and South, we may force the contending parties to transfer the field of battle from our soil, so that our lives and property may be secure."

There was a strong disposition on the part of a majority of the Legislature of Maryland to precipitate the State into secession. Checked, however, by the increased manifestation of loyalty to the

Union, on the part of some of their fellow-citizens, and awed by the rapid accumulation of United States troops in Maryland and in Washington, they hesitated. Meetings had, in the mean time, gathered in Baltimore and other parts of the State, and passed resolutions of loyalty to the Union. The United States flag began to be unfurled, and secession badges and colors to disappear. There was, however, in the rapid mustering of the Northern militia, a more forcible appeal in behalf of the Union. The concentration at Annapolis of a large May 5. force, and the movement of General Butler to the Relay House, at the junction of the Baltimore and Ohio and Baltimore and Washington railways, only seven miles south of Baltimore, and commanding its most important communications, caused even the most headstrong of the Maryland Legislature to pause before taking the dangerous step of secession to which they had been otherwise so inclined. Finding the Federal Government prepared to vindicate its authority, and fearful of bringing upon their State its armed vengeance, the secessionists gave up all hope of the direct accomplishment of their purpose,* but strove to secure its fulfilment by indirect action. Not venturing to pass an act of immediate secession, they made an effort to bring it about sooner or later through the establishment of a "Board of Public Safety," to be officered and controlled by their own friends. This board was intended to assume the executive power of the State in place of the regularly constituted authorities, whose supposed fidelity to the Union was an obstacle to the designs of the secessionists. Thus they hoped to accomplish indirectly their fixed purpose of wresting Maryland from the Union. Their intention, however, being obvious, was at once opposed and defeated by the timely interposition of the conservatives of the State. At a convention which met at Baltimore, the May 4. following resolutions were passed:

"*Resolved*, That the Convention, in the name of the order-loving people of Baltimore, do solemnly protest against the attempt now making in the Legislature of Maryland to inaugurate a military despotism, by the enactment of a bill to create a Committee of Public Safety, which, under a profession of providing for the protection, safety, peace, and defence of the State, would, if enacted into a law, confer on an irresponsible body powers which are unconstitutional and tyrannical in principle, and which, by withdrawing from the citizen all guarantees now enjoyed for his individual security, must endanger the public peace; and in the event of the enactment of that bill, we shall esteem it our duty to avail ourselves of all constitutional remedies for defeating its execution and vindicating public liberty.

"*Resolved*, secondly, That the measures enacted and enacting by the Legislature are indicative of a purpose on the part of the majority thereof, to precipitate Maryland into a struggle with the

* A vote, however, was taken, which resulted in fifty-three against and thirteen for secession from the Union.

constitutional authorities of the Union, and to effect, by indirect action, a result which they acknowledge they are unable to accomplish by direct legislation on the subject, and that we deprecate any efforts to change the relations at present existing between the Union and this State, by any authority whatsoever."

The secessionists of the Legislature, though thwarted in their plans of hostility, did not conceal their animosity to the Northern States and the Federal Government. When called upon by the Mayor of Baltimore for action in regard to the restoration of the communications between that city and other parts of the country, which had been closed by the destruction of railroad bridges, and the hostile attitude of the people of Maryland, a committee was appointed to consider the subject. In their report, while they confessed that "the almost total interruption of direct communication between Baltimore and the North, by destruction of bridges upon the Northern, Central, and Philadelphia railroads, is an evil very aggravated in its character, not only in itself but in its manifest bearings upon the prosperity of the State and its commercial. metropolis," they could not refrain from a *quasi* justification of the violence which had caused it. The committee declared that "in the face of a danger which would seem inevitable, if facilities for invasion were offered to the fanatical and excited multitudes of the Northern cities, where animosity to Baltimore and Maryland is measured by no standard, and who publicly threaten our destruction, without subordination even to the Federal authority, it could hardly be consistent with the commonest prudence to reopen the avenues which would bring them to our very doors." Adding, "that the channels of intercourse with the Northern States cannot be effectually re-established without a guarantee from some quarter of the safety and peace of Maryland," the committee recommended that this should be sought from the Federal Government.

Three commissioners were accordingly appointed to communicate with the President of the United States "in regard to the present and any proposed military use or occupation of the soil and property of the State by the General Government." Having proceeded to the capital and communicated with Mr. Lincoln and his cabinet, the commissioners duly reported the result. The report is a cautiously worded document, but the sympathy of its authors with secession is manifest, in spite of their technical adherence to the legal obligations of loyalty.

"To the Honorable General Assembly of Maryland:

"The undersigned commissioners have the honor to report to the General Assembly of Maryland that they waited in person on the President of the United States on the 4th inst., and presented him with a copy of the joint resolutions adopted by your honorable body on the 2d inst. They were received by the President with respectful courtesy, and made such representations as were necessary to convey to him the sense of May 6.

the General Assembly of Maryland, in relation to the occupation of the capital of the State by Federal troops, and the forcible seizure of property of the State, and of private citizens on the Annapolis Railroad, and on the Washington Branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; and in this connection his attention was called to the suspension of intercourse between Baltimore and Washington, and other parts of the State with Annapolis, and the indignity put upon the State while still in the Federal Union, by such an interference with the private rights of its citizens, and by such an occupation of its soil and ways of communication by the Federal Government. Full explanations were exchanged between the undersigned and the secretary of war and secretary of state, who were present and participated in the discussion, as to the facts and circumstances rendered necessary by the extraordinary incidents accompanying the passage of the Federal troops through Maryland *en route* to the city of Washington, and especially in reference to those acts of the authorities of the city of Baltimore, which arrested the progress of the troops by the railroads leading from Pennsylvania and Delaware into Maryland, and of the opposition to the landing of the troops subsequently at Annapolis by the Governor of the State, and in conjunction with the action of the authorities of the State. The hostile feeling manifested by the people to the passage of these troops through Maryland was considered and treated with entire frankness by the undersigned, who, while acknowledging all the legal obligations of the State to the Federal Government, set forth fully the strength of the sympathy felt by a large portion of our people for our Southern brethren in the present crisis. Although many of the instances and circumstances referred to were regarded in different lights by the undersigned and the Federal Government, even to the extent of a difference of opinion as to some of the facts involved, yet in regard to the general principle at issue a concurrence of opinion was reached. The President concurred with the undersigned in the opinion that so long as Maryland has not taken, and was not about taking, a hostile attitude to the Federal Government, that the executive military occupation of her ways of communication, and the seizure of the property of her citizens, would be without justification; and what has been referred to in this connection, so far as it occurred, was treated by the Government as an act of necessity and self-preservation. The undersigned did not feel themselves authorized to enter into any engagement with the Federal Government to induce it to change its relations to the State of Maryland, considering it proper under the circumstances to leave the entire discretion and responsibility of the existing state of things to that Government, making such representations as they deem proper to vindicate the moral and legal aspects of the question, and especially insisting on its obligation to relieve the State promptly from restraint and indignity, and to abstain from all action in the transportation

of troops that can be regarded as intended for chastisement or prompted by resentment. The undersigned are not able to indicate to what extent or to what degree the executive discretion will be exercised in modifying the relations which now exist between the State of Maryland and the Federal Government, and in the particular matter of the commercial communication between the city of Baltimore and the other part of the country, brought to the attention of the General Assembly by the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore; but they feel authorized to express the opinion that some modification may be expected. The undersigned feel painfully confident that a war is to be waged to reduce all the seceding States to allegiance to the Federal Government, and that the whole military power of the Federal Government will be exerted to accomplish that purpose; and though the expression of this opinion is not called for by the resolution of your honorable bodies, yet, having had the opportunity to ascertain its entire accuracy, and because it will explain much of the military preparations and movements of the troops through the State of Maryland, it is proper to bring it to your attention.

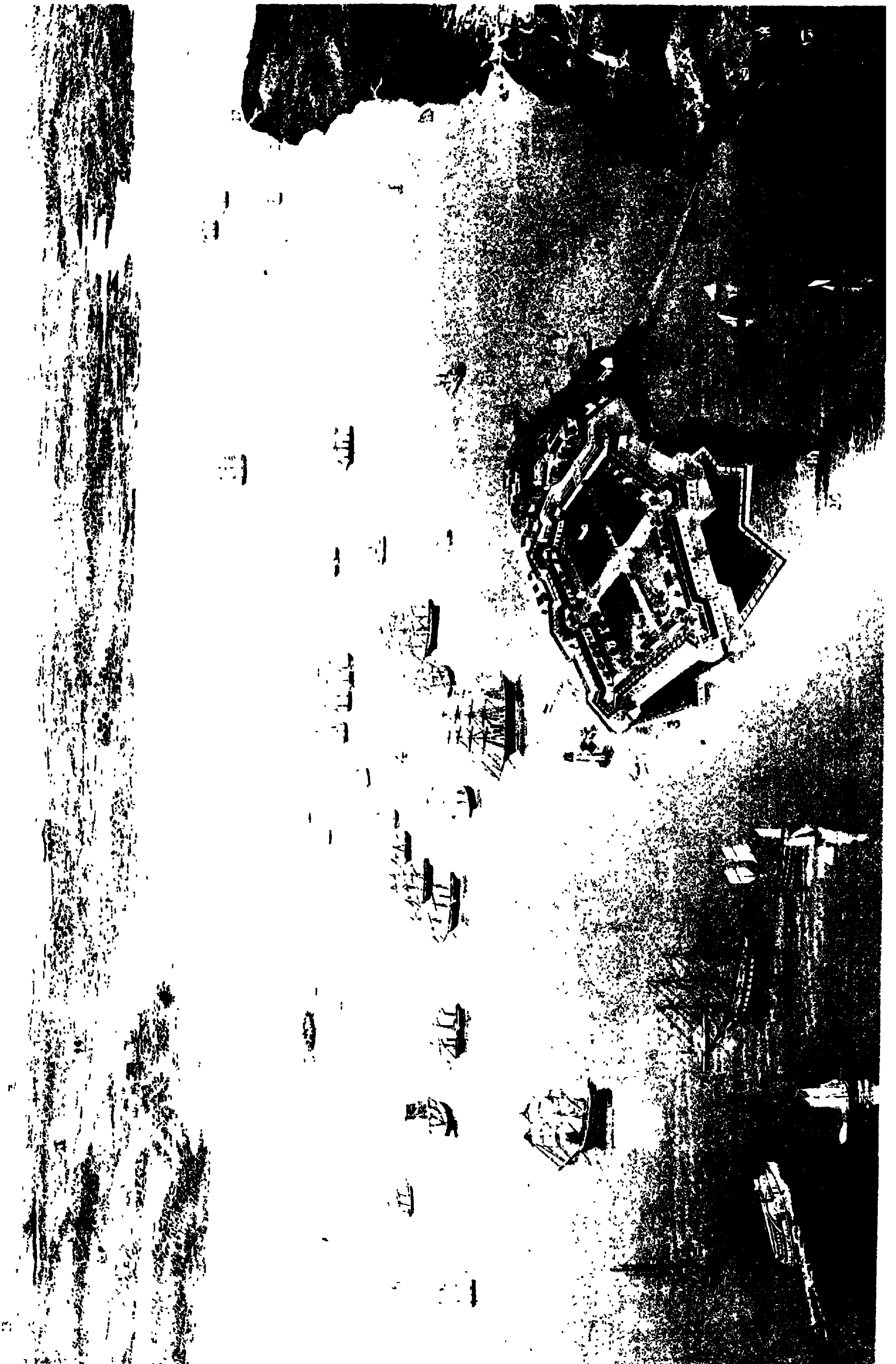
"OTHO SCOTT,
"ROBERT M. MCLANE,
"WM. J. ROSS."

CHAPTER XIX.

The rapid Response to the President's Call for Troops.—The Capital pronounced safe.—Maryland Awed.—Virginia kept in check.—Increased Resources of the Government.—Reinforcement of Fortress Monroe.—Description of Fortress Monroe.—The importance of its Position.—Its Construction.—Site.—Communications with the Mainland.—The Outer Walls.—The form of the Fort.—The Armament.—Late Additions.—The Moat.—The Water Battery.—The Gates.—The Redoubt.—How Commanded.—Its Approaches.—How Defended.—The Defects of the Fort.—The Exterior.—The Hygeia Hotel.—Old Point Comfort.—Importance of the Post.—Danger of losing it.—Anxiety of the North.—Reinforcements from Massachusetts.—Increased Authority and Vigor of the Federal Government.—New Military Departments.—Another Call from the President for Troops.—His Proclamation.—The swift Answer of the North.—Virginia and North Carolina included in the Blockade.—Increase of the Fleet.—Purchase of Merchant Steamers.—General Butler's Fortifications at the Relay House.—Command of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.—Reconstruction of Bridges and Opening of Communications.—Fort McHenry Reinforced.—Its effect upon Baltimore.—Description of the Fortress.—The good conduct of its Commander.—Position of the Fort.—Reaction of Sentiment in Maryland.—Union Feeling claimed to be predominant.—Union Meetings and Union Orators.—Speech of Reverdy Johnson.—Presentation of Flag to the Home Guard of Frederick.—Great Crowds of Unionists.—Remarkable display of Union Emblems.—Manly Rhetoric of Johnson.—Sensible Advice to Marylanders.—A fervid Appeal in behalf of the United States Flag.—The Secessionists awed to silence.—Secret efforts to advance Secession.—The City of Baltimore tranquilized.—Disbandment of the City Soldiery.—Butler Marches into the City.—His Reception.—Encampment on Federal Hill.—Proclamation of Butler.—Seizure of Arms.—Arrest of prominent Citizens.—Good effects of Decision.—The Governor of Maryland takes Courage.—He responds to the President's Call for Troops.—A Proclamation Modified to suit Equivocal Loyalty.—Comparative Propriety of the Legislature.—A Spirit of Disaffection finds vent.—The last Act of the Legislature.—The Route through Baltimore opened.—The first great Victory for the Union.

SUCH had been the promptitude with which the North had responded to
1861. the proclamation, of the 15th of April, of the President calling forth the militia, that in less than ten days after, more than twenty thousand troops had





marched. The capital, which was supposed to have been in imminent danger from Virginia and Maryland, was now pronounced safe. The insurgents of the former State in arms against the Federal Government, and who had mustered to the number of several thousands, and encamped on the banks of the Potomac opposite to Washington, were kept in awe by the militia which had rapidly accumulated at the capital. Maryland, dominated by a considerable Federal force in possession of the channels of communication, also feared any longer to make violent demonstration of its disaffection, and appeared suddenly to be converted to loyalty.

The Federal Government strengthened thus by the military ardor and promptitude of the loyal States, was enabled not only to provide for the immediate defence of the capital, and to check the rebellious tendencies of Maryland, but to reinforce a post of the greatest importance in the future conduct of the war. This was Fortress Monroe, the most extensive work of defence in the United States. Situated at the mouth of the Chesapeake, it commands the only approaches from the sea to Maryland and Virginia, and to the various rivers, the Susquehannah, the Potomac, Rappahannock, York, James, and the numerous small streams and creeks which empty into the bay, and thus find their outlet to the Atlantic Ocean.

Fortress Monroe was designed by the celebrated French engineer General Barnard, in 1819, then in the service of the United States. Fort Wool, on the Rip Raps, intended to cross fire with it, is yet incomplete. Fortress Monroe is built upon a peninsula connected with the mainland by a narrow strip of sand beach, not more than forty rods in width. In addition to this communication, there has been constructed a causeway with a bridge toward its end which leads from the fort to the road on the mainland which passes to Hampton. This passage is so narrow and so completely commanded by some of the heaviest guns of the fort, as to render any approach in that direction almost impracticable. The waters of the bay which flow in between the peninsula and the mainland, enclosed, as it were, like a lake, between the natural neck of sand and the artificial causeway, vary in width from one to three miles.

The outer walls of Fortress Monroe embrace an area of nearly sixty-five acres, of which twenty-five regularly laid out and shaded by a fine growth of live oak form the parade ground. The work is bastioned, and is of an irregular heptagon form. The walls, constructed of granite and embanked with thick mounds of sand and clay, rise to a height of thirty-five feet. On the ramparts are mounted heavy guns, some of which are forty-two pounders and others columbiads. These being *en barbette* are uncovered. There are about seventy large casemates, which are bomb and shot proof. Some of these are appropriated for officers' quarters, and others for guard-houses and general barracks. The embrasures, though intended orig-

inally for forty-two pounders, are sufficiently large for columbiads of the greatest size.

The armament of the fortress as originally recorded in the official statement was composed of forty-two forty-two pounders, a hundred and thirty-nine thirty-two pounders, ten twenty-four pounders, fourteen eighteen pounders, twenty-five twelve pounders, twelve field pieces, sixteen flank howitzers, twenty heavy eight-inch howitzers, five light eight-inch howitzers, three thirteen-inch mortars, seven heavy ten-inch mortars, three light ten-inch mortars, five light eight-inch mortars, five sixteen-inch stone mortars, and fifteen cohorns, making in all three hundred and seventy-one guns.

This armament, however, has been much modified and considerably augmented since. Columbiads of various calibres have been liberally supplied, and mortars of various construction and other cannon added, so that its ramparts now frown with the most formidable enginery of war yet constructed.

A broad and deep moat surrounds the whole work. This is faced with dressed granite, and when flooded by the opening of the gates, is supplied with water, varying from eight to fifteen feet in depth, and from seventy-five to a hundred and fifty feet in breadth, presenting a formidable obstacle to be overcome in an attempted assault.

As the fort was chiefly intended to protect the approaches from sea, the chief labor and expense were concentrated upon the work in that direction. Here is what is termed the Water Battery, which is constructed of stone, of a thickness so great, and of a masonry so solid, that it is supposed to be proof against any weight of metal. It has forty-two embrasures, originally mounted with that number of forty-two pounders. Presenting a formidable front to the sea, this defence would seem impregnable to a naval attack from without. The slope of the battery is laid with green turf, like the ramparts of the rest of the fortress, and in times of peace was a favorite promenade for the fashionable frequenters of the peninsula seeking the fresh breezes of the ocean.

On the north side of the fort there is a postern gate, which leads to a redoubt or outerwork, built to protect the land side, which, as the work was never intended except as a protection against a foreign enemy, was left, as in all our coast defences, comparatively weak. Since, however, the commencement of this civil war, great efforts have been made to give additional strength to this portion of the works. Heavy guns and mortars have been mounted to command the artificial causeway and the strip of beach which join the peninsula with the mainland. The surface of the country in the immediate neighborhood, moreover, being generally level, there is hardly a favorable point for commencing the operations of a siege. The only rising ground for many miles is a slight elevation with trees on either side, at the extremity of the neck of land. This, however, is so commanded by the guns of the fort as to be untenable.

On the beach outside of the walls there is a fifteen-inch columbiad placed there for practice, and for additional defence against an attack from the sea. It, however, also commands the neck of land, and would seem to check the approach of the most ventursome in that direction. The whole cost of the extensive works of Fortress Monroe has been estimated at nearly three millions. The greatest deficiency of the fort is the precariousness of its supply of water. An attempt was made some fifteen years ago to bore an Artesian well, but the effort was abandoned, and the only dependence at present is upon large cisterns, which are supplied by the rains.

Outside of the fort are the numerous foundries and work and machine shops, where large quantities of munitions of war can be rapidly fabricated. There is a wharf on the southern side of the peninsula, three hundred yards distant from the fort, where vessels of the greatest draft of water can lie. About a quarter of a mile distant, and on the western side of the walls, stood the "Hygeia Hotel," a famous resort in past summers for the planters of the South in search of the sea breeze at "Old Point Comfort," as the peninsula is called. Within the fort itself there is a group of nearly fifty houses of brick and wood, forming quite a village, and on one side of the parade ground is a seemly Episcopal chapel.

To secure this important post became at once a matter of the greatest moment. Placed as it was within the boundaries of a State already in open rebellion, and threatened by a force gathered apparently for the purpose of attempting to wrest it from the meagre garrison which held it, there was great danger of its loss. Massachusetts, however, which had been foremost in pouring out her resources of men and money in defence of the Union, came to the rescue, and promptly sent one of her regiments of militia to aid in its defence. Embarking on board of the steamer Maine, at Boston, the Fourth Regiment of Massachusetts militia sailed directly to the Chesapeake, and landed in safety April
at Fortress Monroe on the 20th of 20.
April.

The Government, encouraged by the enthusiasm of loyalty of the people, and fortified by their generosity of service, began to assert with more confidence, and to vindicate with more firmness, its contemned authority. New military departments were organized. The April
District of Columbia, Fort Wash- 27.
ington and the adjacent country, and the State of Maryland as far as Bladensburgh, were erected into the Department of Washington, and placed under the command of Colonel J. K. F. Mansfield, inspector-general, with his headquarters at the capital. That part of Maryland including the country for twenty miles on each side of the railroad from Annapolis to the city of Washington, as far as Bladensburgh, was formed into a new military department, entitled the Department of Annapolis, and Butler, with the rank of brigadier-general of Massachusetts volunteers, assigned to the command, with his headquarters at An-

napolis. To these was added a third, the Department of Pennsylvania, including that State, the State of Delaware, and all of Maryland not within the other departments, and the command given to Major-General Patterson, with his headquarters at Philadelphia, or any other point which he might be temporarily occupying.

This was soon after followed by this May 3. proclamation of the President calling for volunteers for three years, and an increase of the regular army and navy:

"Whereas existing exigencies demand immediate and adequate measures for the protection of the national Constitution and the preservation of the national Union, by the suppression of the insurrectionary combinations now existing in several States for opposing the laws of the Union and obstructing the execution thereof, to which end a military force in addition to that called forth by my proclamation of the fifteenth day of April in the present year appears to be indispensably necessary, now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, and Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy thereof, and of the militia of the several States, when called into actual service, do hereby call into the service of the United States forty-two thousand and thirty-four volunteers, to serve for a period of three years, unless sooner discharged, and to be mustered into service as infantry and cavalry. The proportions of each arm and the details of enrolment and organization will be made known through the department of war; and I also direct that the regular army of the United States be increased by the addition of eight regiments of infantry, one regiment of cavalry, and one regiment of artillery, making altogether a maximum aggregate increase of 22,714 officers and enlisted men, the details of which increase will also be made known through the department of war; and I further direct the enlistment, for not less than one nor more than three years, of 18,000 seamen, in addition to the present force, for the naval service of the United States. The details of the enlistment and organization will be made known through the department of the navy. The call for volunteers, hereby made, and the direction of the increase of the regular army, and for the enlistment of seamen hereby given, together with the plan of organization adopted for the volunteers and for the regular forces hereby authorized, will be submitted to Congress as soon as assembled.

"In the mean time I earnestly invoke the co-operation of all good citizens in the measures hereby adopted for the effectual suppression of unlawful violence, for the impartial enforcement of constitutional laws, and for the speediest possible restoration of peace and order, and with those of happiness and prosperity throughout our country.

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the city of Washington this third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and

sixty-one, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"By the President.

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State."

All the Northern States began to respond rapidly to this call of the President for additional troops, and the Government was judiciously availing itself of its increased naval and military resources. Virginia and North Carolina were included in the blockade already
April 27. declared, of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas. Merchant steamers were purchased or chartered to strengthen the naval arm, quite inadequate to the duty of watching so extensive a line of sea-coast. The various ports on the Chesapeake and the Potomac were especially guarded by the Government cruisers, and the communications of Virginia with the sea thus effectually cut off.

As before stated, General Butler, with
May 5. a large force, took possession of the Relay House, at the junction of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, only seven miles from Baltimore. Here he planted eight howitzers on the viaduct over the Patapsco River and threw up entrenchments. He thus could overawe the rebellious tendencies of that disaffected city, and, by commanding the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, prevent the sending of supplies to the insurgents of Virginia in force at Harper's Ferry, by their sympathizers in Maryland. At the same time the communications between Baltimore and the North were being opened by the reconstruction of the railroad bridges, destroyed by the rioters of Maryland, and troops from Pennsylvania were preparing to advance.

Fort McHenry, too, which had been fortunately preserved to the Government by the resolute conduct of its Federal commander, Captain Robinson, was reinforced, and, with its guns threatening the destruction of their city, kept the people of Baltimore discreetly quiet. When the Northern troops were attacked on their passage through Baltimore, Fort McHenry had been threatened by the mob; but Captain Robinson made it so manifest that he was determined to defend his post to the last extremity, that the most violently disposed forbore to attack him. Fort McHenry is an old-fashioned work, built many years ago. Though never of great strength, it succeeded during the war of 1812 in resisting a bombardment by the British fleet. Its guns were all on the parapet, without any protection from casemates, and its armament, principally composed of forty-two pounders, ten-inch mortars, and eight-inch howitzers, though originally deemed formidable enough, would prove of little effect against the improved cannon of more modern times. Situated, however, on a point of land between the harbor of Baltimore and the Patapsco River which empties into it, its position is favorable for defending the approaches, while it commands at the same time a portion of the city. Several artillery companies were thrown in to reinforce the garrison, and Major

Morris assumed the command, while Robinson was transferred to other service.

The union sentiment of Maryland was now claimed to be predominant. Large meetings were held and addressed in strains of loyal rhetoric by leading politicians of Maryland, who, although their fidelity to the Federal Government had never been questioned, had hitherto been prevented from openly manifesting it. Reverdy Johnson, an eminent lawyer and statesman of Maryland, took the occasion of the presentation of a United States flag by the ladies of Frederick, to the Home Guard of that place, to deliver a glowing eulogy upon the Union. There was a large audience gathered to listen to his ardent rhetoric. The population of the city was swelled by the influx of a large number of friends of the Union, from the neighboring towns and villages, some in troops on horseback, some in long trains of country vehicles of every kind, and others in groups afoot. All came in their holiday costume, and with blooming manifestations of their loyalty. "Union cockades and badges were displayed in profusion upon the coats of the jubilant Union men, numbers of whom were decidedly ambitious in their ideas of patriotic personal adornment, wearing cockades as large as sunflowers. The stars and stripes fluttered from about forty different points, and altogether," says an exultant newspaper reporter, "Frederick may be said to have donned her holiday suit for the occasion."

Reverdy Johnson's speech was a manly defence of the Government, and a sensible exposition of the advantages of the Union to all the States, and especially to Maryland:

"I hope," he said, "you will consider the occasion as justifying a few thoughts as to the duty and interest of our State in the present emergency. In the original causes which have produced it, she, thank God, had no share. Among the foremost and bravest in winning our independence; among the truest and wisest in forming our Government, and among the first in adopting it, her sons have uniformly given it a faithful and zealous support. No treasonable thought, so far as we know, ever entered the mind of one of them; certainly no threat of treason was ever whispered by them. They ever felt the immense advantage of the Union; they saw evidenced by everything around them the blessings it conferred upon Maryland and upon all; prosperity unexampled, a national power increasing every year with a rapidity and to a degree never before witnessed in a nation's history, and winning for us a name challenging the respect and admiration of the world. They saw in the extent of the country, and the differences of climate and habits, elements of strength rather than of weakness, and apprehended therefore no parricidal efforts in any quarter to destroy the Government. If occasionally murmurs of dissatisfaction were heard elsewhere, they were attributed to the whining disposition of some and the disappointed ambition of

others. They were ridiculed, subjected to no other punishment, but left to stand as 'monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.' No 'whisky insurrection' ever occurred within our borders; no ordinance of nullification was ever threatened by us; and, if we continue true to patriotic duty, no ordinance of secession, direct or indirect, open or covert, will ever be adopted by those in authority, or, if madly adopted, be tolerated by the people.

"To this steadfast attachment to the Union we are not only bound by gratitude to the noble ancestry by whose patriotic wisdom it was bequeathed to us, and by the unappreciable blessings the bequest has conferred upon us, but by the assurance, which the most stolid intellect can hardly fail to feel, that its destruction would not only and at once deprive us of all these, but precipitate us into irreparable ruin. In this ruin all would more or less participate, but our geographical position would make it to us immediate and total. A peaceable disseverance the good and great men who have heretofore guided our public councils ever predicted to be impossible. The proclamations now trumpeted through the land, the marshaling of hosts by thousands and tens of thousands, the whitening of our waters with an immense naval marine, the blockade of ports, the prostration of commerce, the destruction of almost all civil employment, the heated tone of the public press of all sections, belching forth the most bitter enmity—all, all testify to the truth of the prediction. How this is to result, Heaven alone knows.

"But to my mind one thing is certain: the Government by no single act of its own has given cause for resistance to its rightful authority. The powers which it was exercising at the moment when rebellion began to muster its 'armies of pestilence,' were clearly conferred upon it by the Constitution. And if the Executive, then just legally chosen, had meditated any illegal policy, the friends of constitutional rights were numerous enough in Congress, had they remained at their posts, as they were bound to do by their oaths and their duty to the holy cause of constitutional government, successfully and peacefully to have thwarted it.

"The professed especial friends of Southern rights, instead of this, rudely shot from their spheres, and, under the utterly ridiculous claim of constitutional right, advised State secession. Madmen—if not worse—they desecrated, too, in support of this dogma, the name of Calhoun. He may have committed political errors—who has not? His doctrine of nullification was certainly one, in the judgment of all his great compeers, sanctioned by almost the entire country, but he never maintained the nonsensical heresy of rightful secession. On the contrary, long after that of the short-lived nullification, in February, 1844, writing to his 'political friends and supporters' refusing to permit his name to be presented before the then approaching Baltimore Convention, he said:

"'That each State has the right to act as it pleases in whatever relates to itself exclusively, no one will deny; *but it is a perfectly novel doctrine that any State has such a right when she comes to act in concert with others in reference to what concerns the whole.* In such cases it is the plainest dictate of common sense, that whatever affects the whole should be regulated by the *mutual consent of all, and not by the discretion of each.*'

"That great philosophical statesman understood, as in another letter of the 3d of July, 1843, he invites his countrymen to understand, 'in all its great and beautiful proportions, the noble political structure reared by the wisdom and patriotism of our ancestors, and to have the virtue and the sense to preserve and protect it,' and declared it the 'duty of the Federal Government, under the guarantees of the Constitution, *promptly to suppress physical force as an element of change,* and to keep wide open the door for the free and full action of all the moral elements in its power.'

"The truth is—and I regret sincerely to believe it—that fear of a violation of Southern rights was with the prompters of the rebellion but a pretence.

"What they have done and are still doing at the sacrifice of the nation's welfare, and of the welfare of their own section, exerting every nerve to accomplish, was and is but to retain official power, which they fancied was passing from them. Look at the usurped government at Montgomery. The mention of names is unnecessary; they are destined to an unhappy immortality. Those who plotted the seizure of forts, arsenals, mints, navy-yards, custom-houses, the admitted property of the United States, seducing soldiers and sailors from their sworn allegiance—using the very Senate chamber, dedicated and sacred to duty, as a spot from which to issue their treacherous telegrams—are there to be seen all in power, actual or prospective. The fact too clearly tells the revolting story. Men long enjoying public honors, earning through many years of service a national fame—owning their renown because of the world-wide fame of a glorious government, are striving, day and night, to reduce it to dishonor and destruction. Thank God, our consolation is that the effort, however pregnant with the present calamity, will fall short of its horrid aim. They may 'as well strike at the heavens with their arms' as lift them against the 'American Union.'

"That the end must fail, who can doubt? The recent census furnishes pregnant proof of this. It shows that the free States have a population of males, between eighteen and forty-five, of 3,778,000, and all the slave States only 1,655,000, and the seceding States, excluding Virginia, but 531,000; and if to this vast difference of men is added that of wealth, inventive skill, habits of industry, and the absence of any element of domestic danger, the disparity is infinitely greater. In a struggle between such hosts—which may God in his mercy avert—who can fail to see what must be the end?

"But to our State these facts teach a lesson that all can understand. If mad and wicked enough to attempt it, what could we do to resist this immense power on our borders? Call on the South? Make our State the battle-field? How long could the entire South, if flying to our succor, remain with and aid us? They might assist in drenching our land with blood; they might witness with us the desolation that in such a contest would be our doom. They would be compelled to retire within their own limits, and we left alone in our calamity, to be rendered the more acute when we awoke—as we should—to the insanity and crime which occasioned it. Looking, therefore, to interest alone, adherence to the Government is our clear policy."

The orator closed with a fervid appeal to the reverence of his listeners for the national flag.

"Though not especially impulsive, I cannot," he said, "imagine how an American eye can look upon that standard without emotion. The twenty stars added to the first constellation tell its proud history, its mighty influence, and its unequalled career. Are these now to be forgotten and lost? Tell me not that this is sentiment. Sentiment, to be sure it is, but it is one that purifies, and animates, and strengthens the national heart. God may be worshipped (I make the comparison with all proper reverence) in the open field, in the stable—but is there no virtue in the cathedral? Does not the soul turn its thoughts heavenwards the moment its sacred threshold is crossed? This, too, is sentiment, but it is one that honors our nature, and proves our loyalty to the Almighty.

"So it is with our national emblem. The man who is dead to its influence is in mind a fool or in heart a traitor. It is this emblem I am the honored organ now to present to you. I need not commend it to your constant, vigilant care; that, I am sure, it will ever be your pride to give it. When, if ever your hearts shall despond—when, if ever you shall desire your patriotism to be specially animated, throw it to the winds, gaze on its beautiful folds, remember the years and the fields over which, from '76 to the present time, it has been triumphantly borne; remember how it has consoled the dying and animated the survivor; remember that it served to kindle even to a brighter flame the patriotic ardor of Washington—went with him through all the struggles of the Revolution, consoled him in defeat, gave to victory an additional charm, and that his dying moments were consoled and cheered by the hope that it would forever float over a perpetual union, and you at once feel its almost holy influence and swear to stand by and maintain it till life itself shall be no more."

With this increased demonstration of Federal power, and this bolder manifestation of loyalty on the part of the unionists of Maryland, the secessionists no longer ventured upon an open display of their sentiments. They, however, still continued secretly to aid the insurgents of Virginia with supplies of

men and means, and to promote their cause by concealed efforts to involve the State in the Southern insurrection.

The city of Baltimore had suddenly become wondrously tranquilized, and May 6. submitted almost without a murmur to the disbandment of its citizen soldiery. A few days subsequently, General Butler, who marched May 13. into the city with a force of two thousand men, of whom the Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts, before so cruelly treated, formed a part, was welcomed with apparent enthusiasm. "The streets were crowded with applauding people, Union flags flung to the breeze, and in some instances the private dwellings were illuminated."* Butler immediately encamped upon Federal Hill, an elevation commanding the city, and proceeded at once, with characteristic energy, to secure the military occupation of Baltimore. On the next day he issued this proclamation:

"DEPARTMENT OF ANNAPOLIS, FEDERAL HILL, BALTIMORE, *May* 14, 1861.

"A detachment of the forces of the Federal Government under my command have occupied the city of Baltimore for the purpose, among other things, of enforcing respect and obedience to the laws as well of the State, if requested thereto by the civil authorities, as of the United States, which are being violated within its limits by some malignant and traitorous men; and in order to testify the acceptance, by the Federal Government, of the fact that the city and all the well-intentioned portion of its inhabitants are loyal to the Union and the Constitution, and are to be so regarded and treated by all. To the end, therefore, that all misunderstanding of the purposes of the Government may be prevented, and to set at rest all unfounded, false, and seditious rumors, to relieve all apprehensions, if any are felt by the well-disposed portion of the community, and to make it thoroughly understood by all traitors, their aiders or abettors, that their rebellious acts must cease, I hereby, by the authority vested in me, as commander of the department of Annapolis, of which the city of Baltimore forms a part, do now command and make known that no loyal and well-disposed citizen will be disturbed in his lawful occupation or business, that private property will not be interfered with by the men under my command, or allowed to be interfered with by others, except in so far as it may be used to afford aid and comfort to those in rebellion against the Government, whether here or elsewhere, all of which property, munitions of war, and that fitted to aid and support the rebellion, will be seized and held subject to confiscation; and, therefore, all manufacturers of arms and munitions of war are hereby requested to report to me forthwith, so that the lawfulness of their occupation may be known and understood, and all misconstruction of their doings be avoided. No transportation from the city to the rebels of articles fitted to aid and support troops in the field will be permitted, and the fact of such transportation after the publication

* New York *Times*, May 15.

of this proclamation will be taken and received as proof of illegal intention on the part of the consignees, and will render the goods liable to seizure and confiscation.

"The Government being ready to receive all such stores and supplies, arrangements will be made to contract for them immediately; and the owners and manufacturers of such articles of equipment, and clothing, and munitions of war, and provisions are desired to put themselves in communication with the commanding General, in order that their workshops may be employed for loyal purposes, and the artisans of the city resume and carry on their wonted profitable occupations.

"The acting assistant-quarter-master and commissary of subsistence of the United States here stationed, has been instructed to procure and furnish at fair prices 40,000 rations for the use of the army of the United States, and further supplies will be drawn from the city to the full extent of its capacity if the patriotic and loyal men choose so to furnish supplies.

"All assemblages, except the ordinary police of armed bodies of men, other than those regularly organized and commissioned by the State of Maryland and acting under the orders of the Governor thereof, for drill and other purposes, are forbidden within the department.

"All officers of the militia of Maryland having command within the limits of the department, are requested to report through their officers forthwith to the General in command, so that he may be able to know and distinguish the regularly commissioned and loyal troops of Maryland from armed bodies who may claim to be such.

"The ordinary operations of the corporate government of the city of Baltimore and of the civil authorities will not be interfered with, but, on the contrary, will be aided by all the power at the command of the General upon proper call being made; and all such authorities are cordially invited to co-operate with the General in command to carry out the purposes set forth in the proclamation, so that the city of Baltimore may be shown to the country to be, what she is in fact, patriotic and loyal to the Union, the Constitution, and the laws. No flag, banner, ensign, or device of the so-called Confederate States, or of any of them, will be permitted to be raised or shown in this department, and the exhibition of either of them by evil-disposed persons will be deemed, and taken to be, evidence of a design to afford aid and comfort to the enemies of the country. To make it the more apparent that the Government of the United States by far more relies upon the loyalty, patriotism, and zeal of the good citizens of Baltimore and vicinity than upon any exhibition of force calculated to intimidate them into that obedience to the laws which the Government doubts not will be paid from inherent respect and love of order, the commanding General has brought to the city with him, of the many thousand troops in the immediate neighborhood, which might be at once concentrated

here, scarcely more than an ordinary guard, and, until it fails him, he will continue to rely upon that loyalty and patriotism of the citizens of Maryland which have never yet been found wanting to the Government in time of need. The General in command desires to greet and treat in this part of his department all the citizens thereof as friends and brothers, having a common purpose, a common loyalty, and a common country. Any infractions of the laws by the troops under his command, or any disorderly, unsoldierlike conduct, or any interferences with private property, he desires to have immediately reported to him, and he pledges himself that if any soldier so far forgets himself as to break those laws that he has sworn to defend and enforce, he shall be most rigorously punished.

"The General believes that if the suggestions and requests contained in this proclamation are carried out by the co-operation of all good and Union-loving citizens, and peace, and quiet, and certainty of future peace and quiet are thus restored, business will resume its accustomed channels, trade take the place of dulness and inactivity, efficient labor displace idleness, and Baltimore will be, in fact, what she is entitled to be—in the front rank of the commercial cities of the nation.

"Given at Baltimore, the day and year herein first above written.

"Benj. F. Butler,

"B.-G. Com. Depart. of Annapolis."

This was soon followed by the seizure of a large quantity of arms, amounting to "fifteen dray-loads," which had been secreted by the secessionists of Baltimore, and the arrest of some leading citizens suspected of conniving at the overthrow of the Federal authority. These decided measures produced an immediate effect. The Governor of Maryland, who had been so intimidated by the disaffected of his State that he had not hitherto ventured to pay full allegiance to that government to which he claimed to be loyal, now, after a delay of a month, responded favorably to the President's call for troops. May 14. He yet, however, was constrained to deal tenderly with the uncertain temper of his fellow-citizens, and to qualify his appeal to arms in defence of the Union, by a condition to suit their equivocal loyalty.

"Whereas the President of the United States, by his proclamation of April 15, 1861, has called upon me, the Governor of Maryland, for four regiments of infantry or riflemen, to serve for a period of three months, the said requisition being made in the spirit and in pursuance of the law; and

"Whereas to the said requisition has been added the written assurance of the secretary of war, that said four regiments shall be detailed to serve within the limits of the State of Maryland, or for the defence of the capital of the United States, and not to serve beyond the limits aforesaid;

"Now, therefore, I, Thomas Holliday Hicks, Governor of Maryland, do, by this my proclamation, call upon loyal citizens of Maryland to volunteer their

services to the extent of four regiments, as aforesaid, to serve during a period of three months within the limits of Maryland, or for the defence of the capital of the United States, to be subject under the conditions aforesaid, to the orders of the Commander-in-chief of the army of the United S'ates.

"Given under my hand and the great seal of the State of Maryland, at the city of Frederick, this 14th day of May, 1861.

"THOS. H. HICKS."

The Legislature, too, was frightened into comparative propriety, and brought
May its refractory proceedings to a close
14. by a sudden adjournment. The spirit of disaffection, however, which
May prevailed, was made manifest by
10. the adoption, a few days before, of these resolutions:

"Whereas the war against the Confederate States is unconstitutional and repugnant to civilization, and will result in a bloody and shameful overthrow of our institutions; and while recognizing the obligations of Maryland to the Union, we sympathize with the South in the struggle for their rights—for the sake of humanity, we are for peace and reconciliation, and solemnly protest against this war, and will take no part in it; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That Maryland implores the President, in the name of God, to cease this unholy war, at least until Congress assembles; that Maryland desires and consents to the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States. The military occupation of Maryland is unconstitutional, and she protests against it, though the violent interference with the transit of Federal troops is discountenanced; that the vindication of her rights be left to time and reason, and that a convention, under existing circumstances, is inexpedient."

The last act of the Legislature of Maryland was to appoint two commissioners to visit President Jefferson Davis, two to visit President Lincoln; two to visit Richmond, and two to visit Pennsylvania.

The route through Baltimore to the capital was now secured, and the Federal Government could claim its first great victory in the struggle for the assertion of its authority.

CHAPTER XX.

Increased Energy of the Government.—Augmenting force of Secession.—Progress of North Carolina to Secession.—Seizure of United States Mint and Arsenal.—Action of the Governor.—Convening of the Legislature.—Denunciation of the President's Proclamation.—Ordinance of Secession.—Union with the Confederate States.—Action of Arkansas.—Seizure of Federal Property.—Act of Secession.—Sanguine hopes entertained of Tennessee.—Union Sentiment in Tennessee.—A Vote against a Convention.—Disregarded by the Governor.—Legislature Convened.—Military League with the Southern Confederacy.—Ratification of League.—Opposition in the Legislature.—Question submitted to the People. Strange Contrast.—Arbitrary Action.—Pretended Submission to the Will of the People.—Apology of the Tennessee Legislature.—The strong Union Sentiment in Eastern Tennessee.—Description of East Tennessee.—Character of the Population.—Opposition to the Action of the Legislature.—A Convention called at Knoxville.—Its object.—The unavailing resistance in East Tennessee.—Ratification by the People of the State of the Ordinance of Secession.—Great Encouragement for the Union in Western Virginia.—Description of Western Virginia.—Geographical and Social Characteristics.—Whites and Blacks.—Free Labor.—Sympathy with the North.—Enterprise and Thrift.—Immense Resources.—Future Prospects.—Disputes with Eastern Virginia.—Difference of Interests.—Unequal Taxation.—Opposition to Secession.—Union Meetings.—Convention in Western Virginia.—"New Virginia."—Action of the Convention.—An ardent Appeal for the Union.—Rallying to Arms.—Union Enthusiasm.—Union Military Companies.—Union Preachers.—The first Encounter in Western Virginia.—A bloodless beginning of a Bloody War.

WHILE the Federal Government was asserting its authority with increased energy and power, and the Union sentiment of the North was daily strengthening, the Southern rebellion was augmenting with even greater force and rapidity. North Carolina was passing through the various phases of defiance and spoliation of the General Government which had marked the career of the other slave States in their progress to secession. Her Governor had resolutely and contemptuously refused the call of the President for the State's quota of troops for the defence of the Union. The United States Branch Mint had been seized and held by a military force under his command, and on the next day the Federal arsenal at Fayetteville, filled with munitions of war belonging to the United States, was forced to surrender to the State authorities.* At the same time the Governor of North Carolina called for thirty thousand volunteers, in addition to the regular militia, and ordered them to be ready at a moment's notice.

1861. April 21. April 22.

These acts, the purport of which was obvious, were followed by the Governor's proclamation convening the Legislature. In this document he denounced President Lincoln's proclamation and Secretary Cameron's requisition for seventy-five thousand troops, the "high-handed act of tyrannical outrage," the object of which was "the violent subversion of the liberties of a free people constituting a large part of the whole population of the United States; it is not only," the Governor added, "in violation of all constitutional law, utter disregard of every

April 26.

sentiment of humanity and Christian civilization, and conceived in a spirit of aggression unparalleled by any act of recorded history, but is a direct step toward the subjugation of the whole South, and the conversion of a free republic, inherited from our fathers, into a military despotism, to be established by worse than foreign enemies on the ruins of our once glorious Constitution of equal rights." He closed by an appeal to the fidelity of the people of North Carolina, to the "sovereign" authority of their State. "I furthermore exhort," he said, "all good citizens throughout the State to be mindful that their first allegiance is due to the sovereignty which protects their homes and dearest interests, as their first service is due for the sacred defence of their hearths, and of the soil which holds the graves of our glorious dead. United action in defence of the sovereignty of North Carolina, and of the rights of the South, becomes now the duty of all."

May 20. In three weeks after, a convention "declared and ordained that the ordinance adopted by the State of North Carolina, in the Convention of 1789, whereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified and adopted, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly ratifying and adopting amendments to the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, rescinded, and abrogated."

It was then "declared and ordained" that, the union with the United States being dissolved, and North Carolina in full possession of the "rights of sovereignty, the State accepts the Constitution of the 'Confederate States of America,' and will enter into federal association with them, when admitted in due form. North Carolina thus gave in her adherence to the new confederacy, and joined in the armed combination to dissolve the old Union.

Arkansas was the next to follow. She began, too, with spoliation. At Napoleon, the Federal dépot was seized by order of the Governor, and military supplies belonging to the United States, consisting of one hundred and fifty thousand ball cartridges, a hundred Maynard rifles, two hundred cavalry saddles, and five hundred sabres, were appropriated by the State. Fort Smith, too, which had cost the Federal Government over three hundred thousand dollars, was forced to surrender. The State troops upon taking possession raised the Confederate flag amid the firing of cannon and the exulting cheers of the people, who gave shouts of applause for the citizen soldiery of Arkansas, its Governor, and for Jefferson Davis. April 22. April 25.

These usual preliminaries of disruption were soon followed by the act of secession from the Federal Union, the adoption of the Constitution of the Confederate States, and the admission of the State as another member of the Southern Confederacy. May 7.

Tennessee, the last to attach her fortunes to the chances of the new confederacy, it was fondly hoped by the North would have clung to the old Union. Though her Governor, who was

known to be in league with the Confederates, had responded so defiantly to the President's requisition for troops, there was yet believed to be a loyalty to the Federal Government so strong, particularly in the eastern part of the State, that it could counteract the machinations of those political leaders of Tennessee who were striving to wrest her from the Union. This belief was encouraged by the vote of the State on the question of holding a convention for the consideration of the policy of seceding. By a large majority, the people of Tennessee decided against the convention. The Governor, though thus rebuked by this expression of popular will, gave it no heed, but persisted in his determination to force the State out of the Union. He accordingly convened the Legislature —the majority of which accorded with him in sentiment—for the purpose of accomplishing indirectly what seemed impracticable through the direct action of the suffrage of the people. The Legislature having met, both Houses
May passed at once, in secret session,
1. a joint resolution authorizing the Governor to enter into a military league with the Confederate States. Three commissioners were accordingly appointed; and having held a conference with an agent of the new government,
May expressly delegated for the pur-
7. pose, the following was agreed to:

"The State of Tennessee, looking to a speedy admission into the confederacy established by the Confederate States of America, in accordance with the Constitution for the Provisional Government of said States, enters into the following temporary convention, agreement, and military league with the Confederate States, for the purpose of meeting pressing exigencies affecting the common rights, interests, and safety of said States and said Confederacy:

"*First.* Until said State shall become a member of said Confederacy, according to the Constitutions of both powers, the whole military force and military operations, offensive and defensive, of said State in the impending conflict with the United States shall be under the chief control and direction of the President of the Confederate States upon the same basis, principles, and footing as if said State were now and during the interval a member of said Confederacy; said force, together with that of the Confederate States, to be employed for the common defence.

"*Second.* The State of Tennessee will, upon becoming a member of said Confederacy, under the permanent Constitution of said Confederate States, if the same shall occur, turn over to the said Confederate States all the public property, naval stores, and munitions of war of which she may then be in possession, acquired from the United States, on the same terms and in the same manner as the other States of said Confederacy have done in like cases.

"*Third.* Whatever expenditure of money, if any, the said State of Tennessee shall make before she becomes a member of said Confederacy, shall be met and provided for by the Confederate States.

"This convention entered into and agreed on, in the city of Nashville, Tennessee, on the seventh day of May, A.D. 1861, by Henry W. Hilliard, the duly authorized commissioner to act in the matter for the Confederate States, and Gustavus A. Henry, Archibald O. W. Totten, and Washington Barrow, commissioners, duly authorized to act in like manner for the State of Tennessee. The whole subject to the approval and ratification of the proper authorities of both governments, respectively.

"In testimony whereof, the parties aforesaid have hereunto set their hands and seals, the day and year aforesaid, in duplicate originals.

"HENRY W. HILLIARD,

"Commissioner for the Confederate States of America.

"GUSTAVUS A. HENRY,
"A. O. W. TOTTEN,
"WASHINGTON BARROW,

"Commissioners on the part of Tennessee."

The Legislature hastened to ratify this league, and thus secure the future secession of the State, by an act which, placing the military resources under the control of the Confederate States, would enable them to repress by coercion any appearance of dissatisfaction in Tennessee. There was, however, a manifestation of opposition, even in the Legislature, to this disregard of the voice of the people. The resolution ratifying the league was opposed in the Senate by a vote of six to fourteen, four not having voted at all; and in the House by a vote of fifteen to forty-two, eighteen having withheld their votes.

After having thus deprived the people of all independence of action, the Legislature, with an affected regard for the popular will, formally submitted to the vote of the State a question which they had already decided by an act of their own, in defiance of the declared sentiment of a majority of their fellow-citizens. The following is a curious contrast to the league already formed with the Confederate States. The semblance of deference to popular will and the reality of arbitrary power, not seldom combined, was never more strikingly manifest than in these two documents emanating from the same source: May 6.

"SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee*, That immediately after the passage of this act, the Governor of this State shall, by proclamation, direct the sheriffs of the several counties in this State to open and hold an election at the various voting precincts in their respective counties on the 8th day of June, 1861; that the said sheriffs, or, in the absence of the sheriffs, the coroner of the county, shall immediately advertise the election contemplated by this act; that said sheriffs appoint a deputy to hold said election for each voting precinct, and that said deputy appoint three judges and two clerks for each precinct; and if no officer shall, from any cause, attend any voting precinct to open and hold said election, then any justice of the peace, or, in the absence of a justice of the peace, any re-

spectable *freeholder* may appoint an officer, judges, and clerks to open and hold said election. Said officers, judges, and clerks shall be sworn as now required by law, and who, after being so sworn, shall open and hold an election, open and close at the time of day and in the manner now required by law in elections for members to the General Assembly.

"SEC. 2. *Be it further enacted*, That at said election the following declaration shall be submitted to a vote of the qualified voters of the State of Tennessee, for their ratification or rejection:

"DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND ORDINANCE DISSOLVING THE FEDERAL RELATION between the State of Tennessee and the United States of America.

"*First.* We, the people of the State of Tennessee, waiving an expression of opinion as to the abstract doctrine of secession, but asserting the right as a free and independent people to alter, reform, or abolish our form of government in such manner as we think proper, do ordain and declare that all the laws and ordinances by which the State of Tennessee became a member of the Federal Union of the United States of America are hereby abrogated and annulled, and that all obligations on our part be withdrawn therefrom; and we do hereby resume all the rights, functions, and powers which by any of said laws and ordinances were conveyed to the Government of the United States, and absolve ourselves from all the obligations, restraints, and duties incurred thereto; and do hereby henceforth become a free, sovereign, and independent State.

"*Second.* We furthermore declare and ordain, that Article 10, Sections 1 and 2 of the Constitution of the State of Tennessee, which requires members of the General Assembly, and all officers, civil and military, to take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, be, and the same are hereby abrogated and annulled; and all parts of the Constitution of the State of Tennessee making citizenship of the United States a qualification for office, and recognizing the Constitution of the United States as the supreme law of this State, are in like manner abrogated and annulled.

"*Third.* We furthermore ordain and declare, that all rights acquired and vested under the Constitution of the United States, or under any act of Congress passed in pursuance thereof, or under any laws of this State, and not incompatible with this ordinance, shall remain in force, and have the same effect as if this ordinance had not been passed.

"SEC. 3. *Be it further enacted*, That said election shall be by ballot, that those voting for the Declaration and Ordinance shall have written or printed on their ballots 'Separation,' and those voting against it shall have written or printed on their ballots 'No Separation.' That the clerks holding said election shall keep regular scrolls of the voters, as now required by law in the election of members to the General Assembly; that the clerks and judges shall certify the same, with the number of

votes for 'Separation,' and the number of votes for 'No Separation.' The officer holding the election shall return the same to the sheriff of the county, at the county seat, on the Monday next after the election. The sheriff shall immediately make out, certify, and send to the Governor the number of votes polled, and the number of votes for 'Separation,' and the number for 'No Separation,' and file one of the original scrolls with the clerk of the county court; that upon comparing the vote by the Governor in the office of the secretary of state, which shall be at least by the 24th day of June, 1861, and may be sooner if the returns are all received by the Governor, if a majority of the votes polled shall be for 'Separation,' the Governor shall, by his proclamation, make it known, and declare all connection by the State of Tennessee with the Federal Union dissolved, and that Tennessee is a free, independent government, free from all obligations to, or connection with, the Federal Government; and that the Governor shall cause 'the vote by counties' to be published, the number for 'Separation,' and the number for 'No Separation,' whether a majority vote for 'Separation' or 'No Separation.'

"SEC. 4. *Be it further enacted*, That in the election to be held under the provisions of this act, upon the Declaration submitted to the people, all volunteers and other persons connected with the service of this State, qualified to vote for members of the Legislature in the counties where they reside, shall be entitled to vote in any county in the State where they may be in active service, or under orders, or on parole, at the time of said election; and all other voters shall vote in the county where they reside, as now required by law in voting for members of the General Assembly.

"SEC. 5. *Be it further enacted*, That at the same time, and under the rules and regulations prescribed for the election hereinbefore ordered, the following ordinance shall be submitted to the popular vote. To wit:

"AN ORDINANCE for the adoption of the Constitution of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America.

"We, the people of Tennessee, solemnly impressed by the perils that surround us, do hereby adopt and ratify the Constitution of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America, ordained and established at Montgomery, Alabama, on the 8th day of February, 1861, to be in force during the existence thereof, or until such time as we may supersede it by the adoption of a permanent constitution.

"SEC. 6. *Be it further enacted*, That those in favor of the adoption of said Provisional Constitution, and thereby securing to Tennessee equal representation in the deliberations and councils of the Confederate States, shall have written or printed on their ballots the word 'Representation;' opposed, the words 'No Representation.'

"SEC. 7. *Be it further enacted*, That in the event the people shall adopt the Constitution of the Provisional Govern-

ment of the Confederate States at the election herein ordered, it shall be the duty of the Governor forthwith to issue writs of election for delegates to represent the State of Tennessee in the said Provisional Government. That the State shall be represented by as many delegates as it was entitled to members of Congress to the recent Congress of the United States of America, who shall be elected from the several congressional districts as now established by law, in the mode and manner now prescribed for the election of members of Congress of the United States.

"SEC. 8. *Be it further enacted*, That this act shall take effect from and after its passage. W. C. WHITTHORNE,

'Speaker of House of Rep.

"B. L. STOVALL,

"Speaker of the Senate."

The Tennessee Legislature, conscious that their arbitrary action in this matter was inconsistent with their professed deference to the popular will, issued a labored apology of their conduct. In regard to the secrecy of their session, they confessed that it was the first time in the history of the State that the "rule" had been adopted, but justified and strove to dignify it by some honored historic parallels. The people of Tennessee were reminded that the convention which framed the Declaration of Independence of the United States, and that which framed the Constitution of the United States, held their sessions in secret, and that the Senate of the United States not infrequently sits with closed doors. To those who had "taken occasion to condemn" them, they answered with the sneer that they "may be purer than those who framed the Declaration of Independence, but we very much doubt whether they will have greater hold upon public confidence."

In justification of their course, they declared that "the country was excited, and the public demands imperious;" that they desired to legislate uninfluenced and unretarded by the crowds that would have otherwise attended their deliberations, and that the western part of Tennessee was in an exposed condition, with no military defence whatever; that the towns and counties bordering on the Mississippi were liable to be assailed by the armed forces collected at Cairo, and they desired that no act on their part should form the pretext for such an invasion, so long as it could be avoided. "Our fellow-citizens of West Tennessee and of Arkansas are laboring night and day," they said, "to erect batteries on the river to prevent the descent of the enemy. A duty that we owed to them and to the cause of humanity demanded that we should not make our action known till the latest possible moment. If some desired light while we were at work, we equally desired to save the blood and property of Tennesseeans."

This no doubt was a satisfactory excuse to the secessionists of Tennessee, but hardly a sufficient motive in the opinion of the loyal for depriving them of their constitutional rights, to uphold which that "enemy" so denounced by the Legislature was in arms.

Throughout Tennessee there was undoubtedly a strong attachment to the Union, but particularly in the eastern part of the State, a region bordering on the Alleghany range, where the people, possessed of but few slaves, had few interests in common with the lordly planters of the rest of the State. Inhabiting a country the land of which can only be cultivated profitably by the personal labor of the proprietors, the people of East Tennessee have learned to depend upon their own resources. They have thus become industrious and self-reliant, and acquired a respect for labor which, as it assimilates them to the people of the North, tends to withdraw their sympathies from the Southern slaveholders, who, with negroes to do their work, exult in the aristocracy of idleness.

The action of the Tennessee Legislature was particularly odious to the independent yeomen of East Tennessee, and they immediately called a convention to be held in Knoxville, "disapproving," as they declared, "of the hasty and inconsiderate action of our General Assembly, and sincerely desirous to do, in the midst of the troubles which surround us, what will be best for our country and for all classes of our citizens." The resistance, however, of this portion of the State proved at that time of little avail to the cause of the Union, and did not prevent the people of Tennessee, under the terrorism, doubtless, of the military power, from sanctioning, by a large majority of votes, the arbitrary action of the Legislature.

Though the Federal Government was disappointed in its anticipations of support in Tennessee, it found great encouragement in Virginia, where the people of the northwestern district, in spite of the secession of the State, had taken a bold stand for the Union. This portion of Virginia, bounded on the east by the Alleghany range of mountains, on the north and west by the free States of Pennsylvania and Ohio, and on the south by the Kanawha valley, watered by the river of that name which empties into the Ohio, has much of the geographical and social characteristics of the North. It is thus described, "The negro element is very small, there being but fifteen thousand slaves to three hundred and fifty-five thousand four hundred and ninety-two whites; while in the middle district, between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies, the proportion of slaves is forty-eight thousand and forty to two hundred and forty-three thousand one hundred and fifty-five whites; and in Eastern Virginia, lying between the Blue Ridge and the Atlantic, the number of slaves reaches the large proportion of four hundred and thirty-eight thousand four hundred and sixteen to four hundred and forty-eight thousand nine hundred and thirty-two whites.

"The proportion of the negro to the white population, moreover, has been rapidly decreasing in Western Virginia. The number of slaves, it is true, throughout the whole State, has lessened during the last ten years, but it is only in the middle and western districts, and espe-

cially in the latter, where the whites have much augmented in number. Of the whole increase of the white population of the State, from 1850 to 1860, estimated at one hundred and fifty-two thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, no less than seventy-nine thousand eight hundred and twelve—more than one-half of the total increase—was in Western Virginia.

"A comparative freedom from slavery has produced not only a social diversity, but a difference of interest, which had long tended greatly to weaken the alliance of the western district with the rest of the State. There are, besides, natural influences which, at the same time, have continued to strengthen the sympathy of Western Virginia with the North. The abundant resources of coal and iron have attracted the enterprise of Northern capitalists and caused an immigration of working-men to a country where the slaves are so few as neither to degrade nor to compete with free labor. The close proximity, moreover, of the States of Pennsylvania and Ohio, between which Western Virginia is wedged, has naturally brought it into such an intimate social and trading relationship with them, that it has become emulous of the spirit of enterprise which, under the impulse of freedom, animates its neighbors. Its chief city, Wheeling, is already so alive with the zealous activity of commerce and manufactures, that it rivals in prosperity some of the most flourishing communities of the North. The whole region has immense resources for the support of a large and thriving population. With a wholesome climate, cooled by the bracing atmosphere of the mountains; with a soil of valley and hillside enriched by the flow of numerous rivers, and sources of wealth in its forests, its water power, its minerals, its navigable streams, and its railroad communications, Western Virginia presents a seductive invitation to enterprise and a certain promise of liberal reward. While the affinities of this district are thus naturally with its energetic neighbors of the free North, local political differences, apart from an original antagonism, have for a long time existed to interrupt its relations with the predominant slave power of the State."

"Presuming upon its political strength, Eastern Virginia had executed vast projects of improvement, especially for its own benefit, and imposed an unequal weight of the prodigal expenditure incurred, upon the western district. A tax was laid, but all slaves under twelve years of age were exempted. As Eastern Virginia was chiefly engaged in raising negroes for the Southwestern slave-markets, this exemption of a large portion of what was one of their most valuable products, was considered an unjust exception in favor of its own interests. Western Virginia complained grievously, and finally strove in consequence to separate from the eastern part of the State. Efforts to this effect had been made, and seemed at one time to have nearly succeeded.

An opposition to the action of the political leaders of Eastern Virginia in their movement toward wresting the

State from the Union, naturally came from the inhabitants of the west. At the convention which met on the 17th of April at Richmond, the delegates from Western Virginia protested almost unanimously against the act of secession which was passed. Such was the popular indignation to which they exposed themselves by their firm resistance to the prevalent disunion sentiment of that locality, that they barely escaped with their lives from the excited mob of the rebellious city.

Not satisfied with protests, Western Virginia determined to resist by action the violent disruption of its relations with the Union. Large meetings were held, and it was recommended at a gathering in Harrison County, that the people of all the counties of Northwestern Virginia should appoint delegates, not less than five in number, of "their wisest, best, and discreetest men," to meet in convention at Wheeling, on the 13th of May, to "consult and determine upon such action as the people of Northwestern Virginia should take in the present fearful emergency."

April 22.

This recommendation met with general approval, and accordingly delegates, representing thirty of the fifty western counties, assembled at Wheeling. The long-desired object of many Western Virginians became the prominent subject of discussion, on the proposition of Mr. Carlile for the separation of the western district of Virginia from the rest, and its organization into a State to be called "New Virginia."

May 13.

This, however, was not adopted, on the ground that it acknowledged the principle of secession, and thus seemed to justify the act of the secessionists of Virginia, against whom and their doctrines the loyal men of the West had arrayed themselves. Mr. Carlile's resolution of separation being, however, changed into one of inquiry as to its policy, became more acceptable, and in this form was adopted.

The convention, waiving for the present the question of separation, contented itself with passing resolutions denouncing the action of the secessionists of the State, expressing its own loyal attachment to the Union, recommending the citizens to vote against the act of secession to be submitted to their suffrage, and in case it should be passed, to appoint delegates to a general convention to meet for the purpose of devising such measures and taking such action as the welfare and safety of the people they represent might demand. Closing with this ardent appeal to the loyalty of the people of Northwestern Virginia, the convention adjourned:

"In obedience to the fourteenth* resolution of the convention which met in this city on the 13th instant, we earnestly conjure you to enter actively and immediately upon the great work of preparing your neighbors and friends,

* "*Resolved*, That each county represented in this convention, and any others that may be disposed to co operate with us, be requested to appoint a committee of five, whose duty it shall be to see that all things that may be necessary to be done be attended to, to carry out the objects of this convention, and to correspond with the central committee."

as well as yourselves, for the firm, stern, and decided stand necessary to be taken and adhered to at all hazards, and maintained at any and every cost, if we would preserve to ourselves and transmit to our posterity that unity of government which constitutes us one people, which we justly regard as the palladium of our liberties and the main pillar in the edifice of our independence. In this way, and in this way alone, we can save ourselves from the innumerable evils consequent upon secession and all the horrors of civil war.

"Why should the people of Northwestern Virginia allow themselves to be dragged into the rebellion inaugurated by ambitious and heartless men, who have banded themselves together to destroy a government formed for you by your patriot fathers, and which has secured to you all the liberties consistent with the nature of man, and has, for near three-fourths of a century, sheltered you in sunshine and in storm, made you the admiration of the civilized world, and conferred upon you a title more honored, respected, and revered than that of king or potentate—the title of American citizen. Will you passively surrender it and submit to be used by the conspirators engaged in this effort to enslave you, as their instruments by which your enslavement is to be effected?

"Freemen who would remain free must prove themselves worthy to be free, and must themselves first strike the blow.

"What is secession? A deed not to be accomplished in the broad glare of a noonday sun, but a deed of darkness, which had to be performed in secret conclave by the reckless spirits who accomplished it, in contempt of the people, their masters under our form of government, but whom the leaders in this work of destruction have determined to enslave.

"What is secession? Bankruptcy, ruin, civil war, ending in military despotism. Prior to the adoption of the ordinance of secession in Virginia, and to the passage by the Legislature of the bill calling a convention, all was peace, and the great business interests of our State were uninterrupted. From the hour that it was proclaimed the ordinance of secession had been passed, business of every description has been paralyzed; State, corporation, and individual credit is prostrate, and bankruptcy and ruin stare us in the face, and war, civil war, with all its attendant horrors, is upon us. Secession, all now see, is war. It is preceded by war, accompanied and sustained by war, ushered into being by war.

"Who are to stand the brunt of this contest? Will it be those who have clamored loudest for secession, and who have done the most to bring on the present crisis? These are the first to flee from the very approach of danger. They hurry, in every train and by every coach, from the anticipated scenes of disturbance. Will the disunion majority of the Richmond Convention come into the ranks and shoulder the musket in the strife which they have inaugu-

rated? They will keep at a respectful distance from danger. They will fill the lucrative offices and secure the rich appointments which appertain to the new order of things. They will luxuriate on two or three or four hundred dollars per month, with horses, and servants, and rations to match, while the Union-loving people will be called upon, for the honor of Virginia and two shillings per day, to do the fighting and undergo the hardships of war. 'We are all Virginians,' say they; 'the State must be sustained, and, right or wrong, we must all fight for Virginia,' etc.

"What is it to fight for Virginia? What is it to sustain the State? Is it to urge her upon a course which leads to visible and gaping destruction? Is this the way and the only way in which we can testify our devotion to the commonwealth? If the feelings which actuated our Revolutionary fathers be not all dead in us, we shall exhibit our love for Virginia by repudiating this tyrannical rule which the Richmond Convention has endeavored to impose, and not suffer ourselves to be sold like sheep from the shambles. The people yet hold their destinies in their own hands; it is for them to accept or reject a tyranny worse many times than that from which the war of '76 delivered us—not the tyranny of one man, but of many.

"But, people of Northwestern Virginia, why should we thus permit ourselves to be tyrannized over and made slaves of by the haughty arrogance and wicked machinations of would-be Eastern despots? Are we submissionists, craven cowards, who will yield to daring ambition the rich legacy of freedom which we have inherited from our fathers, or are we men who know our rights, and knowing, dare maintain them? If we are, we will resist the usurpers, and drive from our midst the rebellion sought to be forced upon us. We will, in the strength of our cause, resolutely and determinedly stand by our rights and our liberties, secured to us by the struggles of our Revolutionary fathers and the authors of the Constitution under which we have grown and prospered beyond all precedent in the world's history; we will maintain, protect, and defend that Constitution and the Union with all our strength and with all our powers, ever remembering that 'Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God.'

"We utterly repudiate the war sought to be forced upon us without and against the consent and earnest protestations of the people who have not produced it, but who have, we regret to say, thus far offered no resistance, but have submitted to the filling up of armies and the quartering of troops in their midst; taking for the purpose our young men who had, in a time of profound peace, and with no expectation of ever being called upon to aid in a rebellion, attached themselves to the volunteer corps of our State. The people, stunned by the magnitude of the crime, have for a time offered no resistance; but as returning reason enables them to perceive distinctly the objects and purposes of the vile perpetrators of this deed, their hearts swell within them, and already

the cry has gone up from our mountains and our valleys, 'Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God.'

"Let us urge you, then, that our resistance may be effectual, to act in the spirit of the resolutions here appended, adopted by the Convention whose committee we are. Let all our ends be directed to the creation of an organized resistance to the despotism of the tyrants who have been in session in Richmond, and who are about to reassemble, that we may maintain our position in the Union under the flag of our common country, which has for so many years waved gracefully and protectingly over us, and which, when we behold upon its ample folds the stripes and the stars of freedom, causes our bosoms to glow with patriotic heat, and our hearts to swell with honest love of country. That this flag, the symbol of our might, challenges our admiration, and justly claims our every effort against those who have dared to desecrate and dishonor it, we all admit. Let us, then, see that we take the proper measures to make effectual those efforts.

"This Convention to assemble on the 11th proximo is looked to to organize our action. Its importance, its necessity will at once strike your minds; take immediate steps, therefore, to secure for your representatives in the Convention your most determined, resolute, temperate, and wisest men. We have already detained you too long; the time for action, prompt, firm, and decided, has come. In the hope that our action will be that of a united people, we take leave of you, confidently calculating that you will give your body, soul, strength, mind, and all the energies of your nature to the work of saving your country from becoming the theatre of a bloody war, brought upon you without your consent and against your will. Let us show Mr. Ex-Secretary Cobb, now President of the Montgomery Congress, that we are not willing to recognize the transfer of us made by the Richmond Convention, nor do we intend to allow our borders, as he says they will be, to be made the theatre of this war.

"Fellow-citizens, we ask you to read and ponder well the passage from Mr. Cobb's speech we recite:

"'The people of the Gulf States need have no apprehensions; they might go on with their planting and their other business as usual; the war would not come to their section; its theatre would be along the borders of the Ohio River and in Virginia.'

"The Convention between Virginia and the Confederate States, by which the control of all military operations is placed in the hands of President Davis, insures this result.

"Fellow-citizens, 'these are times when we must not stop to count sacrifices and costs, where honor, and character, and self-preservation are put in issue.' The patriot and sage, Daniel Webster, in a speech delivered at Washington in 1851, at the laying of the corner-stone of the addition to the Capitol, spoke as follows:

"'Ye men of the Blue Ridge, many

thousands of whom are nearer to this capital than the seat of Government of your own State, what do you think of breaking up this great association into fragments of States and of people? I know that some of you, and I believe that you all would be almost as much shocked at the announcement of such a catastrophe, as if you were informed that the Blue Ridge itself would soon totter from its base; and ye, men of Western Virginia, who occupy the slope from the Alleghanies to Ohio and Kentucky, what benefit do you propose to yourselves by disunion? If you secede, what do you "secede" from, and what do you "secede" to? Do you look for the current of the Ohio to change and to bring you and your commerce to the tide-waters of Eastern rivers? What man in his senses can suppose that one would remain part and parcel of Virginia in a month after Virginia had ceased to be a part and parcel of the United States?'

"Fellow-citizens of Northwestern Virginia, the issue is with you. Your destiny is in your own hands. If you are worthy descendants of worthy sires, you will rally to the defence of your liberties, and the Constitution, which has protected and blessed you, will still extend over you its protecting ægis. If you hesitate or falter, all is lost, and you and your children to the latest posterity are destined to perpetual slavery.

"JOHN S. CARLILE, JAS. S. WHEAT, A. WILSON, C. D. HUBBARD, F. H. PIERPONT, S. H. WOODWARD, C. TARR, G. R. LATHAM, JAMES W. PAXTON."

In sympathy with this spirited action of their political leaders, the people of Western Virginia showed a sentiment of patriotism, and an alacrity not surpassed even at the North, to rally to arms in defence of the Union. A general fast was kept at Wheeling, and **May 10.** the clergymen who preached on the occasion vied with each other in fervor of patriotic appeal. The churches were decorated with the stars and stripes. One loyal pulpit orator declared that he would have no fellowship with traitors, and if there was a secessionist in his congregation, he wished him to leave. Another prayed that the rebels "might be subdued or wiped from the face of the earth."*

Union military companies were formed throughout the loyal district, prepared to resist the advance of the troops in arms to uphold the Southern Confederacy, with which the Governor of Virginia and his fellow-conspirators had leagued the State. The first encounter took place at the town of **May 20.** Clarksburg, in Harrison County. Two companies of "Confederate military" having marched into the place, the court-house bell was rung, and immediately forth came two other companies of "Union military." The latter immediately summoned the former to surrender their arms, which after a brief parley was complied with. This was the bloodless beginning of that series of tragic conflicts in which the struggle in Western Virginia has abounded.

* New York *Herald*, May 10.

CHAPTER XXI.

Missouri.—Secession Governor and Political Leaders.—The Loyalty of the State undoubted at the North.—Majority of Inhabitants opposed to Slavery.—Proportion of Slaves to Free Population.—Small number of Slave Owners.—Free Labor.—The Foreign Population.—Germans.—Their Character and Enterprise.—Their Sentiments on Slavery.—The Action of the Secessionists.—Insulting Answer of the Governor to the President's Requisition.—Governor's Message.—Denunciation of the Federal Authority.—Sympathy with the Confederate States.—Secret Session of the Legislature.—The Governor's Call for Militia.—Pretext and Purpose.—Alertness of the Union Men of St. Louis.—Mustering of Union Volunteers.—Rapid Response to the President's Requisition.—Home Guards.—Guarding the Arsenal.—Graphic Account of the Rescue of Arms.—Captain Lyon.—His Spirited Conduct.—Mustering of his Forces.—March against the Governor's Secession Camp at Fort Jackson.—The Camp surrounded.—Disposition of Forces.—A Summons to Surrender.—Surrender of the Secessionists.—Dissatisfaction of the Secessionists.—An Excited Crowd.—Attack upon the Troops.—The Soldiers respond.—Fatal Results.—Official Justification.—Great Agitation in St. Louis.—Attack of the City Mob upon the German Home Guard.—Another Fatal Collision.—Death of the Innocent.—Major-General Harney.—His return to St. Louis.—Biography of Harney.—His Headstrong Character.—Difficulties at Vancouver.—Recalled.—Appointed to the Command of the Western Department.—Visit to Washington.—Capture on the way.—Release.—Return to St. Louis.—A Declaration of Loyalty.—Good Advice to Missouri.—Conciliatory Proclamation. The "Military Bill."—Its Results.—Second Proclamation of Harney.—A Denunciation of the "Military Bill."—Energetic Movements.—Secessionists dispersed at Liberty.—The affair at Potosi.—A Lady delivered of a Secession Flag.—League of Harney with the Leader of Secession Troops.—The first Effect.—Harney Cajoled.—Impolitic Conduct.—Withdrawal of Harney.—Appointment of Lyon to a Brigadier-Generalship.—Succeeds to the Command of Union Troops in Missouri.—Energy.

MISSOURI, though its Governor and many of its most influential polit-
1861.
ical leaders were known to be in league with the conspirators of the South, contained so great a majority of inhabitants who, in interests and sentiment, were opposed to slavery, that none at the North doubted, whatever might be the attempts on its loyalty, of its adherence to the Union. Of its whole population of about one million three hundred thousand, the slaves constitute not more than a tenth part. Of the whites, there are nearly one hundred thousand of foreign birth. The slaveholders amount to little more than twenty thousand, and of these there are hardly a score who possess more than fifty negroes, while the larger proportion can number but one, two, or three on their slave-rolls.

With this small proportion of slaves and slave-owners, and large number of inhabitants dependent alone upon free labor, the prevailing political sentiment of the State has been in sympathy with that of the North. The larger proportion of the white population of foreign birth are Germans, who, with their patient industry and rigid economy, have become among the most thriving portion of the people. Good agriculturists, and ambitious of becoming landed proprietors, many have settled upon the fertile prairie districts of the State, and with the aversion to the aid of slave labor natural to those long accustomed to honest toil, cultivate

their farms themselves. Among them, too, are large numbers of plodding tradesmen, skilled artificers, and miners, who having availed themselves of the great natural resources of the State are among the most energetic and prosperous of those engaged in commerce, mining, and manufactures. This large and influential German population is, almost without an exception, opposed to slavery, and devotedly attached to that Union under whose liberal sway they have had free scope for the exercise of their industry, and hitherto secured the enjoyment of its fruits.

Notwithstanding the predominating sentiment of loyalty, the political leaders of Missouri were determined to make an effort to wrest the State from the Union, or to create by internal disorder a division in favor of the seceders, by which they hoped to embarrass the Federal authority in its efforts to suppress the Southern rebellion. The Governor, C. F. Jackson, had sent an insulting refusal to the demand of President Lincoln for troops: "Your requisition," he said, "in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional, and revolutionary in its objects—inhuman and diabolical, and cannot be complied with. Not one man will the State of Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade."

Again, in his message to the Legislature of Missouri convened to consider the policy of the State in relation to the civil quarrel, the Governor denounced the conduct of the Federal Government as unconstitutional, and tending toward "consolidated despotism," while in these words he manifested his own sympathy with the rebellious States, and indicated his disposition to commit Missouri to their destiny:

May 3.

"Our interests and sympathies are identified with those of the slaveholding States, and necessarily unite our destinies with theirs. The similarity of our social and political institutions, our industrial interests, our sympathies, habits, and tastes, our common origin, territorial contiguity, all concur in pointing out our duty in regard to the separation now taking place between the States of the old Federal Union. Missouri has at this time no war to prosecute. It is not her policy to make an aggression, but in the present state of the country she would be faithless to her honor, recreant to her duty, were she to hesitate a moment in making the most ample preparation for the protection of her people against the aggressions of all assailants. I therefore recommend an appropriation of a sufficient sum of money to place the State at the earliest practicable moment in a complete state of defence."

The Legislature, the majority of which was ready to act in compliance with the seditious inclinations of the Governor, held its session in secret. Sustained by its acts, the Governor's next step was to call out the militia of the State and order them to be encamped, under the pretext to perfect their organization and drill, but in reality, as it was believed, to have an armed force under his con-

trol ready to further the objects of secession, by keeping in awe the loyal citizens of Missouri, and seizing the Federal property. The arsenal at St. Louis, with its abundant supplies of arms belonging to the United States, was only saved from the grasp of the disloyal Governor and his mob of secession followers by the prompt action of the Governor of the neighboring State of Illinois. The successful exploit by which this valuable property was secured, is well told in the following narrative:

"Captain James H. Stokes, of Chicago, late of the regular army, volunteered to undertake the perilous mission, and Governor Yates placed in his hands the requisition of the secretary of war for 10,000 muskets. Captain Stokes went to St. Louis, and made his way as rapidly as possible to the arsenal. He found it surrounded by an immense mob, and the postern gates all closed. His utmost efforts to penetrate the crowd were for a long time unavailing. The requisition was shown. Captain Lyon doubted the possibility of executing it. He said the arsenal was surrounded by a thousand spies, and every movement was watched and reported to the headquarters of the secessionists, who could throw an overpowering force upon them at any moment. Captain Stokes represented that every hour's delay was rendering the capture of the arsenal more certain, and the arms must be moved to Illinois now or never. Major Callender agreed with him, and told him to take them at his own time and in his own way. This was Wednesday night, 24th April.

"Captain Stokes had a spy in the camp, whom he met at intervals in a certain place in the city. On Thursday he received information that Governor Jackson had ordered two thousand armed men down from Jefferson City, whose movements could only contemplate a seizure of the arsenal, by occupying the heights around it, and planting batteries thereon. The job would have been an easy one. They had already planted one battery on the St. Louis levee, and another at Powder Point, a short distance below the arsenal. Captain Stokes immediately telegraphed to Alton to have the steamer City of Alton drop down to the arsenal, landing about midnight. He then returned to the arsenal and commenced moving the boxes of guns, weighing some three hundred pounds each, down to the lower floor.

"About seven hundred men were employed in the work. He then took five hundred Kentucky flint-lock muskets, which had been sent there to be altered, and sent them to be placed on a steamer as a blind to cover his real movements. The secessionists nabbed them at once, and raised a perfect bedlam over the capture. A large portion of the outside crowd left the arsenal when this movement was executed, and Captain Lyon took the remainder, who were lying around as spies, and locked them up in the guard-house. About eleven o'clock the steamer City of Alton came alongside, planks were shoved out from the windows to the main deck, and the boxes slid down. When the 10,000

were safely on board, Captain Stokes went to Captain Lyon and Major Callender and urged them, by the most pressing appeals, to let him empty the arsenal. They told him to go ahead and take whatever he wanted. Accordingly, he took 10,000 more muskets, 500 new rifle carbines, 500 revolvers, 110,000 musket cartridges, to say nothing of the cannon and a large quantity of miscellaneous accoutrements, leaving only 7,000 muskets in the arsenal to arm the St. Louis volunteers.

"When the whole were on board, about two o'clock on Friday morning the order was given by the captain of the steamer to cast off. Judge of the consternation of all hands when it was found that she would not move. The arms had been piled in great quantities around the engines to protect them against the battery on the levee, and the great weight had fastened the bows of the boat firmly on a rock, which was tearing a hole through the bottom at every turn of the wheels. A man of less nerve than Captain Stokes would have gone crazy on the spot. He called the arsenal men on board, and commenced moving the boxes to the stern.

"Fortunately, when about two hundred boxes had been shifted, the boat fell away from the shore, and floated in deep water. 'Which way?' said Captain Mitchell, of the steamer. 'Straight to Alton, in the regular channel.' replied Captain Stokes. 'What if we are attacked?' said Captain Mitchell. 'Then we will fight,' said Captain Stokes. 'What if we are overpowered?' said Captain Mitchell. 'Run her to the deepest part of the river, and sink her,' replied Captain Stokes. 'I'll do it,' was the heroic answer of Captain Mitchell; and away they went past the secession battery, past the entire St. Louis levee, and on to Alton, in the regular channel, where they arrived at five o'clock in the morning.

"When the boat touched the landing, Captain Stokes, fearing pursuit by some two or three of the secession military companies by which the city of St. Louis is disgraced, ran to the market-house and rang the fire-bell. The citizens came flocking pell-mell to the river in all sorts of habiliments. Captain Stokes informed them of the situation of things, and pointed out the freight-cars. Instantly men, women, and children boarded the steamer, seized the freight, and clambered up the levees to the cars. Rich and poor tugged together with might and main for two hours, when the cargo was all deposited in the cars, and the train moved off, amid their enthusiastic cheers, for Springfield."

The loyal men of St. Louis, the majority of whose citizens were of unquestioned fidelity to the Union, were also on the alert. Four regiments of volunteers were immediately mustered, ready to do service for the United States, so that the energetic Colonel Frank P. Blair, to whose efforts this success was greatly due, had the satisfaction of writing to Washington that Missouri, in spite of the Governor's insulting refusal, had responded faithfully, within a week, to the President's call for troops.

At the same time, several thousands of the citizens of St. Louis had enrolled themselves as a home guard, and were stationed at the arsenal to guard its important stores, and be in readiness for other loyal service. The Government at Washington had, with more than usual foresight and promptitude, sent orders to Captain Lyon, in command of the small Federal force of regulars at St. Louis, to enrol, if necessary, ten thousand men for the maintenance of the authority of the United States Government. This spirited young officer at once zealously applied himself to the work, and immediately, with the aid of Blair's regiments, was able to muster a force of nearly six thousand.

Lyon's first movement was to check the military operations of the Governor, who had encamped some eight hundred militia at Camp Jackson,* on the outskirts of the city of St. Louis. Lyon accordingly marched with his whole force through the streets of the city, which was greatly agitated by the then unusual event, to the undulating country beyond. On reaching the camp, he drew up the First and Third regiments, under the respective commands of Colonel Sigel and Colonel F. P. Blair, and his small detachment of United States regulars, on the northern side, where he also posted four pieces of artillery. The Second Regiment, under Colonel Borenstein, was so placed as to command the western, and Colonel Shuttner, with his force of volunteers, took position on the south. Guards were posted at the entrance to the camp to prevent any one either going out or in, and several pieces of flying artillery were placed upon the surrounding heights commanding the encampment. Having thus effectually surrounded in less than a half hour the Governor's force, which had no alternative but submission, Lyon summoned the general in command to surrender.

May 10.

"Headquarters U. S. Troops,
St. Louis, *May* 10.

"To General D. M. Frost:

"Sir: Your command is regarded as evidently hostile toward the Government of the United States. It is, for the most part, made up of those secessionists who have openly avowed their hostility to the General Government, and have been plotting for the seizure of its property and the overthrow of its authority. You are openly in communication with the so-called Southern Confederacy, which is now at war with the United States; and you are receiving at your camp, from the said Confederacy, under its flag, large supplies of material of war, most of which is known to be the property of the United States. These extraordinary preparations plainly indicate none other than the well-known

* "The main avenue of Camp Jackson, recently under command of General Frost, had the name of Davis, and a principal street of the same camp that of Beauregard; and a body of men had also been received into that camp by its commander which had been notoriously organized in the interests of the secessionists, the men openly wearing the dress and badge distinguishing the army of the so-called Southern Confederacy. It is also a notorious fact that a quantity of arms had been received into the camp which were unlawfully taken from the United States arsenal at Baton Rouge, and surreptitiously passed up the river in boxes marked 'marble.'"—*General Harney's Proclamation, May 14th.*

purpose of the Governor of this State, under whose orders you are acting, and whose purpose, recently communicated to the Legislature, has just been responded to by that body in the most unparalleled legislation, having in direct view hostilities toward the General Government, and co-operation with its enemies.

"In view of these considerations, and your failure to disperse in obedience to the proclamation of the President, and of the eminent necessity of State policy and welfare, and obligations imposed upon me by instructions from Washington, it is my duty to demand, and I do hereby demand of you, an immediate surrender of your command, with no other conditions than that all persons surrendering under this demand shall be humanely and kindly treated. Believing myself prepared to enforce this demand, one half hour's time before doing so will be allowed for your compliance therewith.

"N. Lyon,
"Captain Second Infantry."

The general in command of the so-called State troops, believed, however, to be in arms to sustain the cause of secession, finding that resistance would be of no avail, promptly surrendered himself and his whole force, while emphatically declaring that his men had been enrolled under the authority of the State with no hostile object.

The troops, when they discovered that they had been so unceremoniously disposed of, gave vent to their dissatisfaction, as they were marched out and placed under guard, in the "wildest yells, curses, and groans," in which they were joined by a portion of the large mob which had in the mean time gathered and followed the troops from the city. When Captain Lyon proceeded to take possession of the surrendered camp, the crowd became still more excited, and beginning with casting insults and imprecations upon the United States soldiers, finally threw at them stones and any other missile at hand. The troops, however, did not lose their self-control, and went calmly on. Finally, one of the mob fired a revolver and shot a soldier dead. As he fell, his comrades turned round and presented their muskets, when some of the crowd again fired. On the second discharge, one of the captains ordered his company to fire, which dispersed the throng, killing a large number, of whom several were women and children drawn to the spot by a fatal curiosity.

The following statement, given on the authority of Captain Lyon, explicitly justifies the conduct of the United States soldiers:

"The first firing was some half dozen shots near the head of the column, composed of the First Regiment, which was guarding the prisoners. It occurred in this wise: The artillery were stationed on the bluff northeast of Camp Jackson, with their pieces bearing on the camp. The men of this command were most insultingly treated by the mob; with the foulest epithets, were pushed, struck, and pelted with stones and dirt. All this was patiently borne, until one of the mob discharged a revolver at the

men. At this they fired, but not more than six shots, which were sufficient to disperse that portion of the mob. How many were killed by this fire is not known. None of the First Regiment (Colonel Blair's) fired, although continually and shamefully abused both by the prisoners and the mob.

"The second and most destructive firing was from the rear of the column guarding the prisoners. The mob at the point intervening between Camp Jackson and the rear of the column, and, in fact, on all sides, were very abusive, and one of them, on being expostulated with, became very belligerent, drew his revolver, and fired at Lieutenant Saxton, of the regular army, three times, during which a crowd around him cheered him on, many of them drawing their revolvers and firing on the United States troops. The man who commenced the firing, preparatory to a fourth shot, laid his pistol across his arm, and was taking deliberate aim at Lieutenant Saxton, when he was thrust through with a bayonet, and fired upon at the same time, being killed instantly. Here the column of troops having received the order to march, Lieutenant Saxton's command passed on, and a company in the rear became the objects of a furious attack, when, several of their number having been shot, the company came to a halt, and fired with fatal effect. The mob, in retreating from both sides of the line, returned the fire, and the troops replied again. The command was then given by Captain Lyon to cease firing, and the order was promptly obeyed, as rapidly as it could be passed along the line.

"The sad results are much to be lamented. The killing of innocent men, women, and children is deplorable. There was no intention to fire upon peaceable citizens. The regular troops were over in the camp, beyond the mob, and in range of the firing. The troops manifested every forbearance, and at last discharged their guns, simply obeying the impulse, natural to us all, of self-defence. If innocent men, women, and children, whose curiosity placed them in a dangerous position, suffered with the guilty, it is no fault of the troops."

The fatal collision of the mob of St. Louis with the United States volunteers was the cause of great excitement, and increased the exasperation, of that portion of the populace favorable to the secessionists, against the Federal troops and officers. The Germans, prominent in the ranks of loyalty, were more especially the objects of the indignation of the infuriated disunionists, who sought the earliest opportunity of venting their rage and revenging upon them the fall of their confederates. On the very next May day after the capture of Fort Jack- 11. son, an occasion occurred which resulted in another tragedy. A body of German Home Guards having been enrolled at the arsenal and supplied with arms, proceeded to march through the city. Great crowds had collected, which received the troops with hootings and hisses, and a man out of the throng fired a revolver, shooting dead one of

the soldiers. This discharge being immediately followed by two others from the neighboring houses, the troops suddenly turned round, presented their muskets, and fired a volley down the street. A promiscuous slaughter followed, in which innocent women and children again suffered the fate of the guilty. These two fatal collisions had resulted in the death and wounding of some fifty in all, and served to embitter still more the unhappy feeling already existing among the inhabitants of the same city.

The return, however, of Major-General Harney, the commander of the department of the West, to St. Louis, where he had established his headquarters, served for a time to compose the angry dissensions in Missouri, and to give hopes of saving that State from the evils of a civil conflict.

William Selby Harney was born in Tennessee in the year 1800, and entered the army as a second lieutenant of the First Infantry at the age of eighteen. He had acquired, during his long service, the reputation of an energetic, though arbitrary officer. His characteristic impulsiveness and headstrong disregard of consequences led him to assume possession of the island of San Juan, in Vancouver's Bay, during the dispute with Great Britain in regard to the boundary line between the northwestern possessions of that power and Oregon. This unauthorized act excited greatly the anger of England, which was only appeased by the recall of Harney and the conciliatory action of the veteran Scott, who was sent to supersede him in command.

At the beginning of the late civil war, Harney was the commander-in-chief of the Western Department, but was temporarily absent from St. Louis during the disturbances in that city, having been summoned to Washington. On his way he was taken prisoner by the Confederates at Harper's Ferry, but being soon released, he hastened, after a brief visit to the capital, to resume his duties in the West. Though the ties of birth and property attached him strongly to the slave States, he promptly declared his firm loyalty to the Union:

"The Government, whose honors have been bestowed upon me, I shall serve," he wrote, in a published letter, "for the remainder of my days. The flag whose glories I have witnessed shall never be forsaken by me while I can strike a blow for its defense. While I have breath I shall be ready to serve the Government of the United States, and be its faithful, loyal soldier."

To these expressions of loyalty the General added some pertinent advice to Missouri:

"Secession would, in my opinion," he emphatically declared, "be her ruin. The only special interest of Missouri, in common with the Confederate States, is slavery. Her interest in that institution is now protected by the Federal Constitution. But if Missouri secedes, that protection is gone. Surrounded on three sides by free States, which might soon become hostile, it would not be long until a slave could not be found

within her borders. What interest could Missouri, then, have with the cotton States, or a confederacy founded on slavery and its extension? The protection of her slave property, if nothing else, admonishes her to never give up the Union. Other interests of vast magnitude can only be preserved by a steadfast adherence and support of the United States Government. All hope of a Pacific Railroad, so deeply interesting to St. Louis and the whole State, must vanish with the Federal Government. Great manufacturing and commercial interests with which the cotton States can have no sympathy, must perish in case of secession, and from her present proud condition of a powerful, thriving State, rapidly developing every element of wealth and social prosperity, Missouri would dwindle to a mere appendage and convenience for the military aristocracy established in the cotton States."

Immediately on his return to his post at St. Louis, General Harney strove with unquestioned sincerity, but uncertain vigor, to allay the civil strife in Missouri. In his first proclamation he assumed a highly conciliatory tone:

May 12.

"I most anxiously desire," he proclaimed, "to discharge the delicate and onerous duties devolved upon me so as to preserve the public peace. I shall carefully abstain from the exercise of any unnecessary powers, and from all interference with the proper functions of the public officers of the State and city. I therefore call upon the public authorities and the people to aid me in preserving the public peace.

"The military force stationed in this department by the authority of the Government, and now under my command, will only be used in the last resort to preserve peace. I trust I may be spared the necessity of resorting to martial law, but the public peace must be preserved, and the lives and property of the people protected. Upon a careful review of my instructions, I find I have no authority to change the location of the Home Guards.

"To avoid all cases of irritation and excitement, if called upon to aid the local authorities in preserving the public peace, I shall, in preference, make use of the regular army."

In the mean time, the Legislature, still in session at Jefferson City, passed a "military bill," the object of which was apparently to resist the Federal authority. The Governor was authorized to call out the militia, and a large sum was appropriated to arm and equip them. At the same time extraordinary powers were given to the Governor, by which he might control the State troops to his own purposes, which no one could doubt were in accordance with the interests of secession. No sooner had the "military bill" passed, than the Governor began to avail himself of the privileges it conferred, by mustering a military force, and ordering the telegraph and railroad bridges which communicated with St. Louis to be destroyed, in order to prevent the loyal troops of that city from marching to the rescue of the

State from the grasp of its secession conspirators.

General Harney now issued a second May 17. proclamation, to the gentle pleadings of which in behalf of loyalty he added a not very undecided declaration of the rebellious character of the "military bill."

"It is with regret," he said, "that I feel it my duty to call your attention to the recent act of the General Assembly of Missouri, known as the 'military bill,' which is the result, no doubt, of the temporary excitement that now pervades the public mind. This bill cannot be regarded in any other light than an indirect secession ordinance, ignoring even the forms resorted to by other States. Manifestly its most material provisions are in conflict with the Constitution and laws of the United States. To this extent it is a nullity, and cannot and ought not to be upheld or regarded by the good citizens of Missouri. There are obligations and duties resting upon the people of Missouri under the Constitution and laws of the United States which are paramount, and which I trust you will carefully consider and weigh well before you will allow yourselves to be carried out of the Union, under the form of yielding obedience to this 'military bill,' which is clearly in violation of your duties as citizens of the United States."

To this proclamation succeeded an energetic movement toward repressing the secession demonstrations in various parts of the State of Missouri. Two hundred armed secessionists were dispersed from the arsenal at Liberty, and soon after the Federal arms met with other success. Some Union men having been driven from Potosi, in Washington County, Captain Lyon sent a small force, consisting of a hundred and fifty volunteers under the command of May 13. Captain Coles, to their relief. Arriving at Potosi before daylight, Captain Coles posted a chain of sentinels around the town, and stationed guards at the houses of the prominent secessionists. As the day broke, some hundred and fifty men found themselves thus imprisoned without hope of escape. Most of them were released on giving their parole and taking the oath not to take up arms against the United States, while the prominent leaders were held captive. Various munitions of war and other supplies intended for the secessionists were at the same time seized. On their way back from Potosi, the Union troops put to flight at De Soto a company of secession cavalry, captured a score or more of their horses, and their flag, secreted within the hoops of a lady of the place. The service of the surgeon of the United States volunteers was very appropriately put into requisition on the occasion. On entering, "the doctor thought he observed the lady of the house sitting in rather an uneasy position, and he very politely asked her to rise. At first the lady hesitated, but finding the doctor's persuasive suavity more than she could withstand, she slowly rose, when the bright folds of the rebel ensign appeared around the lady's feet. The doctor, bowing a graceful 'beg par-

don, madam,' stooped, and quietly catching hold of the gaudy color, found in his possession a secession flag thirty* feet long and nine feet wide."

Having apparently checked the rising spirit of rebellion by judicious military movements, General Harney sought, by a *quasi* league with the leader of the so-called State troops, to establish a permanent truce with the seditiously disposed citizens of Missouri. He accordingly held a personal interview with Sterling Price, appointed by the Governor a major-general of the Missouri militia, and who, like him, was doubtless in league with the Southern leaders of rebellion. General Harney, persuaded by the artful plausibilities of the shrewd Price, was cajoled into an agreement, by which he pledged the Federal authority to withhold its power, and to leave the seditious Governor and his confederates to pursue their own designs, under the pretext of preserving order in the State. In a joint declaration, signed by General Harney and the major-general of the so-styled State Guard, it was announced that "General Price, having by commission full authority over the militia of the State of Missouri, undertakes, with the sanction of the Governor of the State already declared, to direct the whole power of the State officers to maintain order within the State among the people thereof; and General Harney publicly declares that this object being thus assured, he can have no occasion, as he has no wish, to make military movements which might otherwise create excitements and jealousies which he most earnestly desires to avoid."

May 21.

Although the immediate effect of this compact was to tranquilize the public sentiment of Missouri, it soon became evident that the Governor and his confederates had been using General Harney to further their own seditious purposes. They continued to muster their military forces, and were evidently bent upon hostility to the Union men of the State. The Government at Washington becoming conscious of the impolitic action of General Harney, withdrew him from the Western Department. Lyon, who had been lately promoted to the rank of brigadier-general of volunteers, succeeded to the command of the Federal forces in Missouri. This energetic officer at once proceeded to assert the authority of the Union by the most decisive action. We shall soon have occasion to say more of him and his spirited achievements.

May 17.

* St. Louis *Democrat*, May 17.

CHAPTER XXII.

Spirit of Loyalty of the Free States of the West.—Attachment to the Union.—Interests in the Struggle.—The danger of being cut off from the Mississippi.—The Position of Illinois.—Her interest in the preservation of Communication.—Spirited Action.—Military Possession of Cairo.—Situation of Cairo.—The Key to the Northwest.—The motive for founding the City.—Marshy Site.—Artificial Dykes.—Great Size and enormous Expense.—Illinois Central Railroad.—Population of Cairo.—Its Docks.—A Reservoir of Water.—Artificial Remedies.—Future Prospects.—Neighborhood of Cairo described.—Cairo as a Military Post.—Bird's Point.—Its Position.—Description of the place. Its Importance.—Danger of its Seizure.—Secured to the United States by General Lyon.—Communications with Cairo.—Columbus.—Paducah.—Military Possession of Cairo a blow to the Enemy.—Their Opinion.—Increased Military Energy of the United States.—Move across the Potomac.—The vote on Secession in Virginia.—Scruples of Government.—The crossing of the Potomac.—Arlington Heights occupied.—Entrenchments.—Opposition anticipated at Alexandria.—The animosity of the City.—Secession Flags.—Expedition against Alexandria.—The plan.—Movement of the Michigan Regiment.—Embarkation of the New York Fire Zouaves.—The Steamer Pawnee.—Indiscreet haste of the Zouaves.—Landing at Alexandria.—Death of Colonel Ellsworth.—The Michigan Regiment disappointed.—Escape of Virginia Troops.—Capture of thirty seven Horsemen.—Occupation of Alexandria.—Sacrifice of a promising life.—Biography of Ellsworth.—Early Career.—Military Tastes.—His Company of Chicago Zouaves.—How shown and admired.—Application for a clerkship in the War Department.—Disappointment.—Made a Lieutenant in the Army.—Resignation.—Recruits the Fire Zouaves at New York, and becomes their Colonel.—Grief at his death.—A touching Letter.

The free States of the West, actuated by a sentiment of loyalty which inspirited them to vindicate the honor and preserve the integrity of a Union to which they were fondly attached, exhibited the greatest alertness in coming to the rescue of the Federal Government. Finding, moreover, their interests deeply involved in a struggle, which, with the secession of Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee, and the unsettled condition of Missouri and Kentucky, threatened, by obstructing the navigation of the Mississippi River, to cut off that great channel of communication between the Northern lakes and the Gulf of Mexico, they felt, with all the impressiveness of a motive of self-preservation, the necessity of resisting the rebellion.

1861.

Illinois, from her geographical position, had been the chief State to profit from that bountiful provision of nature which united Lake Michigan and the Gulf of Mexico, and brought the northern city of Chicago into close relationship with tropical New Orleans. This State, accordingly, alive to the importance of securing a communication which had proved so great a source of inspiration to her enterprise and of the wealth that had crowned its efforts, eagerly strove to further the endeavors of the Federal Government to prevent the disruption of the Union. Her troops responded readily to the call of the Governor, and were soon enabled to hold in force the most important strategic point of the West. This was the city of Cairo, within her own borders.

Cairo is situated at the extreme south of Illinois, in Alexandria County, on the delta at the confluence of the Ohio with the Mississippi. On the east the former separates it from Kentucky, and on the west the latter separates it from Missouri. Cairo thus, by its position, commands the navigation of both rivers and the shores of the two neighboring States at this point. It is, as it were, the key to that extensive and important territory familiarly known as the Great Northwest, watered by the upper Mississippi, the Ohio, the Missouri, and their tributary streams. The city was founded with the expectation, from the natural advantages of geographical position, of its becoming a great trading emporium. Immense sums were expended in rendering it habitable. Naturally a swamp, the land was covered with water for the greater part of the year. Large dykes or levees were raised for two miles and a half along the borders of the Mississippi and Ohio, and joined by a transverse embankment, so as to close in the site and shut out the constant overflow of those rivers. Several attempts had been made in vain to protect the town from inundation, until finally the present works were constructed at an enormous expense. These now consist of vast dykes, from ten to thirty feet in height, with a breadth, at the top, from twenty to fifty feet, and at the bottom, from eighty to a hundred feet. Much of the structure was built at the expense of the Illinois Central Railroad Company, to which a great portion of the land belonged, and here its extreme southern dépot and works have been established. The inhabitants, largely increased during the war, have settled chiefly in the quarter bordered by the Ohio, where they have filled in the marshy site of the town almost to the height of the embankment, which protects it from the danger of inundation. The loading and unloading of freight is performed by means of large floating docks or wharf-floats, so contrived and moored that they can be adapted to the rise and fall of the river, and thus always present an even communication with the embanked shore. 256

After a heavy fall of rain, the enclosure within the levees or dykes, which forms a large artificial basin, collects the water. This, however, has been partially remedied by digging a deep canal through the centre of the town to receive the rain-fall. With this are connected drains which open through the dykes into the rivers. When their waters, however, are high, the heavy rains cannot be thus disposed of, and recourse is had to a steam-pump. The only effectual mode which has as yet been proposed of rendering this admirably situated city entirely free from the danger of inundation, is to fill up the whole basin with earth brought from the hills in the interior. In 1858 the river rose above a new embankment commenced the year previous, and destroyed almost the entire town.

The neighborhood of Cairo is thus described by a local observer:

"The nearest high land in any di-

rection from Cairo is about nine miles distant, on the Central Railway, and all between are cypress swamps, with here and there a marshy opening, called a farm, and covered with a mass of heavy timber, vines and creepers, through which the sun cannot penetrate. The high land, commencing at the edge of this swamp, rises several hundred feet, often presenting mountainous aspects; the timber is maple, beech, hickory, and oak. Springs are frequent, and where farms are opened they well reward the laborer; but more than three-fourths of all this high land is an unbroken wilderness.

"On the Illinois side of the Ohio, above Mound City (six miles from Cairo), the shore is high and free from inundation, while on the Kentucky side the land is low and swampy, the distance to the hills being from six to twelve miles. The Illinois bank of the Mississippi is low, yet occasionally there are hills, as at Thebes, but above this point it is subject to overflow for 150 miles. The Mississippi shore of Missouri is swampy in every direction, and the nearest high land is as much as fifty miles distant, near Cape Girardeau, which is the only place where southern Missouri can reach the river with teams. From Cape Girardeau to the Gulf of Mexico extends a succession of cypress swamps, cane-brakes, and bayous—the scene of desolation being varied only at long intervals by farms, always protected by a levee. On the east side of the river there are occasionally high lands and bluffs, on which the towns are situated. Opposite Cairo, in Missouri, is the little village of Bird's Point, from which a railroad extends twenty or thirty miles toward Little Rock, in Arkansas. In such a wilderness of swamps and waters, Cairo is really a place of refuge and a harbor of safety."

The importance of Cairo as a basis of military operations was recognized early in the struggle, and in the course of the month of May a force of over six thousand Illinois volunteers encamped there under the command of Brigadier-General Prentiss. They immediately commenced the construction of four entrenched camps, and mounted heavy guns upon the dykes.

The site of Cairo is commanded only in one direction. This is from the Missouri side of the Mississippi River, at Bird's Point, where the land rises two or three feet above the top of the Cairo dykes.

"Bird's Point consists of scarcely half a dozen unpretending houses and a wharf-boat, which is the principal feature of the town, inasmuch as it supports on its floating bottom the chief store, grocery, and commission-house of the town. * * * Standing upon even as low a situation as the deck of the wharf-boat, the housetops and spires within the Cairo levee are plainly visible, and within easy range of a battery at Bird's Point; and although the latter place is situated on low bottom land and subject to frequent overflows, yet the still lower situation of Cairo is so palpable, that, to a spectator at Bird's Point, it seems as if the great rivers

which here mix their waters had been displaced from their beds to make room for the houses which are hugged within the huge embraces of the levee. The river here is very wide, and but for the murky turbulence of its water, and the steady onward motion of the current, would give one an idea of an arm of the sea."

There was great danger lest the secessionists of Missouri and Tennessee should seize this important position. Brigadier-General Lyon, however, was on the alert, and anticipated the movements of the enemy by promptly dispatching a regiment of Missouri volunteers, under Colonel Shuttner, to Bird's Point. Here they immediately fortified a camp, and thus bid defiance to attack.

The communications of Cairo through the Illinois Central Railroad with the North, give it every advantage of rapid reinforcement. In twenty-four hours troops can reach the place not only from Illinois, Missouri, and Kentucky, but from Indiana, Wisconsin, and Michigan.

About a score of miles below Cairo, on the Kentucky bank of the Mississippi River, is situated the town of Columbus, the Northern terminus of various Southern railways. This place has become of great interest, in connection with the present war, as an important strategic post, having been seized and held by the enemy. Paducah, again, forty miles to the east of Cairo, on the Kentucky side of the Ohio, at its confluence with the Tennessee, is another point of great importance, commanding as it does the mouth of the latter river, and connected as it is with the Southern series of railways. This important place fortunately remains in the possession of the United States troops.

The prompt military occupation of Cairo, and the preparations made for its defence, were heavy blows to the secessionists. They strove, however, to find consolation in the presumption that "this audacious movement has had good effect in developing the purpose of our enemies to prosecute the war in earnest, and in its inspiring influence upon the Tennessee and Kentucky mind. It conveys a threat which the people of those States will join their brethren of the Confederate States in resenting with promptitude."

They, nevertheless, were forced to acknowledge the importance of the possession of Cairo to the Federal troops.

"Geography," they admitted, "has made Cairo a strategical position of the utmost consequence. It is the key to the upper, as New Orleans and the Lake and the Balize are the key to the lower Mississippi. It can blockade St. Louis on the one hand, and Louisville on the other; while, if in possession of a considerable force, possessing heavy ordnance, and commanding the railroad leading south of that point, it would menace the city of Memphis, and open the way for an invading army to make that an advanced post of occupation. It is not pleasant to contemplate such a possibility. But it is good policy to face it fairly, if we would defeat it effectually."

The United States Government, with its rapidly accumulating forces, was

beginning to present in every direction a more vigorous opposition to the enemy. Washington being considered temporarily out of danger, and the disaffected of Maryland no longer feared, General Scott ventured to make a move across the Potomac. Virginia, though previously in arms and leagued with the Confederate States in open resistance to the Federal authorities, had yet, with an affected regard for law, submitted the ordinance of secession to the vote of her
May people. In the middle and east-
23. ern districts of the State the vote was almost unanimous in favor of secession, while in the western it was nearly unanimous in opposition. The United States Government is supposed to have thus far withheld the assertion by arms of its authority in Virginia, that the people might enjoy in freedom the exercise of their suffrage. It was accord-
May ingly not until the day after the
24. vote on secession had been taken that Scott threw across the Potomac, into the insurgent State, a portion of the troops encamped in and about the capital, which constituted already, such had been the military promptitude of the North, a force of nearly fifty thousand militia and volunteers.

The number of men detached for this purpose was nearly thirteen thousand, formed into two columns, one of which was sent to occupy Arlington Heights and the rest of the Virginia shore opposite to Washington, and the other Alexandria, on the Potomac River, about six miles south of the capital. The former, being the larger portion of the troops, crossed by the Long bridge at Washington and the iron bridge at Georgetown, and took possession of the high banks of the Virginia side of the river. Driving the scattered outpost guards of the enemy before them, they were permitted to occupy the ground with little opposition, and at once began to throw up fortifications.

At Alexandria, which had just voted almost unanimously for secession, and where an intense feeling of animosity to the Federal troops was known to prevail, greater opposition was anticipated. The town had been long flaunting its secession flags in the sight of the capital, the troops of the enemy were parading its streets, and its citizens were in arms apparently prepared for resistance. It was accordingly determined to surround the place, not only to secure its possession, but the capture of the armed force within. For this purpose the Third Regiment of Michigan militia, in command of Colonel Wilcox, accompanied by a detachment of United States cavalry, and supported by two pieces of Sherman's flying artillery, crossed the Long bridge into Virginia, with the view of marching to Alexandria by land and advancing upon the city in the rear. The Fire Zouave Regiment of New York, commanded by Colonel Ellsworth, was dispatched by water to take Alexandria in front. The steamer Pawnee had been previously moored in the Potomac off the town, so as to command it with her guns.

The Zouaves, however, reached their destination in advance of the Michigan

troops, and impelled by an imprudent impetuosity hastened to land. The town was at once alarmed, and the enemy's troops succeeded in effecting their escape before the Michigan regiment, coming up in the rear, could cut them off. The landing of the Zouaves, and the subsequent tragedy in which their young Colonel lost his life, have been thus minutely detailed by one* who was at his death:

"It was not until our boats were about to draw up to the wharf," he says, "that our approach was noticed in any way; but at the latest minute a few sentinels, whom we had long before discerned, fired their muskets in the air as a warning, and, running rapidly into the town, disappeared. Two or three of the Zouaves, fancying that the shots were directed toward them (which they certainly were not), discharged their rifles after the retreating forms, but no injury to anybody followed. The town was thus put on its guard, but yet so early was the hour, and so apparently unlooked for our arrival, that when we landed, about half-past five o'clock A. M., the streets were as deserted as if it had been midnight.

"Before our troops disembarked, a boat, filled with armed marines, and carrying a flag of truce, put off from the Pawnee, and landed ahead of us. From the officer in charge we learned that the Pawnee had already proposed terms of submission to the town, and that the rebels had consented to vacate within a specified time. This seemed to settle the question of a contest in the negative; but in the confusion of mustering and forming the men, the intelligence was not well understood, and received but little attention. Indeed, I am quite sure that the Pawnee's officer did not seek Colonel Ellsworth, to communicate with him, and that the Colonel only obtained a meagre share of information by seeking it directly from the bearer of the flag of truce himself. No doubt this omission arose from the confused condition in which affairs then stood. But it would have caused no difference in the Colonel's military plans. No attack was meditated, except in case of a forcible resistance to his progress. On the other hand, the idea of the place being under a truce seemed to banish every suspicion of a resistance either from multitudes or individuals. It was just possibly this consideration that led Colonel Ellsworth to forego the requisite personal precautions, which, if taken, would have prevented his unhappy death. But I am sure none of us at that time estimated the probability of the danger which afterward menaced us. Perhaps the thought of actual bloodshed and death in war was too foreign to our experiences to be rightly weighed. But it certainly did not enter our minds then, as poor Ellsworth's fate has since taught us it should have done, that a town half waked, half terrified, and under truce, could harbor any peril for us. So the Colonel gave some rapid directions for the interruption of the railway course, by displacing a few rails near the dépot, and then turned toward the centre of

* New York *Tribune*, May 20.

the town, to destroy the means of communication southward by the telegraph; a measure which he appeared to regard as very seriously important. He was accompanied by Mr. H. J. Winser, military secretary to the regiment, the chaplain, the Rev. E. W. Dodge, and myself. At first he summoned no guard to follow him, but he afterward turned and called forward a single squad, with a sergeant from the first company. We passed quickly through the streets, meeting a few bewildered travellers issuing from the principal hotel, which seemed to be slowly coming to its daily senses, and were about to turn toward the telegraph office, when the Colonel, first of all, caught sight of the secession flag, which has so long swung insolently in full view of the President's House. He immediately sent back the sergeant, with an order for the advance of the entire first company, and, leaving the matter of the telegraph office for a while, pushed on to the hotel, which proved to be the Marshall House, a second-class inn. On entering the open door the Colonel met a man in his shirt and trowsers, of whom he demanded what sort of flag it was that hung above the roof. The stranger, who seemed greatly alarmed, declared he knew nothing of it, and that he was only a boarder there. Without questioning him further the Colonel sprang up stairs, and we all followed to the topmost story, whence, by means of a ladder, he clambered to the roof, cut down the flag with Winser's knife, and brought it from its staff. There were two men in bed in the garret whom we had not observed at all when we entered, their position being somewhat concealed, but who now rose in great apparent amazement, although I observed that they were more than half dressed. We at once turned to descend, private Brownell leading the way, and Colonel Ellsworth immediately following him with the flag. As Brownell reached the first landing-place, or entry, after a descent of some dozen steps, a man jumped from a dark passage, and hardly noticing the private, levelled a double-barrelled gun square at the Colonel's breast. Brownell made a quick pass to turn the weapon aside, but the fellow's hand was firm, and he discharged one barrel straight to its aim, the slugs or buckshot with which it was loaded entering the Colonel's heart, and killing him at the instant. I think my arm was resting on poor Ellsworth's shoulder at the moment. At any rate, he seemed to fall almost from my own grasp. He was on the second or third step from the landing, and he dropped forward with that heavy, horrible, headlong weight which always comes of sudden death inflicted in this manner. His assailant had turned like a flash to give the contents of the other barrel to Brownell, but either he could not command his aim, or the Zouave was too quick with him, for the slugs went over his head, and passed through the panels and wainscot of a door which sheltered some sleeping lodgers. Simultaneously with this second shot, and sounding like the echo of the first, Brownell's rifle was heard, and the assassin staggered backward. He

was hit exactly in the middle of the face, and the wound, as I afterward saw it, was the most frightful I ever witnessed. Of course Brownell did not know how fatal his shot had been, and so before the man dropped, he thrust his sabre bayonet through and through the body, the force of the blow sending the dead man violently down the upper section of the second flight of stairs, at the foot of which he lay with his face to the floor. Winser ran from above crying, 'Who is hit?' but as he glanced downward by our feet, he needed no answer.

"Bewildered for an instant by the suddenness of this attack, and not knowing what more might be in store, we forbore to proceed, and gathered together defensively. There were but seven of us altogether, and one was without a weapon of any kind. Brownell instantly reloaded, and while doing so perceived the door through which the assailant's shot had passed, beginning to open. He brought his rifle to the shoulder, and menaced the occupants, two travellers, with immediate death if they stirred. The three other privates guarded the passages, of which there were quite a number converging to the point where we stood, while the chaplain and Winser looked to the staircase by which we had descended, and the adjoining chambers. I ran down stairs to see if anything was threatened from the story below, but it soon appeared there was no danger from that quarter. However, we were not at all disposed to move from our position. From the opening doors, and through the passages, we discerned a sufficient number of forms to assure us that we were dreadfully in the minority. I think now that there was no danger, and that the single assailant acted without concert with anybody; but it is impossible to know accurately, and it was certainly a doubtful question then. The first thing to be done was to look to our dead friend and leader. He had fallen on his face, and the streams of blood that flowed from his wound had literally flooded the way. The chaplain turned him gently over, and I stooped and called his name aloud, at which I thought then he murmured inarticulately. I presume I was mistaken, and I am not sure that he spoke a word after being struck, although in my dispatch I repeated a single exclamation which I had believed he uttered. It might have been Brownell, or the chaplain, who was close behind me. Winser and I lifted the body with all the care we could apply, and laid it upon a bed in a room near by. The rebel flag, stained with his blood, and purified by this contact from the baseness of its former meaning, we laid about his feet. It was at first difficult to discover the precise locality of his wound, for all parts of his coat were equally saturated with blood. By cautiously loosening his belt and unbuttoning his coat we found where the shot had penetrated. None of us had any medical knowledge, but we saw that all hope must be resigned. Nevertheless, it seemed proper to summon the surgeon as speedily as possible. This could not easily be done; for,

secluded as we were in that part of the town, and uncertain whether an ambush might not be awaiting us also, no man could volunteer to venture forth alone; and to go together, and leave the Colonel's body behind, was out of the question. We wondered at the long delay of the first company, for the advance of which the Colonel had sent back before approaching the hotel; but we subsequently learned that they had mistaken a street, and gone a little out of their way. Before they arrived we had removed some of the unsightly stains from the Colonel's features, and composed his limbs. His expression in death was beautifully natural. The Colonel was a singularly handsome man, and, excepting the pallor, there was nothing different in his countenance now from what all his friends had so lately been accustomed to gladly recognize. The detachment was heard approaching at last, a reinforcement was easily called up, and the surgeon was sent for. His arrival, not long after, of course sealed our own unhappy belief. A sufficient guard was presently distributed over the house, but meanwhile I had remembered the Colonel's earnestness about the telegraph seizure, and obtained permission to guide a squad of Zouaves to the office, which was found to be entirely open, with all the doors ajar yet apparently deserted. It looked like another chance of a surprise. The men remained in charge. I presume it was not wholly in order for me, a civilian, to start upon this mission, but I was the only person who knew the whereabouts of the office, and the Colonel had been very positive about the matter. When I returned to the hotel, there was a terrible scene enacting. A woman had run from a lower room to the stairway where the body of the defender of the secession flag lay, and recognizing it, cried aloud with an agony so heart-rending that no person could witness it without emotion. She flung her arms in the air, struck her brow madly, and seemed in every way utterly abandoned to desolation and frenzy. She offered no reproaches—appeared, indeed, almost regardless of our presence, and yielded only to her own frantic despair. It was her husband that had been shot. He was the proprietor of the hotel. His name was James T. Jackson. Winser was confident it was the same man who met us at the door when we entered, and told us he was a boarder. His wife, as I said, was wild almost to insanity. Yet she listened when spoken to, and although no consolation could be offered her by us for what she had lost, she seemed sensible to the assurance that the safety of her children, for whom she expressed fears, could not possibly be endangered.

"It is not from any wish to fasten obloquy upon the slayer of Colonel Ellsworth, but simply because it struck me as a frightful fact, that I say the face of the dead man wore the most revolting expression of rage and hatred that I ever saw. Perhaps the nature of his wound added to this effect, and the wound was something so appalling that I shall not attempt to describe it as it

impressed me. It is probable that such a result from a bullet wound could not ensue once in a thousand times. Either of Brownell's onslaughts would have been instantaneously fatal. The sabre wound was not less effective than that of the ball. The gun which Jackson had fired lay beneath him, clasped in his arms, and as we did not at first all know that both barrels had been discharged, it was thought necessary to remove it, lest it should be suddenly seized and made use of from below. In doing this, his countenance was revealed.

"As the morning advanced, the townspeople began to gather in the vicinity, and a guard was fixed, preventing ingress and egress. This was done to keep all parties from knowing what had occurred, for the Zouaves were so devoted to their Colonel that it was feared if they all were made acquainted with the real fact, they would sack the house. On the other hand, it was not thought wise to let the Alexandrians know thus early the fate of their townsman. The Zouaves were the only regiment that had arrived, and their head and soul was gone. Besides, the duties which the Colonel had hurriedly assigned before leaving them had scattered some companies in various quarters of the town. Several persons sought admission to the Marshall House, among them a sister of the dead man, who had heard the rumor, but who was not allowed to know the true state of the case. It was painful to hear her remark, as she went away, that 'of course they wouldn't shoot a man dead in his own house about a bit of old bunting.' Many of the lodgers were anxious to go forth, but they were detained until after I had left. All sorts of arguments and persuasions were employed, but the Zouave guards were inexorable."

The Michigan regiment, though prevented by the impetuous movement of the Zouaves from fully effecting its object, succeeded, however, in capturing some thirty-seven of the enemy's cavalry. The rest had made off by the railroad extending into the interior of Virginia. The occupation of Alexandria was indeed secured, but at the sacrifice of a life suddenly arrested in its youthful promise of patriotic service. The friends of the Union mourned the fate of young Ellsworth, and honored his memory as that of a hero.

Elmer E. Ellsworth was born at Malta, Saratoga County, in the State of New York, on the 23d of April, 1837. His parents not being rich were unable to give him more than the advantages of an ordinary common school education. He, however, seemed to have some early inclinations for a military career, and an effort was made to obtain for him an admission into the academy at West Point. Not succeeding in this purpose, the lad was placed as a clerk in a trading establishment at Troy, and thence removed to the city of New York, where he remained engaged in similar occupations for several years. He subsequently emigrated to the West, and obtained the position of a clerk with an attorney in Chicago. He now commenced the study of the law, but devoted

his leisure time to the study of military science.

About this time he was chosen captain of a volunteer company, whom he induced to adopt the uniform and drill of the French Zouaves, whose efficiency had been recently displayed in the Crimea. His soldiers soon became the pride of Chicago and the wonder of other cities, where, during a round of visits, they exhibited their striking costume and peculiar manners. On his return to the West he was chosen quartermaster of the northern division of Illinois, and paymaster-general of the State militia. He, however, still persevered in his legal studies, and was soon after admitted to the bar. On the election of his friend, Mr. Lincoln, to the Presidency, Ellsworth made application for the chief clerkship in the war department, but the secretary of war was prevented from bestowing it upon him in consequence of his pledge to a previous applicant. He, however, received, through the influence of the President, the commission of second lieutenant in the army. In the mean time, war with the South becoming imminent, young Ellsworth resigned his lieutenancy, and, offering his services to recruit a regiment, repaired at once to New York for the purpose.

The proverbial courage and energy of the city firemen led him to seek among them for the men suitable for the formation of a corps of Zouaves, of whom dash, daring, and activity are expected. He soon succeeded in enrolling a thousand firemen, and sailed, with the applause and good wishes of all New York, for Washington, at the head of his regiment, on the 29th of April. His tragic death has been already recorded.

There was an element of tender affection in the character of the youthful hero which endeared him to his family and friends, and served to increase the public regard for his memory. On the night previous to his departure on the fatal expedition to Alexandria, he wrote to his betrothed, and this reverential and pathetic letter to his parents, of whom he was the only surviving child:

"HEADQUARTERS 1ST ZOUAVES, CAMP LINCOLN, WASHINGTON, D. C., *May* 23, 1861.

"MY DEAR FATHER AND MOTHER: The regiment is ordered to move across the river to-night. We have no means of knowing what reception we are to meet with. I am inclined to the opinion that our entrance to the city of Alexandria will be hotly contested, as I am just informed a large force has arrived there to-day. Should this happen, my dear parents, it may be my lot to be injured in some manner. Whatever may happen, cherish the consolation that I was engaged in the performance of a sacred duty; and to-night, thinking over the probabilities of to-morrow, and the occurrences of the past, I am perfectly content to accept whatever my fortune may be, confident that He who noteth even the fall of a sparrow, will have some purpose even in the fate of one like me.

"My darling and ever-loved parents, good-bye. God bless, protect, and care for you. ELMER."

CHAPTER XXIII.

How the Virginians failed to take Fortress Monroe.—Efforts to counteract its Loss.—The importance of Fortress Monroe to the Union.—The danger to Norfolk.—Fortification of Virginia Rivers and Coasts.—Abundant Cannon from the Navy Yard.—Sewall's Point.—Its Position.—Raising of Fortifications by the Secessionists.—Attempt to prevent the Work by the Federal Cruisers.—Attack of the Star on Sewall's Point.—Official Report of Captain Eagle.—A lively Account by the Enemy.—Effect of the Attack.—The Reinforcement of Fortress Monroe.—Number of Troops.—Major-General Butler ordered to the Command of the Department of Virginia.—Arrival at Fortress Monroe.—His enthusiastic Reception.—Immediate Action.—A Foothold upon the Land of Virginia secured.—Increased Reinforcements at Fortress Monroe.—Expedition to Newport News.—Situation of the place.—No resistance.—Military possession.—Intrenchments.—Continued labor of the Enemy in fortifying their Coast.—The Works at Acquia Creek.—Position of Acquia Creek and its strategic importance.—Nature of the Batteries.—Attack by Captain Ward.—Silencing Batteries.—Hauling off the Freeborn.—Renewal of Attack.—Official Statement.—Unsuccessful attempt of the Harriet Lane upon an Enemy's Battery.—Spectators at Fortress Monroe.—Butler eager for Action.—The Expedition against Little and Big Bethel planned.—The Federal Troops.—Number and Commanders.—Brigadier-General Pierce.—Previous Military Experience.—The details of the plan of the Expedition.—A confused Statement explained.—The Reserves.—How they were to Co-operate.—Big Bethel.—Its Position.—Ignorance of Federal Officers.—March of Colonel Duryea.—Delays in Progress.—A Fire in the Rear.—A Countermarch.—No Enemy.—A fatal Blunder.—Return of Vermonters and Massachusetts Men.—The Blunder explained.—Who was to blame?—The General's self-justification.—Defence of Colonel Bendix.

1861. THE Virginians having failed, through the rare and happy accident of its being held by a loyal officer at the time of their insurrection, in obtaining possession of Fortress Monroe, made great efforts to counteract the loss of so important a defence. This strong work, which held as it were in its grip the neck of Chesapeake Bay, and throttled Virginia by commanding its channels of communication with the sea, was also, as a basis of offensive operations, the most important possession retained by the Federal Government. The people of Norfolk especially felt themselves endangered by the proximity of the great fortress, where the Union could muster within its impregnable walls and under its commanding guns, armies and fleets ready to be directed at any moment upon the neighboring shores, and thus threaten the safety of their city.

The Virginians accordingly made haste to fortify that part of their coast more immediately exposed to an attack from Fortress Monroe. With the cannon left at the Norfolk navy-yard, after the blundering attempt at its destruction by the Federal officer in command, they were abundantly supplied with means of arming their defences. They accordingly raised fortifications on every point of land, and at every river's mouth where there seemed danger of an attack. Among these is Sewall's Point, at the confluence of the Elizabeth and James rivers, directly opposite to Fortress Monroe, and about four miles distant. This low spit of land not only commands the mouths of these two rivers,

but presents a favorable place for the landing of troops to operate in the rear of Norfolk. The Virginians accordingly sent down gangs of negroes, and some soldiers, to raise batteries of sand, and to mount them with cannon. While thus occupied, commander Harry Eagle, of the United States steamer Star, who was on the watch, discovered the work in progress. "Several noises were heard during the night, but not distinct enough for me," reported Captain Eagle officially, "to trace them. At half-past five P.M. I heard distinct blows, as if from an axe securing timber platforms for gun-carriages inside of the embrasures, and immediately I ordered a shot to be fired over them. The rebels immediately hoisted a white flag with some design on it, and fired a shot that cut the fore spencer guys near the gaff. I immediately beat to quarters and returned their fire, which was continued by them. I expended fifteen round of grape, twelve ten-inch shot, thirty-two ten-inch shell, ten shell for thirty-two pounders, and forty-five thirty-two-pound shot, making a total of one hundred and fourteen shots, which," adds the captain, "I think did some execution among the rebels. I only desisted for want of ammunition, having only five eight-pound charges remaining for the pivot gun."

May 18.

The action continued for an hour and a quarter, and although the official statement makes no allusion to the fact, it would seem that another Federal vessel bore a not ineffective part in the engagement. Captain Ward came up opportunely with the steamer Freeborn, and taking a position within five hundred yards of the shore, opened with thirty-two-pound round shot. "He soon drove the party out of the work, and was not long in hammering two or three of the embrasures into one. The defenders, with a mounted officer at their head, took refuge in a clump of trees near by, into which Captain Ward presently threw a shot, which had the effect of routing the party."

One of the enemy gave the following account of the affair, from which it would seem there was less "execution among the rebels" than Captain Eagle had expected.

"The enemy had three eight-inch columbiads, from which they kept up an incessant and rapid firing. Their guns were aimed with remarkable precision. Any o... of their shots would have struck a boat of the size of theirs; but, thank God, not one did its diabolical work among us. Almost half their shot struck our battery, and several shells exploded on top of it. One tremendous bomb hit the muzzle of the cannon at which Lieutenant Moffet and myself were working, and exploded in the embrasure, not three feet from us, covering us with the turf and splinters of the battery, and so tearing up the embrasure as to make it large enough for three guns. Another shell passed within a foot of Robert Lockhart, as he ran out to plant the flag a little farther to the left than where it had been waving. He did not have time to get behind the battery after the cry of 'look out' was

given and before the ball came. He fell flat on the ground, and that saved him. Privates Mayo and Porter had one ball pass between their legs while they were shoveling away sand from in front of their gun.

"The trees near the fort were completely peeled and trimmed by the grape and shell. A chain came whizzing just a foot above the battery, struck a tree about ten feet off, and cut it in two as smoothly as you could cut a sprig of asparagus. The shell, and grape, and thirty-two-pounders rained down among us all the time as thickly as hail, and all of us are the possessors of some of these trophies, gathered on the ground of our first successful battle-field."

The attack, however, upon Sewall's Point had the effect of putting the Virginians on the alert, to increase the strength of that place. They immediately concentrated two thousand troops there, and added "four of the heaviest guns" to the battery, which they have hitherto continued to hold in defiance of Fortress Monroe and the Federal cruisers.

The United States Government, alive to the importance of Fortress Monroe, not only as a defensive work, but as a basis of operations, had hastened to strengthen its garrison and to place there a large body of troops. Before the close of May there were over five thousand men collected within its walls. To Butler, created a major-general, who had proved so energetic an officer at Annapolis and Baltimore, being succeeded at Baltimore by General Cadwallader—was given the command of the new military department of Virginia, embracing the eastern district to the summit of the Blue Ridge, and also the States of North and South Carolina. May 18.

Fortress Monroe was included within Butler's command, and thither he repaired and established his headquarters. May 22. His arrival was welcomed with enthusiasm, and honored by the usual military ceremonies. Salutes were fired, and there was a grand review, on the parade ground, of the troops, amounting to over four thousand men, who received their new chief with loud hurrahs. The General's first movement was to take possession of Hampton, separated from Fort Monroe, or rather the peninsula of Old Point Comfort, upon which the fortress stands, only by an artificial causeway and a narrow neck of land. A regiment of volunteers was detailed for the purpose of resisting any possible opposition, and they marched across the causeway. The Virginians, as soon as they observed the approach of the Federal troops, hurried to set fire to the bridge, where they had accumulated combustibles for the purpose. The advance guard, however, of the volunteers pushed on rapidly, and before the fire had done much damage, extinguished it and put the enemy to flight, with the loss of one field-piece. This was seized and thrown into the bay, and General Butler continuing his progress, and making his reconnoissance, selected the site for a permanent encampment upon the farm of a Mr. Segar, a unionist. Next day

two regiments were here encamped, and a foothold secured upon the mainland of Virginia.

Reinforcements continuing to pour into Fortress Monroe, General Butler was enabled again to make a successful advance into the territory of the enemy.
May 27. Embarking twenty-five hundred men in transports at the wharf of the fort, consisting principally of Vermont and Massachusetts regiments, he dispatched them to take possession of Newport News. This place is situated on the left bank of the James River, on the same peninsula formed between that stream and the York River, to which Fortress Monroe itself is joined by a causeway and narrow neck of land. The expedition met with no resistance, and no attempt at it, beyond several ineffectual shots from the enemy's batteries on the opposite side of James River. Intrenchments were immediately begun after the landing of the troops, and Newport News, a post which commands the peninsula on which it is situated, and a small island in the stream which it was feared might be fortified by the Confederates, was thus secured.

The enemy were vigorously providing for the defence of the Virginia coast, thus threatened by the increased force at Fortress Monroe, and by the accumulation, under the cover of its guns, of armed United States vessels in the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries. The Confederates had not only erected batteries upon the Elizabeth, James, York, Rappahannock, and Potomac rivers, but upon the smaller streams which empty into them. One of the most formidable of these works had been constructed at the mouth of the Acqüia Creek. This place had been judiciously chosen by the enemy as a point of the utmost importance in the defence of Virginia. Here is situated the eastern terminus of the Fredericksburgh and Potomac Railway, which, extending from the river to Fredericksburgh, continues from that city to Richmond, the capital of Virginia. The mouth of the Acquia, where it empties into the Potomac on the Virginia side of the river, is about fifty miles from Washington, and seventy-five from Richmond. The current of travel from the North to the South, after passing down the Potomac from Washington, usually took this direction, by rail, to the capital of Virginia and more Southern destinations.

Strong batteries had been raised on the shore and on high and commanding ground behind. These, Captain Ward, of the United States steamer Freeborn, determined to make an effort to reduce. He, accordingly, supported by the two steamers, Anacosta and Resolute, May 31. opened fire. After an incessant discharge, kept up for two hours, the three lower batteries at the railroad terminus were silenced. His ammunition, however, having been expended, and the enemy continuing to fire with great effect from their guns on the heights, Captain Ward was obliged to haul off the Freeborn. The other two small steamers, being unprovided with rifled guns, were unable to fire at a

sufficiently long range to be of much aid, and they were accordingly prevented from taking any very effective share in the engagement.

On the next day the steamers Pawnee and Yankee joined Ward's flotilla, and the action was renewed. Captain Ward, in his report to the secretary of the navy, thus details the events of the cannonade:

"I have the honor," he wrote, "to report a renewal of the bombardment at Acquia Creek, commencing at eleven o'clock and thirty minutes in the forenoon this day, and terminating, from fatigue of the men (the day being very warm, and the firing on our side incessant), at 4.30 in the afternoon, being a duration of five hours. The firing on shore was scarcely as spirited at any time as yesterday. The heights were abandoned, the guns apparently having been transferred to the earth-works at the railway terminus, in replacement of the batteries there silenced by ours yesterday. During the last hour of the engagement only two or three shots were thrown from the shore, by a few individuals seen stealthily now and then to emerge from concealment, and who hastily loaded and fired a single gun. The bulk of the party had left half an hour before, and squads were observed from time to time taking to their heels along the beach, with a speed and bottom truly commendable for its prudence, and highly amusing to the seamen. I did not deem it advisable to permit so feeble a fire to wear out my men. Therefore, I discontinued the engagement. Several shots came on board of us, causing the vessel to leak badly, and, besides other injuries, clipping the port-wheel, the wrought-iron shaft being gouged by a shot which would have shattered it if of cast iron. Fortunately I have again neither killed nor wounded to report, though the shot at times fell thick about us, testing the gallantry and steadiness of my men, which I consider of standard proof for any emergency. I proceed to Washington to repair damages and refill my exhausted magazine. The Pawnee remains, meantime, below, to supply my place in the blockade. Captain Rowan, of that ship, joined me last night, replenishing my exhausted stores, and most gallantly opened the fire this morning, having followed my lead in shore toward the batteries. His ship received numerous wounds, both below and aloft, inflicted by the enemy's shot. On account of her size, she being more easily hit, she appeared to be their favorite mark, and was herself often a sheet of flame, owing to the great rapidity of her discharges. The enemy set fire to the large passenger and freight dépot on the end of the long pier, as we were approaching, probably to remove it as an obstruction to their aim, but were not permitted to extinguish the flames during the whole five hours' cannonade. Consequently nearly the whole pier is destroyed, leaving only the charred piles remaining above the water to mark its former position.

* * * * * * * * * *

"More than one hundred shots have

fallen aboard and around us, any one of which would have struck a frigate. We had more than a thousand shots discharged at us within range, and have ourselves fired upward of three hundred shots and shells, with seventeen hundred pounds of powder. What damage we have inflicted remains to be seen. That we have received none not easily repaired, is truly remarkable. The Anacosta and Reliance were not permitted to come under damaging fire, their support having been necessary to embolden those engaged, by giving them confidence that if disabled in the machinery, assistance was at hand to drag them out."

The enemy, however, notwithstanding this spirited attack, persisted in holding their position, and by increased fortifications rendered the batteries of Acquia Creek among the most formidable of their defensive works.

The naval force, under Commodore Stringham, which had now gathered in Hampton Roads, and was blockading the Chesapeake, continued to be active, but, however spiritedly managed, seemed to effect but little in its attempts upon the enemy's batteries. The Harriet Lane, commanded by Captain Faunce, started out on a cruise up the James River, to look out for batteries. Having discovered one at the mouth of the Nansemond, which joins the James at Hampton Roads, the Harriet Lane opened fire. Being within sight of Fortress Monroe, the soldiers thronged the ramparts to watch the scene. The cannonade of the steamer was briskly responded to by the enemy, who, with their guns of longer range and heavier metal, succeeded in effecting greater damage than they received. The Harriet Lane, after continuing the action for half an hour, in the course of which she was struck by several shot from a thirty-four-pound rifled cannon, hauled off and returned to her anchorage under the guns of the fort.

June 5.

Reinforcements still continuing to pour into Fortress Monroe, the active Butler became eager for action. The outposts at Newport News and Hampton having been annoyed by a body of the enemy posted at Little Bethel, about eight miles distant from both encampments, General Butler resolved upon an attempt to surprise and capture it. He accordingly sent out an expedition for the purpose. This was composed of two divisions— the one made up of the New York regiment of Zouaves, commanded by Colonel Duryea, and the Albany (N. Y.) regiment under Colonel Townsend, supported by a detachment of United States artillery, with three cannon, led by Lieutenant Greble. The other division was composed of the New York Steuben Regiment, commanded by Colonel Bendix, and detachments of the First Vermont and Third Massachusetts, under Lieutenant-Colonel Washburn. The whole expedition was placed under the command of General Pierce, a militia brigadier-general of Massachusetts, whose military service had hitherto been restricted to the holiday parades of Boston Common or the village green. The

June 9.

plan of the enterprise is thus set forth by General Butler himself:

"I ordered," he wrote, in his official report, "General Pierce, who is in command of Camp Hamilton, at Hampton, to send Duryea's regiment of Zouaves

June to be ferried over Hampton Creek

10. at one o'clock this morning, and to march by the road up to Newmarket Bridge, then crossing the bridge, to go by a by-road, and thus put the regiment in the rear of the enemy and between Big Bethel and Little Bethel, in part for the purpose of cutting him off, and then to make an attack upon Little Bethel. I directed General Pierce to support him (Colonel Duryea) from Hampton with Colonel Townsend's regiment, with two mounted howitzers, and to march about an hour later. At the same time I directed Colonel Phelps, commanding at Newport News, to send out a battalion, composed of such companies of the regiments under his command as he thought best, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Washburn, in time to make a demonstration upon Little Bethel in front, and to have him supported by Colonel Bendix's regiment, with two field-pieces."

From this not very perspicuous statement of General Butler, it may be inferred that Colonel Duryea's regiment from Hampton, and Lieutenant-Colonel Washburn's force from Newport News, were to move in advance, the former to the rear and the latter to the front of Little Bethel, while Colonel Townsend's regiment from Hampton, and Colonel Bendix's regiment from Newport News, were to move later and act as a reserve.

The two latter were to form a junction at a fork of the road leading from Hampton to Newport News, the two points from which they were separately to march, about a mile and a half from Little Bethel. "I directed," continues Butler, in his official report, "the march to be so timed that the attack should be made just at daybreak, and that after the attack was made upon Little Bethel, Duryea's regiment and a regiment from Newport News should follow immediately upon the heels of the fugitives, if they were enabled to cut them off, and attack the battery on the road to Big Bethel, while covered by the fugitives; or if it was thought expedient by General Pierce, failing to surprise the camp at Little Bethel, they should attempt to take the work near Big Bethel."

This Big Bethel is some four miles farther from Fortress Monroe than Little Bethel, on the road from the town of Hampton to Yorktown, of revolutionary renown. Its exact locality, the character of the surrounding country, the force of the enemy, the strength of their fortifications, or even the fact of their existence, was a mystery probably not only to the General-in-chief, but to all his subordinate officers. It was, however, soon to be solved with a fatal result.

Colonel Duryea having formed his regiment of Zouaves, seven hundred and forty strong, and sent skirmishers forward in advance, began his march from

Hampton at half-past eleven o'clock at night, toward Little Bethel. His men moved spiritedly forward, cheered with the prospect of a successful issue to their enterprise. The march for two miles was slow, in consequence of the tardy arrival of the howitzer which was to be placed at the head of the advancing column. There was again a delay at Hampton Creek, for want of surf-boats, to convey the troops across. These, however, finally arrived, and the troops being transported to the other side, resumed their march, and soon came up with the two companies sent forward as skirmishers an hour and a half in advance of the main body. The whole force now pushed on with quickened step, without pausing a moment for rest, and at four o'clock in the morning fell in with the picket guard of the enemy at Little Bethel. This, consisting of four soldiers and an officer in command, being captured, the regiment began to move forward on the road toward Big Bethel. At this moment a heavy fire of musketry and cannon was heard in the rear. Believing it to be an attempt by the enemy to cut off his reserve, Colonel Duryea immediately gave the order to countermarch his men, and they at once proceeded in double quick time in direction of the cannonade. After having thus rapidly retraced their march for five miles, they discovered that there was no enemy in their rear, but that the firing had come from their friends brought into collision by a fatal blunder.

Lieutenant-Colonel Washburn, with his detachment of Massachusetts men and Vermonters, had also, in accordance with the plan of the expedition, moved on. Setting out from Newport News, he had marched within reach of the front of Little Bethel, when the cannonade heard in his rear startled him too, and induced him to march back again to meet an enemy, but only to discover that he and Colonel Duryea had been deceived by the same fatal blunder of our troops.

This was soon explained. Colonel Bendix having with his German regiment set out in due time from Newport News, reached the cross roads, and halted, to await the coming up of, and to form a junction with, the Albany regiment under Colonel Townsend, on their route from Hampton. "Up to this point the plan," says Butler, in his official report, "had been vigorously, accurately, and successfully carried out; but here, by some strange fatuity and yet unexplained blunder, without any word of notice, while Colonel Townsend was in column *en route*, and when the head of the column was within one hundred yards, Colonel Bendix's regiment opened fire, with both artillery and musketry, upon Colonel Townsend's column, which, in the hurry and confusion, was irregularly returned by some of Colonel Townsend's men, who feared they had fallen into an ambuscade. Colonel Townsend's column immediately retreated to the eminence near by, and were not pursued by Colonel Bendix's men. By this almost criminal blunder, two men of Colonel Townsend's regiment were killed and eight, more or less, wounded."

Every one was naturally anxious to free himself from the blame of what the General has termed an "almost criminal blunder." He in his own justification declared, that "to prevent the possibility of mistake in the darkness, I directed that no attack should be made until the watchword—Boston—should be shouted by the attacking regiment, and, in case that by any mistake in the march the regiments that were to make the junction should unexpectedly meet and be unknown to each other, also directed that the members of Colonel Townsend's regiment should be known, if in daylight, by something white worn on their arm."

The General seemed to impute the fault to Colonel Bendix's Germans, who, he declared, were the first to open fire. They, however, strenuously defended themselves, asserting that the mistake was mutual, and the attack on both sides simultaneous. The adjutant of the German regiment came to the rescue of its fame with the following declaration:

"Colonel Bendix had not received any order or intimation that our troops should wear white badges around the arm for the purpose of mutual recognition, and if he had, he would not have been able to distinguish such badge at the distance and in the dusk of the morning. Colonel Bendix's command did not wear such badges. The uniform of the Albany regiment was very similar to the uniform of the secession troops. It is doubtful which side opened fire. Many of the Albany boys admit that they fired first, mistaking the Steuben regiment for enemies, probably for the reason that the latter wore no white badges.

"When Colonel Townsend's troops approached the junction over a slight ridge, they appeared to be a troop of cavalry, because General Pierce and staff, and Colonel Townsend and staff, in a body, rode in advance of their troops, and without any advance guard thrown out, as customary, to reconnoitre and protect the head of the column. If the latter precaution had been taken, the unfortunate mistake would not have happened. It was known that our side had no cavalry."

CHAPTER XXIV.

Serious Effects of the Blunder at Little Bethel.—Inexperienced Leader.—Unwise Counsellors.—Second Advance of General Pierce.—Reinforcements.—Arrival of the Advance at Little Bethel.—A deserted Camp.—March to Big Bethel.—The Enemy reported in Force.—Battle given.—Spirit of the Men.—Plan of Battle.—Colonel Duryea's Zouaves.—The Struggle.—Retreat.—The Skirmishers.—Their Retreat.—Death of Greble.—Withdrawal of the Artillery.—Action of the New York Troops.—Relative Number of Troops Engaged.—Losses.—Enemy's Account of the Affair of Big Bethel.—Attempts at Justification by the Federal Officers.—Consoling Reflection of General Butler.—Censure of General Pierce.—Promises to Justify Himself.—Patriotism.—Gallant Behavior of the Soldiers.—Proofs.—Rescue of Guns.—Rescue of Body of Lieutenant Greble.—The Last to Retreat.—Death of Major Winthrop.—His Bravery.—His Last Moments.—Admiration of the Enemy.—Life of Winthrop.—Adventurous Career.—Restlessness.—His Military Career.—Author of the Plan of Battle at Big Bethel.—Literary Tastes.—Success of his Posthumous Works.

GRIEVOUS as had been the blunder at Little Bethel, and fatal as it was to our
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own men destroyed by their comrades, it was still more serious in its effects upon the subsequent fate of the expedition. The inexperienced leader, counselled by those who were no more skilled in the art of war than himself, and piqued into an indiscreet activity by disappointment, determined to make an effort to redeem the unsuccessful beginning of the enterprise. He accordingly ordered his troops again to the advance. The enemy, in the mean time, were on the alert, and had fallen back from Little to Big Bethel, where the main body was posted under the cover of a strong battery of several heavy guns. General Pierce, without having made any reconnoissance, and entirely ignorant of the force of his antagonists or the nature of their position or defences, did not hesitate to push on his troops, against this concealed and unnumbered foe, at Great Bethel. He, however, had the prudence, as he advanced, to send back to General Butler for reinforcements, who sent forward Colonel Allen, with his New York city regiment, and Colonel Carr, with that of Troy (N. Y.)

Colonel Duryea, with his Zouaves, again assumed the advance, supported by Colonel Bendix and his Germans, and Colonel Townsend, with the Albany regiment. On reaching Little Bethel, from which a stray shot was fired by a retreating troop of cavalry, the camp was found deserted, and this being destroyed, our troops pushed on toward Big Bethel. Here the main body ar-
June 10.
rived at about ten o'clock in the morning, and halted in consequence of the intelligence brought back by those who had been sent forward to skirmish in advance. Captain Kilpatrick, who commanded these skirmishers, had evidently not underrated the strength of the enemy, for he reported that he had found them "with about from three

thousand to five thousand men, posted in a strong position on the opposite side of the bridge—three earth-works and a masked battery on the right and left; in advance of the stream, thirty pieces of artillery and a large force of cavalry."

In face of this portentous report of the numbers and strength of position of the enemy, the troops were drawn up in line of battle, and prepared to give fight. The soldiers, though previously fatigued by their long and rapid march, and dispirited by the fatal mistake of the previous night, were at once reanimated by the prospect of a struggle. "It put a new spirit into the men, as the word passed down the line. They were no longer tired and sleepy. Each freshened up to his place in the ranks and closed up in column."

The skirmishers, now led by Lieutenant-Colonel Warren, were again thrown forward on the right and left, supported by the advance guard of Duryea's Zouaves and three pieces of United States artillery, under the command of Lieutenant Greble. The enemy at once opened fire from their batteries directly facing the road, but our men answered with a shout, and continued to press forward.

The enemy's fire was so heavy that it was found useless to attempt to meet it directly by discharges of musketry, and accordingly the Federal forces were deployed. Lieutenant Greble, with his three howitzers, being posted in the road toward the front, was left alone to face the batteries, while the rest assumed positions toward the enemy's right and left, with the view of flanking.

Colonel Duryea's Zouaves and Colonel Townsend's Albany regiment crossed from the road on the left through some cultivated farm-ground and orchards, to an open field on the enemy's right, with their skirmishers in advance, and the Germans, the Massachusetts men, and Vermonters passed into a forest on the right of the road, and toward the left of the enemy.

As the Zouaves advanced, the enemy opened their batteries upon them. Colonel Duryea, however, urged them forward at the double-quick step, until, finding the fire very "destructive," he thought it prudent to seek refuge in a neighboring wood, where he halted to rest his men, and to complete his preparations for charging the batteries in flank. After remaining two hours and a half in this imperfect cover, where they were still within range of the enemy's guns, the Zouaves returned to the open field and spiritedly advanced toward the rebel batteries, with the intention of making an attempt to carry them by storm. They had not proceeded far, however, before they discovered lying across their path an almost impassable swamp, with a small stream running through it. These proved to be insurmountable obstacles. They persevered, however, with great spirit till the order came from General Pierce to retreat. Colonel Duryea, now collecting such of his killed and wounded as he could find, withdrew his men and took to the road in the rear.

The Germans, at the same time, were

acting on the right in conjunction with the Zouaves on the left, and, like them, had made several spirited attempts at charging the batteries, but foiled by the same obstacles of morass and creek and heavy fire, were also forced to withdraw.

Lieutenant Greble, with his three pieces of artillery, had, in the mean time, been returning the fire of the enemy with considerable effect, and had steadily advanced until he reached within two hundred yards of the Confederate works.

The skirmishers, headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Warren, had made good progress. "We continued to advance," reported Captain Kilpatrick, in command, "clearing all before us, till we reached a point just on the edge of the woods where the fire was so hot and heavy that we were compelled to halt, and there we remained as directed by Lieutenant-Colonel Warren, till that gallant officer had made dispositions to turn their flanks. The enemy's fire at this time began to tell upon us with great effect. My men were falling one after another, as was the case of the rest of the command.

"Our object being now accomplished, to remain longer in this exposed position was useless; numbers of our men being killed and wounded, having received a grape-shot through my thigh, which tore off a portion of the rectangle on Colonel Duryea's left shoulder, passed through my leg, and killed a soldier in the rear, I withdrew my men to the skirts of the wood. We managed to reach Lieutenant Greble's battery and bring to his aid several of my men. The charge was then sounded, and Lieutenant Greble opened fire with grape and canister within two hundred yards of the enemy's lines. Captains Winslow, Bartlett, and myself charged with our commands in front; Captain Denike and Lieutenant Duryea (son of Colonel Duryea), and about two hundred of the Troy Rifles, upon the right; Colonel Townsend, with his men, to the left. The enemy were forced out of the first battery, all the forces were rapidly advancing, and everything promised a speedy victory, when we were ordered to fall back. Where this order came from, I do not know. We maintained our position till Colonel Townsend began to retire with his whole command. Being left thus alone, and no prospects of receiving aid, we ordered the men to fall back, which they did, and in good order, forming their line of battle about one hundred and fifty yards in the rear. A few minutes afterward, orders came from General Pierce to cease firing and retire."

Greble, after two hours of spirited work with his artillery, was struck by a cannon-ball in the head and killed instantly. With his death, the fall of the larger number of the artillerists, and the exhaustion of ammunition, it was found necessary to withdraw the guns, which was done by the Massachusetts men and Vermonters, under Lieutenant-Colonel Washburne. The body of the young lieutenant was borne off, lying upon one of those cannon which he had so gallantly served.

The New York regiment sent to reinforce the Federal troops, reached the battle-field in time to share in the engagement. The commander, Colonel Allen, in his official report, says: "Upon reporting to General Pierce, he directed me to proceed to the front and deploy my regiment in front of the battery, which I did, and so remained for one hour and forty minutes under a heavy fire of at least twenty guns, some of them rifled, and about four shell guns—the enemy deploying in my front with about 1,200 men and two guns, but made no advance. They, however, threw out two heavy flanking parties on my right and left, the former with two guns, and completely outflanked the entire brigade, at which time General Pierce deemed it proper to retire."

The number of Federal troops on the field of battle, including the reinforcements, amounted to about four thousand. Of these, sixteen were killed, thirty-four wounded, and five missing, making a total of fifty-three. The Federal loss, moreover, was increased by the fatal blunder, which resulted in killing two and wounding nineteen.

The enemy reported that their whole force engaged did not exceed eleven hundred men, under the command of General Magruder, and one killed and two wounded, as the total of their loss. One who served with them gave this account of the affair:

"On Monday morning, six hundred infantry and two guns, under General Magruder, left the camp and proceeded toward Hampton, but after advancing a mile or two, received information that the Yankees were coming in large force. We then retired, and after reaching camp the guns were placed in battery and the infantry took their places behind their breast-work. Everybody was cool, and all were anxious to give the invaders a good reception. About nine o'clock the glittering bayonets of the enemy appeared on the hill opposite, and above them waved the star-spangled banner. The moment the head of the column advanced far enough to show one or two companies, the Parrott gun of the howitzer battery opened on them, throwing a shell right into their midst. Their ranks broke in confusion, and the column, or as much of it as we could see, retreated behind two small farm-houses. From their position a fire was opened on us, which was replied to by our battery, which commanded the route of their approach. Our firing was excellent, and the shells scattered in all directions, when they burst. They could hardly approach the guns which they were firing, for the shells which came from our battery. Within our encampment fell a perfect hail-storm of canister shot, bullets, and balls. Remarkable to say, not one of our men was killed inside of our encampment. Several horses were slain by the shells and bullets. Finding that bombardment would not answer, the enemy, about eleven o'clock, tried to carry the position by assault, but met a terrible repulse at the hands of the infantry as he tried to scale the breast-works. The men disregarded sometimes the defences

erected for them, and, leaping on the embankment, stood and fired at the Yankees, cutting them down as they came up. One company of the New York Seventh Regiment, under Captain Winthrop, attempted to take the redoubt on the left. The marsh they crossed was strewn with their bodies. Their captain, a fine-looking man, reached the fence, and, leaping on a log, waved his sword, crying, 'Come on, boys! one charge, and the day is ours!' The words were his last, for a Carolina rifle ended his life the next moment, and his men fled in terror back. At the redoubt on the right, a company of about three hundred New York Zouaves charged one of our guns, but could not stand the fire of the infantry, and retreated precipitately. During these charges the main body of the enemy on the hill were attempting to concentrate for a general assault, but the shells from the howitzer battery prevented them. As one regiment would give up the effort, another would be marched to the position, but with no better success, for a shell would scatter them like chaff. The men did not seem able to stand fire at all. About one o'clock their guns were silenced, and a few moments after, their infantry retreated precipitately down the road to Hampton. Our cavalry, numbering three companies, went in pursuit, and harassed them down to the edge of Hampton. As they retreated, many of the wounded fell along the road and died, and the whole road to Hampton was strewn with haversacks, overcoats, canteens, muskets, etc., which the men had thrown off in their retreat."

The Federal officers engaged in the unfortunate affairs of Little and Big Bethel strove to justify their conduct of the expedition, or to shift upon one another the responsibility of its failure. The commander-in-chief, General Butler, consoled himself with the thought, "in the unfortunate combination of circumstances, and the result which we have experienced, we have gained more than we have lost. Our troops have learned to have confidence in themselves under fire, the enemy have shown that they will not meet us in the open field, and our officers have learned wherein their organization and drill are deficient."

The militia Brigadier-General Pierce, who commanded the expedition, was so overwhelmed with censure, that he was forced to seek refuge within the columns of the newspaper, and persisting in the assertion of the excellence of his military conduct, promised a future justification of his skill as a commander :*

"CAMP HAMILTON, *June* 12, 1861.

"TO THE EDITORS OF THE BOSTON JOURNAL:

"Please correct the erroneous reports set afloat by my enemies. There were but seven killed of the forces that went from this camp, in the expedition to Little and Big Bethel, on the 10th of this month, and Colonel Townsend, of the Third Regiment New York Volunteers, who was formerly adjutant-gen-

* His justification was subsequently published. It cast the blame upon his superior in command.

eral of the State of New York, offers to certify that I gave my orders properly, and that, under the circumstances, the battle could not have been managed better.

"This I write that the public may not judge me before I have time to be heard.

"Captain Haggerty and Major Winthrop, of General Butler's staff, were with me, and advising me to do as I did. General Butler has not intimated to me, as yet, that he blames me at all. In haste, yours, E. W. PIERCE."

He subsequently confessed his incompetency as an officer by modestly retiring from the brigadier-generalship, and proved his patriotism by serving as a private in the ranks.

The soldiers unquestionably behaved with even more gallantry and firmness than might have been expected from raw troops, indiscreetly exposed to the batteries of a concealed and numerous enemy, and unskilfully managed by incompetent leaders. There were many instances of individual courage, which proved the spirit of the men and their capability, under proper command, of effectively serving the cause which they had so eagerly adopted.

During the retreat, Captain Wilson, of Colonel Carr's regiment of Troy (N. Y.), finding that a six-pounder had been left on the field, about fifty rods from the battery, shouted to his men: "Boys! there's a cannon; we must not leave it behind; we must take it with us." The whole company to a man cried out, "We'll take it;" and they were immediately marched back to obtain the piece. They had hardly reached it, when the enemy opened fire upon them, killing one of the brave fellows and wounding two others. The drag-ropes were detached, but the men tied them to the gun, in the midst of a shower of shot, and with a cheer ran it into the woods bordering the road. Captain Wilson, then, followed by five men, returned once more to the exposed spot to which the enemy's fire was hotly aimed, and securing the caisson, and also the body of poor Greble, who had fallen dead at his post, retired again to the cover of the woods, whence he retreated in safety with his hard-earned trophies. A score of men only, under the command of Lieutenant White, after firing their last charges from their howitzer, were left far in the rear; and being the last to leave the field, kept at bay a squadron of the enemy's cavalry and some infantry during their retreat to the main body.

The young Major Winthrop fell while gallantly urging on the troops, by his example and stirring words, to the attack. A fellow-officer who was with him during the engagement has testified to his spirit. "I made a reconnoissance," he said, "with Major Winthrop about twelve o'clock in the day, and can testify to his bravery and daring. He was very much exhausted, having wanted for sleep, food, and water, and the day had turned out very hot. We stuck our heads out of some underbrush, and instantly there was a perfect shower of balls rained upon us, which compelled us to withdraw a few paces. Major

Winthrop laid himself behind a tree, saying if he could only sleep for five minutes he would be all right. He remarked as he did this, that he was going to see the inside of that intrenchment before he went back to the fortress—his manner being that of cool, ordinary conversation. He continued self-possessed and cool throughout the whole engagement, up to the time when he received his death-wound, which happened by the side of Lieutenant Herringen, Company E, who remained with him and cared for him until life had fled. He was shot in the side."

The enemy found him to be the most conspicuous aim for their fatal shots. Their riflemen from their covers in the pits before the batteries had several times deliberately fired at him, as they declared he was constantly "conspicuous at the head of the advancing Federal troops, loudly cheering them on to the assault."

Theodore Winthrop was born in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1834, and was a descendant of the famous colonial governor of his name. He was possessed of a warm temperament, which gave the impulse to effort, but at the same time of a vagrant fancy, which hindered concentration and led to uncertainty of purpose. Educated at Yale College, and endowed with a natural taste for literature, he at one time aspired to be an author. Again his impulsive character, untutored by the discipline of routine, sought vent for its irregular forces in the adventure of exploration and travel. He crossed the Rocky Mountains to California, and again on his return he started with Lieutenant Strain on his bold expedition across the mountains, the jungles, and unnavigable rivers of the Isthmus of Darien. His physical strength, however, proved unequal to the trials of that adventurous exploration, and he returned to New York, his nominal home, to venture upon a new field of labor. He studied and began the practice of law. His errant fancies, however, were not favorable to the steady pursuit of the law, and he met with but little success. One of the fondest of his friends who knew him well, has said that "partly from ill-health, partly from temperament, a dreary sadness overhung his life and dispirited his efforts. Glad of his friends' success, and conscious of the kindred impulse, he still wistfully delayed. Of great industry and restless endeavor, he saw success slide by, and seemed to be waiting in melancholy patience the rising of a happier star. It has risen at last, and shines upon his grave."

On the fall of Sumter, he saw in the war which must ensue a new scope for his adventurous spirit and unemployed energies.

"On the Sunday afternoon after the fall of Sumter he was walking with a friend in the woods upon Staten Island, near his home. No man could have a clearer conception of the significance of that event. An American in the noblest sense, he felt that the time had come in which our liberties could be maintained only in the same way that

they were won. 'To-morrow,' said his friend, 'we shall have a proclamation from the President.' 'Then to-morrow,' he answered, 'I shall enlist.' He did so. If he had hesitated before, there could be no hesitation now. Mother, sisters, brother, farewell! It is God who calls in the voice of my country."*

He joined, together with his brother, the Seventh Regiment, which was the first to leave New York to go to the defence of the capital. After his regiment was mustered out of the Federal service, young Winthrop was appointed aid-de-camp and military secretary to General Butler, whom he accompanied to Fortress Monroe. He was now fairly embarked for the war. With his natural hopefulness of temper, he was exceedingly sanguine of the success of the Federal arms.

"A few burned villages, a dozen guerrillas hung, one scouring skirmish or battle will pacify," he wrote, "a whole State. Under the discipline and *esprit du corps* of a regiment or an army the South may fight; but they will not have moral conviction enough to risk their separate lives except in assassinations, and those a few sharp examples will terminate. We heard their threats at Annapolis. We heard also the pitiful plaints of the timid who believed the threats. *No; if we are patient and well led*, we shall do our work without much massacre."

The equivocal honor of the plan of the expedition to Little Bethel has been claimed for him, and a memorandum with its main details was found among his papers after his death, and published. The fact that to so inexperienced a soldier recourse was had for the plan of the expedition, is a confession of incompetency on the part of his elders and superiors which betokened ill for its success.

Young Winthrop during his campaign wrote frequently for a Boston magazine, and his spirited account of the march of the Seventh Regiment, and its first experiences in actual warfare, was received with great popular favor. Since his death, several of his stories and two novels written by him have been published, awakening an interest naturally heightened by the heroic death of their patriotic author.

* *Harper's Weekly.*

CHAPTER XXV.

The Call of the Country for the services of its Citizens.—The Sword laid aside for the pursuits of Peace.—States competing for a military leader.—George B. McClellan.—Proud position.—Hopes for the future.—A Bonaparte or a Washington?—Life of George B. McClellan.—Inheritance of paternal qualities.—Family Descent. Military Education.—At West Point.—First of his class.—Enters the Army.—Organizes the Sappers and Miners.—His success.—Services and rewards in the Mexican Campaign.—Laborious work at Vera Cruz.—A dangerous Reconnoissance at Contreras.—In the fight.—Services at Churubusco.—Well-earned praise.—Brevetted Captain.—At Molino del Rey.—At Chapultepec.—One of the "five Lieutenants of Engineers who won the admiration of all."—In the same list with Beauregard.—McClellan accepts the command of the Sappers and Miners.—Two years at West Point.—Scientific Pursuits and Writings.—Superintendent of construction of Fort Delaware.—Married.—Chief Engineer in Texas.—Surveyor of North Pacific Railroad.—Services acknowledged by Jefferson Davis.—Secret Service in the West Indies.—Sent to the Crimea.—Report on European Armies.—The character of the work.—Description of the Storming of the Malakoff.—Practical views in regard to Coast Defences.—McClellan resigns his Army command.—Vice-President and Chief Engineer of the Illinois Central Railroad.—President and General Superintendent of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad.—Summoned by the country to resume his Sword.—Services competed for by Pennsylvania and Ohio.—Accepts a Major-Generalship from Ohio.—Commissioned by the United States a Major-General.—Command of the Department of Ohio.—Personal appearance and character of McClellan.—Campaign in Western Virginia.—Movements of the Enemy.—Movements of General Patterson from Pennsylvania and McClellan from Ohio.—Proclamation of McClellan.—Crossing the Ohio into Western Virginia.

1861. WHEN our domestic quarrel had become so exasperated that civil war was inevitable, and the country called for the services of all who were able to take up arms in its defence, there was one who, though he had laid aside the sword for the pursuits of peace, had given such proofs of military capacity, that States competed for him as the leader of their armies. This was George B. McClellan, afterward commander-in-chief of the United States forces, who held for some time the proudest position in the country, and seemed destined, should the capricious fortunes of war favor him, to acquire a military fame rivaling that of a Cæsar or a Bonaparte. Such was his popularity after taking command of the Army of the Potomac that high hopes of his ability to end the rebellion were anticipated, and that with a moderation of power and a disinterestedness of patriotism he might rise far beyond the imperial grandeur of the Roman and French emperors, and appear in moral greatness as the saviour of the republic next to Washington its revered founder.

George B. McClellan was born in Philadelphia, on the third of January, eighteen hundred and twenty-six. His father was a surgeon of that city, famous in his profession for skill, intrepidity, promptitude, and dexterity—qualities which his son was believed to have inherited, though exercised in a different sphere of duty. The family, as its name indicates, was of Scotch descent, and originally settled in New England, where some of its members are still to be found.

In 1842, young McClellan, at the age of sixteen, entered the Military Acad-

emy of West Point. After the usual course of four years of study he graduated in 1846, being twenty years old, at the head of his class. He entered the army as brevet second lieutenant of engineers, an honored corps into which the most distinguished students of West Point are only admitted. On the declaration of war against Mexico, Congress passed an act establishing a company of sappers, miners, and pontoon constructors to be added to the corps of engineers, and young McClellan was appointed its second lieutenant. Upon him and two other officers devolved the duty of organizing and drilling this new branch of service. The recruits were accordingly mustered at West Point, where they were practised in sapping, mining, constructing bridges, and preparing the materials for sieges. At the same time they were thoroughly drilled and disciplined as infantry soldiers. Colonel Totten, the chief of this department, declared in his report, that when this new company, composed of seventy-one men, left West Point for the war, they were in "admirable discipline," and warmly applauded the skill and energy displayed by McClellan and his associates in their work of organization and drill. Proceeding first to Camargo, in Mexico, and reporting for duty to General Taylor, the company was ordered to return to Matamoras, and act with the column about marching under the command of General Patterson.

At Matamoras the captain and nineteen men of the corps were invalided and left in the hospital. Lieutenant McClellan and his comrade, Lieutenant Gustavus W. Smith—afterward a general in the Confederate army—proceeded in command of the remainder of the company to Vera Cruz. "During the march from Matamoras to Vittoria," reported Colonel Totten, "the company, then reduced to forty-five effectives, executed a great amount of work on the roads, fords, etc., as it did in proceeding thence to Tampico, where it formed, with one company of the Third and one of the Seventh Infantry, a pioneer party, under Captain Henry of the Third Infantry. The detailed reports of these labors exhibit the greatest efficiency and excellent discipline under severe and trying circumstances, Lieutenant Smith having then but one officer, Lieutenant McClellan, under his command."

On arriving at Vera Cruz, the captain, invalided at Matamoras, resumed the command of the company, to which was attached also another subordinate officer. To the conduct of the sappers and miners at the siege of Vera Cruz, Colonel Totten paid this tribute: "During the siege of Vera Cruz," he said, "I was witness to the great exertions and services of this company, animated by and emulating the zeal and devotion of its excellent officers, Lieutenants Smith, McClellan, and Foster." During the whole work of the siege, the labors of the company were incessant. "The total of the company was so small," said Totten, "and demands for its aid so incessant, that every man may be said to have been constantly on duty, with scarcely a

moment for rest and refreshment." The captain was unable, from continued illness, to take any very effective part in the onerous duties of the command, and soon after died, leaving the weight of labor and responsibility to rest upon his youthful subordinates, who proved themselves equal to the task, and earned another tribute from their superior, Colonel Totten, who declared that they "directed the operations with unsurpassed intelligence and zeal."

The same officer, in his reports of the services of the company, whether on the march, in the field, or in the trenches, had occasion but to repeat his praises both of men and officers. He said:

"Severe labors followed the surrender of Vera Cruz and its castle, and accompanied the march to the battle of Cerro Gordo, in which the company displayed, in various parts of the field, its gallantry and efficiency. It entered the city of Jalapa with the advance of Twiggs' division, and Puebla with the advance of Worth's. During the pause at the latter place, the instruction of the company in its appropriate studies and exercises was resumed by its persevering and zealous officers, and assistance was given by all in the repairs of the defences. Marching from Puebla with General Twiggs' division, the company was joined to General Worth at Chalon, and arrived in front of San Antonio on the 18th of August, having greatly assisted in clearing the road of obstructions placed by the enemy."

On the next day, the 19th of August, the company was placed at the head of the column commanded by General Pillow. Before the battle at Contreras opened, Lieutenant McClellan was ordered, together with another officer of engineers, to reconnoitre the position of the enemy. They, however, fell in with the advance guards of the Mexicans, and being fired upon, and losing their horses, which were killed, barely escaped in safety back to the lines. During the engagement which ensued, Lieutenant McClellan joined Magruder's battery. General Twiggs bore testimony to his good service on that day:

"Lieutenant George B. McClellan, after Lieutenant Calender was wounded, took charge of and managed the howitzer battery (Lieutenant Reno being detached with the rockets) with judgment and success, until it became so disabled as to require shelter. For Lieutenant McClellan's efficiency and gallantry in this affair, I present his name for the favorable consideration of the General-in-chief."

On the next day, when the battle of Churubusco was fought and the victory won, McClellan again obtained the "honorable mention" of his commander, and a brevet rank. General Persifer F. Smith, with whose division the young Lieutenant served, declared in his report:

"Lieutenant G. W. Smith, in command of the engineer company, and Lieutenant McClellan, his subaltern, distinguished themselves throughout the whole of the three actions. Nothing seemed to them too bold to be undertaken, or too difficult to be executed, and their services as engineers were as

valuable as those they rendered in battle at the head of their gallant men."

In the battle of Molino del Rey, too, which succeeded, McClellan was again conspicuous among the most active and brave. He was brevetted captain in acknowledgment of his services. He, however, declined the promotion, and was still only a lieutenant during the attack on Chapultepec. His services on this occasion, in erecting batteries before the engagement, and his gallantry in fighting during the battle, brought him once more within the notice of his superiors. General Scott named him in his dispatch as one of "those five lieutenants of engineers" who "won the admiration of all." The name of his famous competitor, Beauregard, was on the same honored list.

McClellan was thus with the army of General Scott during the whole of its victorious progress from Vera Cruz to the capital, and at every step the young Lieutenant won an increase of honor for his good conduct. He was brevetted captain for his service in Mexico, and returned in 1848 to West Point with his company of sappers and miners, of which he soon after became commander.

Here McClellan remained for more than two years, in comparative inactivity, but improved the time by study and devotion to the welfare of the service. He translated from the French, with which he is said to be thoroughly acquainted, a military work, which has been adopted as a text-book, and modifying in accordance with the latest system of tactics, the bayonet exercise, introduced it into the army.

During the summer and autumn of 1851, McClellan was charged with the superintendence of the construction of Fort Delaware, and in the spring of the same year was ordered to duty in the exploration of the Red River, under Major R. B. Marcy, whose daughter he married. While engaged in this work he was ordered to Texas, as chief engineer, under the command of General Persifer Smith of that department, and had been occupied for several months in surveying the rivers and harbors of the State, when he was transferred to the Pacific coast, to command the western division of the survey of the route for the North Pacific Railroad, to pass from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean.

Jefferson Davis, afterward President of the Southern Confederacy, then secretary of war of the United States, in his report to Congress thus acknowledged the services of McClellan as an explorer:

"The examination of the approaches and passes of the Cascade Mountains, made by Captain McClellan, of the corps of engineers, presents a reconnoissance of great value, and, though performed under adverse circumstances, exhibits all the information necessary to determine the practicability of this portion of the route, and reflects the highest credit on the capacity and resources of that officer."

Again he added: "Captain McClellan, of the corps of engineers, after the completion of his field operations,

was directed to visit various railroads, and to collect information and facts established in the construction and working of existing roads, to serve as data in determining the practicability of constructing and working roads over the several routes explored. The results of his inquiries will be found in a very valuable memoir herewith submitted."

This public duty was followed by the performance of some secret service for the Government in the West Indies.

In 1855, McClellan received a commission of captain in the United States cavalry, and was appointed by the Government, together with Colonel Richard Delafield and Major Alfred Mordecai, to proceed to the Crimea and report upon the war then waging between Russia and the allied powers of France and England. The result of his observations was embodied in a work entitled, "Report on the Organization of European Armies and the Operations of the War." It is acknowledged to be a production showing a thorough mastery of the military art. Its demonstrations evince an exact knowledge of science and a broad view in the application of its principles. The author, in the freedom of his criticism, does not hesitate to disregard the pretensions of rank and authority, and submit the strategy and tactics of the most distinguished European officers to the test of his own judgment. This self-reliance, though it might be thought by some presumptuous in so young a man, came from a consciousness of power, derived not only from original genius but careful culture, which gave promise that McClellan would be the great leader the country required.

Of the clear and precise style of McClellan as a writer, the following description of the storming of the Malakoff presents a good illustration:

"In their admirable arrangements for the attack of the Malakoff, the French counted on two things for success: first, they had ascertained that the Russians were in the habit of relieving the guard of the Malakoff at noon, and that a great part of the old guard marched out before the new one arrived, in order to avoid the loss which would arise from crowding the work with men; in the second place, it was determined to keep up a most violent vertical fire until the very moment of the assault, thus driving the Russians into the bomb-proofs, and enabling the storming party to enter the work with but little opposition.

"The hour of noon was therefore selected for the assault, and the strong columns intended for the work were at an early hour assembled in the advanced trenches, all in admirable order, and furnished with precise instructions.

"The mortars maintained an unremitting fire until the moment appointed. The very instant the last volley was discharged, the storming party of Zouaves rushed over the thirty paces before them, and were in the work before the astonished Russians knew what had happened. It was stated that this party lost but eleven in entering the work. Other troops advanced rapidly to support the storming party, a bridge was formed by rolling up five ladders with planks

lashed to them, a communication was at once commenced between the advanced trench and the bridge, brigade after brigade passed over, the redoubt was at once occupied by the storming party, and thus the Malakoff, and with it Sebastopol, was won. The few Russians remaining in the work made a desperate resistance. Many gallant attempts were made by Russian columns to ascend the steep slope in rear and regain the lost work; but as the road was narrow, difficult, and obstructed, the position strong, and the French in force, all their furious efforts were in vain, and the Malakoff remained in possession of those who had so gallantly and skilfully won it. With regard to the final retreat to the north side, it can only be said that a personal examination of the locality merely confirms its necessity, and the impression so generally entertained that it was the finest operation of the war; so admirably was it carried out that not a straggler remained behind; a few men, so severely wounded as to be unfit for rough and hurried transportation, were the only ghastly human trophies that remained to the allies. The retreat, being a more difficult operation than the assault, is worthy of more admiration, but the Russian retreat to the north side, and the French assault upon the Malakoff must each be regarded as a masterpiece of its kind, deserving the closest study. It is difficult to imagine what point in either can be criticised, for both evinced consummate skill, discipline, coolness, and courage."

The practical tendency of his mind and the character of his studies may be seen in the conclusions with which he has closed his report. From these it might be inferred that his efforts would early be directed to obtaining a disciplined army.

"It is believed that a calm consideration of the events so hastily and imperfectly narrated in the preceding pages must lead all unprejudiced persons among our countrymen to a firm conviction on two vital points:

"1st. That our system of permanent coast defences is a wise and proper one, which ought to be completed and armed with the least possible delay.

"2d. That mere individual courage cannot suffice to overcome the forces that would be brought against us were we involved in a European war, but that it must be rendered manageable by discipline, and directed by that consummate and mechanical military skill which can only be acquired by a course of education instituted for that special purpose, and by long habit.

"In the day of sailing vessels the successful siege of Sebastopol would have been impossible. It is evident that the Russians did not appreciate the advantages afforded by steamers, and were unprepared to sustain a siege.

"This same power of steam would enable European nations to disembark even a larger force than that which finally encamped around Sebastopol. To resist such an attack, should it ever be made, our cities and harbors must be fortified, and these fortifications must be provided with guns, ammunition, and

instructed artillerists. To repel the advance of such an army into the interior, it is not enough to trust to the number of brave but undisciplined men that we can bring to bear against it.

"An invading army of fifteen thousand or twenty thousand men could easily be crushed by the unremitting attacks of superior numbers; but when it comes to the case of more than one hundred thousand disciplined veterans, the very multitude brought to bear against them works its own destruction; because, if without discipline and instruction, they cannot be handled, and are in their own way. We cannot afford a Moscow campaign.

"Our regular army never can be, and perhaps never ought to be, large enough to provide for all the contingencies that may arise; but it should be as large as its ordinary avocations in the defence of the frontier will justify; the number of officers and non-commissioned officers should be unusually large, to provide for a sudden increase; and the greatest possible care should be bestowed upon the instruction of the special arms of the artillery and engineer troops.

"The militia and volunteer system should be placed upon some tangible and effective basis, instructions furnished them from the regular army, and all possible means taken to spread sound military information among them.

"In the vicinity of our sea-coast fortifications it would be well to provide a sufficient number of volunteer companies, with the means of instruction in heavy artillery, detailing officers of the regular artillery as instructors, who should, at the same time, be in charge of, and responsible for, the guns and material.

"In time of war, or when war is imminent, local companies of regular artillery might easily be enlisted for short terms of service, or for the war, in the sea-coast towns. The same thing might advantageously be carried into effect on a small scale in times of peace."

After returning from Europe, McClellan, finding that the army, in those piping times of peace, did not offer a sufficient scope for his activity, resigned his commission and accepted the appointment of vice-president and chief engineer of the Illinois Central Railroad. After serving three years in this office, he accepted that of president and general superintendent of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad. He was actively engaged in the performance of the civil duties pertaining to this position when, war becoming imminent, he was summoned to resume his sword. Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, strove to secure his services in organizing the militia of that State. The Governor of Ohio, however, was beforehand, and had already offered to him the command of the Ohio troops with the rank of major-general, which McClellan unhesitatingly accepted. A few weeks subsequently he was **May**
commissioned by the United States **14.**
Government a major-general in the regular army and given the command of the department of Ohio, embracing the States of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and that part of Virginia lying north of the

Great Kanawha River and west of the Green Brier River and the Maryland line, with so much of Pennsylvania as lies west of a line drawn from the Maryland line to the north-east corner of McKean County. The following contemporary sketch of the personal appearance and character of this celebrated General is given, to show the estimation in which he was then held:

"McClellan, now thirty-five years old, is in the prime of life. A man of short stature and broad frame, with a tendency to corpulency, though of compact structure, he is possessed of great physical activity and powers of endurance. Not prone to loquacity, he is reticent of his own counsel, and when he speaks expresses himself in few words, and with the decisive tone which characterizes the energetic man of action, rather than the speculative discourser. His temperament is that of the prevailing Anglo-American type, a combination of the sanguine and nervous. He has the thoughtful forecast of the one and the rapid movement of the other. This commingling of the two temperaments is shown in the dark though not black hair, in the light-colored but piercing eyes, in the full but concentrated frame, in the small hands and feet, and in the rounded but well-knit limbs.

"A combined military knowledge and civil experience fit him eminently for the command of a mixed force of volunteers and regulars, enabling him to harmonize their discordant elements. He can appreciate fully the value of the disciplined soldier, and yet is not unconscious that important aid may be rendered by the citizen when aroused to take up arms in defence of his country. He has discovered, from actual contact, the character of his countrymen, and knows how gradually to subject their impatience of control to the stern requirements of military law."

The secessionists of Eastern Virginia, emboldened by the advance of the troops of the Confederate States, soon strove to overawe or subject the Union men of the Western District. Having accumulated a considerable force at Harper's Ferry, they moved towards Grafton and other points west of the Alleghanies. It became, therefore, a matter of moment with the Federal Government, in order to sustain its loyal supporters in Virginia, to counteract this movement of the secessionists. The neighboring States of Pennsylvania and Ohio, between which that part of the western district of Virginia most devoted to the Union is enclosed, naturally presented the proper basis for operations in that quarter. Accordingly, General Patterson, at the head of the Pennsylvania troops, was ordered to march upon Harper's Ferry, while General McClellan, in command of his Ohio force, was directed to cross the Ohio River and co-operate with him. Previous to doing this, however, it was necessary to give a check to the secession force advancing through Western Virginia. McClellan accordingly prepared to co-operate with the loyal Western Virginians, led by Colonel Kelley, who were to march to meet May 27.

the enemy at Grafton. Previous to moving his force across the Ohio, McClellan issued this proclamation:

"HEADQUARTERS, DEPT. OF THE OHIO, CINCINNATI, *May* 26, 1861.

"TO THE PEOPLE OF WESTERN VIRGINIA:

"VIRGINIANS: The General Government has long enough endured the machinations of a few factious rebels in your midst! Armed traitors have in vain endeavored to deter you from expressing your loyalty at the polls. Having failed in this infamous attempt to deprive you of the exercise of your dearest rights, they now seek to inaugurate a reign of terror, and thus force you to yield to their schemes, and submit to the yoke of the traitorous conspiracy dignified by the name of the Southern Confederacy.

"They are destroying the property of citizens of your State, and ruining your magnificent railways. The General Government has heretofore carefully abstained from sending troops across the Ohio, or even from posting them along its banks, although frequently urged by many of your prominent citizens to do so. It determined to await the result of the State election, desirous that no one might be able to say that the slightest effort had been made from this side to influence the expression of your opinion, although the many agencies brought to bear upon you by the rebels were well known. You have now shown, under the most adverse circumstances, that the great mass of the people of Western Virginia are true and loyal to the beneficent Government under which we and our fathers have lived so long. As soon as the result of the election was known, the traitors commenced their work of destruction.

"The General Government cannot close its ears to the demand you have made for assistance. I have ordered troops to cross the river. They come as your friends and brothers—as enemies only to the armed rebels who are preying upon you. Your homes, your families, and your property are safe under our protection. All your rights shall be religiously protected.

"Notwithstanding all that has been said by the traitors to induce you to believe that our advent among you will be signalized by interference with your slaves, understand one thing clearly: not only will we abstain from all interference, but we will, on the contrary, with an iron hand, crush any attempt at insurrection on their part.

"Now that we are in your midst, I call upon you to fly to arms, and support the General Government; sever the connection that binds you to traitors; proclaim to the world that the faith and loyalty so long boasted of by the Old Dominion are still preserved in Western Virginia, and that you remain true to the stars and stripes.

"G. B. McCLELLAN,

"Major-General Commanding."

This was followed by a proclamation to the army.

"CINCINNATI, *May* 26, 1861.

"TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE ADVANCING COLUMN:

"You are ordered to cross the frontier and enter upon the soil of Vir-

ginia. Your mission is to restore peace and confidence, to protect the majesty of the law and to rescue our brethren from the grasp of armed traitors. You are to act in concert with the Virginia troops and to support their advance.

"I place under the safeguard of your honor the persons and property of the Virginians. I know that you will respect their feelings, and all their rights. Preserve the strictest discipline—remember that each one of you holds in his keeping the honor of Ohio and the Union.

"If you are called upon to overcome armed opposition, I know that your courage is equal to the task, but remember that your only foes are the armed traitors, and show mercy even to them when they are in your power, for many of them are misguided. When under your protection the loyal men of Western Virginia have been enabled to organize and arm, they can protect themselves, and you can then return to your homes with the proud satisfaction of having preserved a gallant people from destruction.

"GEO. B. McCLELLAN,

"Major-General Commanding."

The 16th Ohio Regiment, commanded by Colonel Irvine, and the 14th, under Colonel Lander, a noted frontiersman, were on the next day after these proclamations thrown across the Ohio into Western Virginia. The former crossing the Ohio to Wheeling, and the latter at Marietta to Parkersburg, continued their progress through Western Virginia by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Their advance was hailed by the people with great enthusiasm and demonstrations of loyalty, and many volunteers joined their standard. The campaign in Western Virginia had now fairly opened.

May 27.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Junction of the Ohio Troops with the Western Virginians.—Colonel Kelley takes possession of Grafton.—March to Philippi.—A severe march.—Delay.—Colonel Lander in advance.—Colonel Kelley mistakes the route.—The Enemy on the alert.—The Attack.—Retreat of the Enemy.—Pursuit.—Arrival of Kelley, who joins in the pursuit.—Kelley wounded.—Prospects of death.—Biography of Kelley.—Tributes of admiration.—Recovery of Kelley.—Comparative losses at Philippi.—Trophies.—Movement of General Patterson.—Attack on Romney.—March of Colonel Wallace.—A long and hard March.—Flight of the Enemy.—Good moral effect of the advance of the Federal Forces.—Spirited Skirmish of Corporal Hayes and his thirteen men.—Tribute from General Patterson.—The political action of the Union men of Western Virginia.—Convention at Wheeling.—Declaration of Grievances and Ordinance of Reorganization passed.—The motion to form a new State defeated.—New State Officers appointed.—Proclamation of Governor Pierpont.—Call upon the President for aid to put down the Insurrection in Virginia.—Answer of the Secretary of War.—Counter-manifesto of Governor Letcher.—Appeal of the Secessionist Governor to Western Virginia.—Effects of proclamations and counter-proclamations.—Increased civil rage in Virginia.

THE Ohio troops despatched by General McClellan, though delayed on
1861. the railway in consequence of the derangement of the tracks and the destruction of the bridges by the enemy, finally succeeded in forming a junction with the Western Virginians. Colonel Kelley, who commanded the latter, had with great promptitude marched
May upon Grafton. Upon reaching this
29. place, the enemy, about fifteen hundred strong, retired, and the Western Virginians took possession of it, without striking a blow. Being now reinforced, not only by the Ohio troops, but by the Seventh and Ninth regiments of Indiana, Kelley determined to dislodge the enemy at Philippi, on the Monongahela River, twenty miles south of Grafton, where they were encamped with a force of two thousand men.

The Union force at Grafton set out at
June ten o'clock, in two divisions, one
2. composed of the First Virginia Regiment, part of the Ohio Sixteenth and the Indiana Seventh, under the command of Colonel Kelley; the other, of the Indiana Regiment and the Ohio Fourteenth, which joined at Webster on the route, commanded by Colonel Lander. The former division proceeded by railroad as far as a small way station, five miles only from Grafton, and marched the rest of the distance, twenty-two miles, to Philippi. The latter was conveyed by railroad as far as Webster, and marched the remaining twelve miles to Philippi.

The march was performed during the night, with the view of coming upon the enemy before the break of day, and taking them by surprise. A severe storm was raging, and the night was so dark that it was exceedingly difficult to form the troops—the violence of the wind was such, that the word of command could hardly be passed from front to rear. Order was, however, finally

established, and the troops began their march. All night they toiled on through the darkness and storm, the soft earth yielding beneath their feet at every step. Thus impeded, the whole force was prevented from arriving at the time proposed.

The division under Colonel Lander, having the shortest distance to march, was the first to reach its destination, but did not arrive until five o'clock in the morning, instead of four, the hour when the joint attack was to have taken place, in accordance with the plan. It had been intended that Colonel Lander's march upon the enemy in front should have been simultaneous with a movement in their rear by Colonel Kelley, with a view to completely surround Philippi and close in upon the enemy. But Colonel Kelley, with his long march of twenty-two miles, impeded by the darkness and the storm, was greatly delayed, and, moreover, mistook the road, coming in below instead of above the town, where it was intended he should have cut off the retreat of the enemy.

June 3.

Colonel Lander's force, as it approached Philippi in front, was discovered by a woman, who, after firing two discharges from a gun, sent her son across the hills to apprise the enemy of their danger.

Lander continued to push on, but when he reached a point commanding the town, and began to dispose his artillery and troops in order to be ready, when Kelley should arrive, to make the simultaneous attack proposed, he found the enemy on the alert. Their advance guards, posted on the neighboring heights and among the woods and brushwood on both sides of the road, opened a brisk fire. Lander hurriedly ordered his guns to be moved into position, and responded with a volley, while, at the same time, the infantry prepared to advance into the town.

"A moment's delay to the infantry," says their commander, Dermot, in his report, "was occasioned by want of knowledge on my part as to which of the two roads led to the bridge leading into the town across the river. At the forks of the road I halted my command, and, riding rapidly to the guns, got the desired information from Colonel Lander. So informed, I proceeded on the double-quick down the declivity of the hill, and here had a full view of the enemy, and I must confess that I never saw a flight determined on with greater promptness or executed with more despatch. The enemy was under the command of Col. G. A. Porterfield. What his strength was, is variously estimated. On my own judgment I would say from one thousand five hundred to two thousand, of which I should think five hundred were cavalry.

"They had no artillery but a swivel. I have conversed with many of the citizens of the town as to the strength of Colonel Porterfield's command. Some say the Colonel himself professed to have two thousand five hundred troops. It is my opinion that he had but magnified his own strength, with a view to intimidate the people and crush out the Union sentiment.

"When I first saw the enemy, it seemed to me he was pushing for the bridge, which I was rapidly approaching; but it turned out that it was necessary to converge towards the bridge to gain the street leading out of the town on the opposite side from that entered by my command. The bridge is a narrow structure, some three or four hundred feet in length, spanning the Valley River, a branch of the Monongahela. A small body of determined troops could have impeded our progress and crippled us at the bridge, and I apprehended resistance at this point.

"Toward it my men poured down the hill, in good order, and with an energy and determination that assured me in advance that victory was certain. In a moment I was at the mouth of the bridge; one of the passages was barricaded, the other clear; through it (Company B, commanded by Captain Morgan, in advance) my men pushed; the Seventh Indiana first, then Colonel Steedman's command, not including the artillery, then Colonel Crittenden's, and opened upon the enemy, then retreating in wild disorder. Both parties being upon the full run, and the distance between them being quite considerable, but little execution could be done. I pursued the enemy from the bridge through the town and for several miles beyond. At one time I thought I should be able to capture his entire baggage train; but the horses, to prevent this, were cut from many of the wagons and mounted, and the wagons and contents left as our booty. The wagons were filled with munitions of war, blankets, knapsacks, clothing, baggage of officers and men, and with a considerable amount of flour and forage."

It was not until Colonel Lander's division had thus begun the attack, that Colonel Kelley arrived with his force, and then, in consequence of having mistaken the road, at a point where, instead of cutting off the retreat of the enemy, he could only join in the pursuit.

This, however, he did with great spirit, though with less effect than if he had arrived but a moment sooner. With a "friendly cheer," Kelley's troops made their presence known to their comrades, and descending the declivity of the heights upon which they had first appeared, they were soon in quick pursuit of the enemy. Some followed and cut down those who had taken refuge among the wooded hills, and others gave chase to the fugitives upon the road, whom they pursued for several miles, "overtaking, killing, and wounding a number." Col. Kelley himself, "with a bravery amounting to rashness," was among the foremost of his men in the pursuit. He had thus reached the upper part of the town, when one of the enemy, concealed behind a fence, turned upon him and shot him in the breast. The wound was severe, and was thought to have been mortal. He himself despaired of recovery, and said to a friend at his side: "I expect I shall have to die; I would be glad to live if it might be that I might do something for my country; but if it cannot be, I shall

have at least the consolation of knowing that I fell in a just cause."

When it was supposed that Kelley would not survive his wound, great regret was felt at the prospective loss to the service of so devoted a Unionist and spirited soldier. Although an Eastern man, having been born in Deerfield, New Hampshire, he had taken up his residence in Wheeling, and was among the first to sustain the cause of the Federal Government in Western Virginia. Educated at West Point, though latterly engaged in civil occupations, he continued to cherish his military tastes, and had served as the colonel of a city regiment in Wheeling. At the commencement of the war, he was urged to resume his position and lead his former comrades to battle for the Union. He did not hesitate a moment, but accepting the command on one day, he was on the next *en route* for the scene of war.

General McClellan, and Morris, the brigadier-general of the United States volunteers of Virginia, as soon as they heard that Kelley was wounded, hastened to make known to him their admiration of his gallantry and worth.

"Say to Colonel Kelley," wrote McClellan to Morris, "that I cannot yet believe it possible that one who has opened his career so brilliantly can be mortally wounded. In the name of the country I thank him for his conduct, which has been the most brilliant episode of the war thus far. If it can cheer him in his last moments, tell him I cannot repair his loss, and that I only regret that I cannot be by his side to thank him in person. God bless him!"

To this hearty testimonial of affectionate admiration, General Morris added his emphatic approbation of Kelley's conduct:

"I am extremely pleased and greatly gratified with your gallant and soldierly conduct in the expedition, which owes its success to your skill and bravery. I feel that your country owes you a deep debt of gratitude for your services on the occasion; and a grateful people cannot but render to you that honor you so richly deserve."

These despatches were borne by Morris' aide-de-camp to the litter of the prostrate officer, and as he was supposed to be dying, they did not hesitate to read them to him. His eyes filled with tears as he listened, but he was too weak to speak a word. The despatches were, after being read, put into his hands, and he held them with a fond grasp until he was removed from the litter to the bed in the next room, prepared for his comfort. Kelley finally recovered, and was made a brigadier-general for his services.

In this rout of the secessionists at Philippi, no one but Kelley, of our forces, was wounded, but it was supposed that the enemy had met with some loss of life. Their commander, Colonel Willy, was taken prisoner, and their camp was captured, with the secession flag, seven hundred and eighty stand of arms, a number of horses, and a quantity of blankets and provisions. Though, as a military operation, the

rout of the enemy at Philippi was comparatively a failure, the moral effect proved so great in Western Virginia that that loyal district was temporarily relieved of all fears of the domination of the secessionists.

Major-General Patterson was, in the mean time, advancing through Pennsylvania from the north towards Maryland and Virginia, with the view of co-operating with General McClellan, about to approach from the west, in a combined effort against the secession troops gathered in force at Harper's Ferry. While Patterson was at Chambersburg, an attack was made upon Romney, in Virginia, by a portion of his advance troops stationed at Cumberland, in Maryland.

This was planned by Colonel Wallace, of the Eleventh Indiana Volunteers, who, having learned that several hundred troops were quartered at Romney, drilling, imprisoning Union men, and otherwise annoying loyal citizens, determined to rout them out. The Col-
June onel, accordingly, started at ten
17. o'clock in the morning from Cumberland with eight hundred men, and proceeded by railway twenty-one miles to New Creek station. Arriving in the afternoon, he began his march at four o'clock, with the hope of reaching Romney at an early hour next day. The road, however, leading across the mountains, through narrow passes and along high bluffs, proved difficult, so that after a long and fatiguing march of twenty-three miles, Colonel Wallace did not arrive before the town until past eight o'clock in the morning.

The enemy were on the alert, and on the approach of their assailants their mounted picket guards fired and galloped into the town to arouse their comrades.

"In approaching the place, it was necessary," wrote Colonel Wallace, in his animated report of the affair, "for me to cross a bridge over the South Branch of the Potomac. A reconnoissance satisfied me that the passage of the bridge would be the chief obstacle in my way, although I could distinctly see the enemy drawn up on the bluff which is the town site, supporting a battery of two guns, planted so as to sweep the road completely.

"I directed my advance guard to cross the bridge on a run, leap down the embankment at the farther entrance, and observe the windows of a large brick house not farther off than seventy-five yards. Their appearance was the signal for an assault. A warm fire opened from the house, which the guard returned, with no other loss than the wounding of a sergeant. The firing continued several minutes. I led a second company across the bridge, and by following up a ravine got them into a position that soon drove the enemy from the house to a mountain in its rear.

"My attention was then turned to the battery on the hill. Instead of following the road, as the rebels expected, I pushed five companies in skirmishing order and at double-quick time, up a hill to the right, intending to get around the left flank of the enemy, and cut off their retreat. Hardly had my companies de-

ployed and started forward, and got within rifle range, before the rebels limbered up and got off over the bluff in the hottest haste. Between their position and that of my men was a deep, precipitous gorge, the crossing of which occupied about ten minutes. When the opposite ridge was gained, we discovered the rebels, indiscriminately blent with a mass of women and children, flying as for life from the town. Having no horse, pursuit of the cannoniers was out of the question, as they went off under whip and spur. After that I quietly marched into the place, and took possession of the empty houses and a legion of negroes, who alone seemed unscared at our presence. After searching the town for arms, camp equipage, etc., I returned to Cumberland, by the same road, reaching camp at eleven o'clock at night. My return was forced, owing to the fact that there was not a mile on the road that did not offer half a dozen positions for the ruin or rout of my regiment by a much smaller force."

The Colonel was proud of the achievement of his men, and took occasion to direct the notice of General Patterson to the wonders they had accomplished. "I beg," he said, "to call your attention to the length of our march, eighty-seven miles in all, forty-six of which were on foot, over a continuous succession of mountains, made in twenty-four hours, without rest, and varied by a brisk engagement, without leaving a man behind; and what is more, my men are ready to repeat it to-morrow."

The loss of the enemy could not be ascertained with precision; two of them, however, were undoubtedly killed, and one wounded. A number of tents and a quantity of stores were captured, and some guns destroyed.

The Colonel, moreover, congratulated himself upon the impressive moral effect of his spirited demonstration.

"One good result," he said, "has come of it. The loyal men in that region have taken heart. Very shortly, I think, you will hear of another Union company from that district. Moreover, it has brought home to the insolent 'chivalry' a wholesome respect for Northern prowess."

The Indiana Volunteers, or Zouaves, as they termed themselves, soon had an opportunity of again displaying their spirit. A scouting party, consisting of thirteen mounted men, led by Corporal Hayes, a ranger of renown during the Mexican war, crossed from Maryland and proceeded on a reconnoitering expedition into Virginia. They proceeded within a quarter of a mile of Frankfort, half way between Cumberland, whence they had set out, and Romney, the scene of the former exploit of the Indiana men. Finding the place full of the enemy's cavalry, they turned back, and meeting forty-one mounted secessionists, charged full upon them, driving them back more than a mile, capturing seventeen of the horses and killing eight of their riders. In the collision, Corporal Hayes, the leader of the Indiana men, was wounded with sabre cuts and bullets. A man of great daring and strength, he had already

June 26.

killed two men with his own hand, when he himself was wounded, but he had still strength enough to wield his sabre with such effect, that he brought a third dead to the ground.

His comrades, however, were now forced to bear back their exhausted leader and halt. They had thus remained about an honr, when the fugitives of the enemy returned with a reinforcement of seventy-five men. Coming suddenly up, they forced the Indiana men to abandon their horses and seek safety by crossing Paterson Creek and landing upon a small island at its mouth. Here they were being closed in by the larger numbers of the enemy, and again compelled to fly, but not until they had fired upon their assailants with such effect, that twenty-three of them were made to bite the dust. The Zouaves finally reached their camp with the loss of only one man, who had been left behind wounded, and whom the enemy despatched, after his capture, with their bayonets. Major-General Patterson honored the spirited exploit of the Indiana men with a special mention in the orders of the day:

For a proper appreciation of the military events in Western Virginia, it is necessary to resume the history of the political action of the Union men of that loyal district. The Convention which had adjourned to meet at Wheeling now reassembled. At the opening of the session a discussion arose as to the policy to be pursued by Western Virginia. Some favored a separation and the formation of a new commonwealth, while others, who finally carried the day, advocated the reorganization of the existing State. Accordingly a Declaration of Grievances and an ordinance of reorganization having been reported by Mr. Carlile, the chairman of the "Committee on Business," they were submitted to the approval of the Convention. These were adopted by a vote of seventy in favor and three against, not, however, until the opinion of the members was tested on the question of forming a new State. A member offered the resolution, "that one of the leading objects of the Convention, after establishing a provisional government, is the separation of Western from Eastern Virginia." This, however, on a motion to lay it on the table, which was carried by a vote of fifty-seven to seventeen, was temporarily defeated.

June 11.

The Declaration of Grievances, and the ordinance for the Reorganization of the State Government, having thus been carried by a large majority, was formally signed by all the members present. On the same day, the Convention, in conformity with this act, proceeded to the election of provisional State officers. Frank H. Pierpont, of Marion County, was unanimously chosen Governor, Daniel Paisly, of Marion County, Lieutenant-Governor, and Messieurs Lamb, Paxhon, Van Winkle, Harrison, and Lazar members of the council.

June 20.

These gentlemen, immediately upon being elected, were sworn into office, each taking this newly prescribed form of oath:

"I solemnly swear (or affirm) that I

will support the Constitution of the United States and the laws made in pursuance thereof, as the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution and laws of the State of Virginia, or in the ordinances of the Convention which assembled in Richmond on the 13th day of February last, to the contrary notwithstanding, and that I will uphold and defend the Government of Virginia as vindicated and restored by the Convention which assembled in Wheeling on the 11th day of June, 1861."

The Convention, after this momentous action, closed their session with passing ordinances adopting the former military laws of Virginia and recognizing the duty of the State to respond to the requisition of the President of the United States for militia and volunteers.

The new Governor soon after issued **June 22.** a proclamation causing the General Assembly to be composed of delegates to be elected as provided by the Convention of June 11th in its ordinance for the State Government. These delegates were accordingly chosen, and **July 1.** assembled at Wheeling, when Governor Pierpont delivered his first message.*

Following this independent action of Western Virginia, the new Governor became anxious about the safety of the commonwealth from "the banding together of large numbers of evil-minded persons, aided by men of like mind from other States, whose purpose was to invade the State," and confessing his want of a sufficient military force, to overcome them, earnestly called upon the President of the United States for assistance.

The secretary of war responded in behalf of the Federal chief magistrate, that a large additional force would be soon sent to the relief of the new Governor of Virginia, and at the same time took occasion to apologize for the apparent remissness hitherto of the Federal authority: "The full extent," wrote Secretary Cameron, "of the conspiracy against popular rights, which has culminated in the atrocities to which you refer, was not known when its outbreak took place at Charleston. It now appears that it was matured for many years by secret organizations throughout the country, especially in the slave States. By this means, when the President called upon Virginia, in April, for

* "TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF DELEGATES OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA—*Gentlemen:* You have been convened in extraordinary session in midsummer, when, under other circumstances, you should be at home attending to pursuits incident to this season of the year. The exigencies with which we find ourselves surrounded demand your counsels.

"I regret that I cannot congratulate you on the peace and prosperity of the country, in the manner which has been customary with Executives, both State and Federal. For the present, those happy days which, as a nation, we have so long enjoyed, and that prosperity which has smiled upon us, as upon no other nation, are departed.

"It is my painful duty to announce that the late Executive of the State, with a large part of the State officers, civil and military, under him, are at war with the loyal people of Virginia and the Constitutional Government of the United States. They have leagued themselves with persons from other States to tear down the benign Governments, State and Federal, erected by the wisdom and patriotism of our fathers, and under which our liberties have so long been protected and our prosperity secured. They have instituted civil war in our midst, and created a system of terror around us to intimidate our people.

"But while we are passing through this period of gloom and darkness in our country's history, we must not de-

its quota of troops, then deemed necessary to put it down in the States in which it

spair, or fold our hands until the chains of despotism shall be fastened upon us by those conspiring against our liberties. As freemen, who know their rights and dare defend them, our spirits must rise above the intimidation and violence employed against us; and we must meet and conquer every obstacle these men are attempting to interpose between us and our liberties. If we manfully exert ourselves we shall succeed. There is a just God who "rides upon the whirlwind and directs the storm." Let us look to him with abiding confidence.

"The fact is no longer disguised, that there has been in the South, for many years, a secret organization, laboring with steady perseverance to overturn the Federal Government, and destroy constitutional liberty in this country. The various conventions held in that portion of the country, for some years past, ostensibly for other objects, have only been the means of feeling the public pulse to ascertain if there was sufficient disease in the body politic for dissolution. The cry of danger to the institution of slavery has been a mere pretext to arouse and excite the people. In abandoning the Constitution of the Union, the leaders of the movement must have known that they were greatly weakening the safeguards and protection which were necessary to the existence of that institution.

"It has been urged that secession was necessary to protect the slave interest of the South. As a usual thing, those who are interested in a species of property, are the best informed in regard to their own rights, and the most tenacious in maintaining them. Secession has not originated among the large slaveholders of the South, nor has it found among that class its busiest and most ardent advocates. The sections of the country in which the largest slave interests have existed in this State, have heretofore been the most decided in support of the Union. The votes given at the last November and February elections in Eastern and Western Virginia, will show that the slaveholders themselves considered the safety of their property as dependent upon the maintenance of the Union. Another pertinent fact may be mentioned in this connection. It is, that in sections where slaves are numerous, it is always much easier to introduce a mob-law and intimidation to control the votes of the people. The constant apprehension of servile insurrection makes the matter an easy subject of control in a crisis like the present. Eastern and Western Virginia are illustrations of the truth of this statement.

"What affiliations this great conspiracy has had in the Northern States, remains yet unknown. The spirit which has been roused throughout the North has carried all opposition before it. But the extent of the treasonable plot has not been fully developed. Before the designs of the conspirators were made manifest, thousands of good men sympathized with the effort, as they regarded it, of the South to maintain their constitutional rights; but these have all

had shown itself in arms, the call was responded to by an order from the chief

abandoned them when the true purpose was ascertained. If there are any in the North, or in the border States, who still adhere to the conspiracy, they will attempt to aid its object by indirect means; by opposing and caviling at the efforts to which the Government, in a struggle for existence, may use in its own defence, and by attempting to raise a popular outcry against coercion, and advocating a peaceable separation. A bold stand for secession would scarcely be attempted; but those who sympathize with the leaders of rebellion will seek by covert and indirect means to aid the object of the conspirators.

"There is only one question now for each American citizen to decide in this controversy: Do you desire to stand by and live under the Constitution which has contributed so long and so greatly to the happiness and prosperity of the people, and to transmit its blessings to our posterity? Or, do you desire the Union broken up, and an oligarchy or military despotism established in its stead? The leaders of the South are striving for the latter. The Government of the United States is exerting its whole force to maintain the integrity of the former. There can be no neutral ground. The secession leaders have declared that they desire no compromise, except the unconditional surrender to them of the objects they have been aiming to accomplish, and the consent of the Government to its own destruction. The very proposition of compromise places a false issue before the country. It implies that the Federal Government has committed some great wrong which ought to be remedied before peace can be restored; when in fact the leaders in the South have controlled the legislation of the country for years, and the laws now in existence were made or suggested by themselves when in power.

"The position of this State is a peculiar one at this moment. Last November, at the Presidential election, it gave upward of sixteen thousand majority for Bell and Douglas, both Union candidates for the Presidency. Their principal competitor was loudly proclaimed as also true to the Union; and throughout the canvass any imputation of favoring disunion was indignantly denied by the advocates of all the candidates. At the election for members of the Convention in February last, there was a majority of over sixty thousand votes given to the Union candidates; and the people by an equal majority determined that no act of that Convention should change the relations of the State to the Federal Government, unless ratified by the popular vote. Yet the delegates to that Convention passed the ordinance of secession, and attached the State to the Southern league, called the Confederate States; and to render the step irretrievable, and defeat the whole object of requiring a ratification of the people to render such acts valid, they put them into effect immediately; and before the vote could be taken on the question of ratification, transferred the whole military force of our State to

confederate in Virginia to his armed followers, to seize the navy-yard at Gosport; and the authorities of the State, who had till then shown repugnance to the plot, found themselves stripped of all actual power, and after-

the President of the Confederacy, and surrendered to him military possession of our territory.

"When the chains had been thus fastened upon us, we were called to vote upon the ordinance of secession. The same reign of terror which compelled Union men to vote as they did in the Convention, was brought to bear on the people themselves. Vast numbers were obliged, by intimidation and fear of threatened violence, to vote for secession. Many did not vote at all. Many, no doubt, were influenced by the consideration, that the measures already adopted had placed the Commonwealth helplessly within the grasp of the President of the Southern Confederacy, and that she could not escape from his power by the rejection of the ordinance.

"It is claimed that the ordinance of secession has been ratified by a majority of ninety-four thousand votes. Had the people of Virginia, then, so greatly changed? The best evidence that they had not is found in the fact that, wherever the vote was fully free, there was a much larger majority against secession than was given at the election in February to the Union candidates for the Convention. The means of intimidation and violence, which were resorted to over a large portion of the State, to compel an appearance of unanimity in favor of secession, show that the leaders of this movement felt that the hearts of the people were not with them.

"The proclamation of the President, calling for seventy-five thousand volunteer troops, is commonly relied upon to justify the ordinance of secession. That proclamation was issued on the 15th of April, 1861. It must not, however, be overlooked, that on the 6th of March, 1861, the pretended Congress at Montgomery provided by law for calling into the field a force of one hundred thousand volunteers; and that on the 12th of April the Secretary of War of the Confederate States publicly announced that war was commenced, and that the Capitol at Washington would be captured before the first of May. The intention to capture the capital of the Union was repeatedly proclaimed in influential papers at Richmond and other Southern cities before the 15th of April. It was, in fact, long a cherished object of the leaders in this great conspiracy. Did they expect the President of the nation to yield the Capitol, and retire in disgrace, without adopting any measures of defence? Yet Virginia, we are told, seceded because the President, under such circumstances, called volunteers to the defence of the country.

"I need not remark to you, gentlemen, how fatal the attempted dissoverance of the Union must prove to all our material interests. Secession, and annexation to the South, would cut off every outlet for our productions. We cannot get them to the Confederate States across the Alleghanies. The Ohio River and the country beyond it would be closed to our trade. With Maryland in the Union, our outlet to the East would be interrupted; while we could not carry our products across the Pennsylvania line, by the Monongahela or other route. In time of war we would encounter a hostile force, and in time of peace a custom-house at every turn.

"The interests of the people of Virginia were entrusted to the Richmond Convention. How have they fulfilled that trust? Why, if war was to come, was our land made the battle-field? Why was this Commonwealth interposed as a barrier to protect the States of the South, who undertook to overthrow the Union in utter disregard to our remonstrances? In the position in which the Richmond Convention have placed us, our homes are exposed to all the horrors of civil war, while the President of the Montgomery Congress can announce to the people of the Gulf States that 'they need now have no apprehension; they might go on with their planting and business as usual; the war would not come to their section; its theatre would be along the borders of the Ohio River, and in Virginia.'

"Have we done wrong in rejecting the authority of the men who have thus betrayed the interests confided to their charge?

"Under these circumstances the people of the State who desired to preserve a Virginia in the Union, by their delegates appointed at primary meetings, assembled at Wheeling on the 13th of May last, to consider the measures necessary to protect their constitutional rights and liberties, their lives and their property. Before a frank comparison could be had, differences of opinion were to be expected, and such differences accordingly then existed. That Convention, however, after three days' mature consideration, determined to call upon the loyal people of the State, after the vote was taken on the Secession ordinance, to elect delegates to a Convention to be held on the 11th day of June, 1861. All who witnessed the assembling of the last Convention, will bear witness to the solemnity of the occasion. Its action was attended with singular unanimity, and has resulted in the reorganization of the State government, as a member of the Union.

"Their journal and ordinances will be submitted to you. Plain principles vindicate their acts. The Constitution of the United States was adopted by the people of the United States; and the powers thus derived could be resumed only by the consent of the people who conferred them. That Constitution is the supreme law of the land. The Constitution of the State recognizes it as such, and all the laws of the State virtually recognize the same principle. The Governor, the Legislature, and all State officers, civil and military, when they entered upon the discharge of their duties, took an oath to support the Constitution of

wards were manifestly permitted to retain the empty forms of office only because they consented to use them at the bidding of the invaders.

"The President, however, never supposed that a brave and free people, though surprised and unarmed, could long be subjugated by a class of political adventurers always adverse to them; and the fact that they have already rallied, reorganized their government, and checked the march of these invaders, demonstrates how justly he appreciated them.

"The failure, hitherto, of the State authorities, in consequence of the circumstances to which I have adverted, to organize its quota of troops called for by the President, imposed upon him the necessity of providing himself for their organization, and this has been done to some extent. But instructions have now

the United States. When the Convention assembled at Wheeling on the 11th of June, they found the late Governor, and many of the other officers of the State, engaged in an attempt to overthrow the Constitution they had sworn to support. Whatever they might actually effect, with the aid of their confederates, by unlawful intimidation and violence, they could not lawfully deprive the good people of this Commonwealth of the protection afforded by the Constitution and laws of the Union, and of the rights to which they are entitled under the same. The Convention attempted no change of the fundamental law of the State for light and transient causes. The alterations adopted were such only as were imperatively required by the necessity of the case; to give vitality and force to the Constitution of the State, and enable it to operate in the circumstances under which we are placed. They attempted no revolution. Whatever others may have done, we remain as we were, citizens of Virginia, citizens of the United States, recognizing and obeying the Constitutions and laws of both.

"I trust, gentlemen, you will excuse me for dwelling so long upon these important topics.

"Immediately on entering upon the duties of my office, I addressed an official communication to the President of the United States, stating briefly the circumstances in which we were placed, and demanding protection against invasion and domestic violence to which our people were subjected, and I am happy to inform you that the President, through the Secretary of War, promptly gave me very satisfactory assurances that the guarantee embodied in the Constitution of the United States would be efficiently complied with, by affording to our people a full protection. I transmit herewith copies of these communications.

"I also send you herewith a copy of a communication received from the Secretary of the Interior at Washington, certifying officially the apportionment of representatives in the XXXVIIIth Congress under the census of 1860. Virginia has thirteen representatives. Under the new apportionment she will have eleven only. Before the term of the XXXVIIIth Congress commences, it will be necessary, therefore, to redistrict the State, in conformity with the principles established in the 13th and 14th sections of the 4th Article of the Constitution.

"The President of the United States has issued his proclamation convening an extra session of Congress, to meet at the National Capitol on the 4th of this month. The two senators from this State have vacated their offices. It is known to me that they are engaged in the conspiracy to overturn the Government of the United States, and in rebellion to its lawful authority They have renounced the title of citizens of the United States, claiming to be citizens of a foreign and hostile State. They have abandoned the posts assigned to them by the State of Virginia in the Senate of the United States, to take office under the rebellious Government of the Confederate States. I recommend, therefore, the election of senators to fill the vacancies which have thus occurred. * * *

"The subject of the revenue will demand your attention. A recklessness has characterized the Legislature of the State for the last ten years, that has involved us in a most onerous debt. For many years past the western part of the State has been contributing in an unequal, an unjust proportion to the revenue, which has been largely expended on internal improvements, for the benefit of our eastern brethren, from which the west has received no advantage in any form. The proceeds of the heavy debt contracted on State account have also been applied to eastern railroads and improvements from which the west derives no benefit. The leaders of secession in the Gulf States have adroitly involved Virginia in an immense expenditure in support of their treasonable schemes; and to save their own people and property, have managed to transfer the theatre of war to our territory. Before they are driven out, the whole of the material interests of the State east of the Blue Ridge will probably be destroyed, including the internal improvements, upon which such lavish expenditure has been made. * * *

"You have met, gentlemen, in the midst of civil war, but I trust you may yet be assembled under happier auspices, when the strife shall be over, and peace and prosperity be restored to this once happy country. All which is respectfully submitted. F. H. PIERPONT."

been given to the agents of the Federal Government to proceed hereafter under your direction, and the company and field officers will be commissioned by you."

The secessionist Governor, John Letcher, met these declarations of independence, and the efforts to defend it, on the part of the new Governor, with a counter manifesto, asserting that Virginia had seceded by a vote of the majority of her people, and appealing to the Western Virginians "to yield to the will of the State."

"Men of the North-west," he said, "I appeal to you, by all the considerations which have drawn us together as one people heretofore, to rally to the standard of the Old Dominion. By all the sacred ties of consanguinity, by the intermixtures of the blood of East and West, by common paternity, by friendships hallowed by a thousand cherished recollections and memories of the past, by the relics of the great men of other days, come to Virginia's banner, and drive the invaders from your soil. There may be traitors in the midst of you, who, for selfish ends, have turned against their mother, and would permit her to be ignominiously oppressed and degraded. But I cannot, will not believe that a majority of you are not true sons, who will not give your blood and your treasure for Virginia's defence."

The Governor, at the same time, reminded the people of Western Virginia of the "magnanimity" of the Eastern districts, in consenting at last to an equalization of taxation, by which the cause of complaint of the former against the latter had been removed. "Let one heart," exclaimed the Governor, "one mind, one energy, one power nerve every patriot to arms in a common cause. The heart that will not beat in unison with Virginia is now a traitor's heart, the arm that will not strike home in her cause now, is palsied by coward fear.

"The troops are posted at Huttonsville. Come with your own good weapons and meet them as brothers!"

Such proclamations and counter-proclamations and appeals to diverse loyalties only served to quicken the rage of fellow-citizen arrayed against fellow-citizen, and more deeply to involve them in the perplexing horrors of civil war





CHAPTER XXVII.

Failure in Missouri of General Harney's League.—Harney's Successor of "sterner stuff."—Life of General Lyon.—Birth and early Life.—Parentage.—His rustic home.—Early fondness for Mathematics.—A cadet at West Point.—Graduation.—Service in the Army.—Mexican Campaign.—Good deeds and just recompenses.—Service in California. Indian Warfare. In Kansas. Sympathies with the Free-soilers.—Takes up the pen in their defence. His writings and opinions.—Captain Lyon in command of the Arsenal at St. Louis.—His prompt action at the beginning of the Civil War.—Capture of Fort Jackson.—Seizure of the J. C. Swan.—Capture of lead at Ironton.—Lyon succeeds Harney.—Unsuccessful attempt of the secessionist Price to wheedle him.—Lyon refuses to be governed by the Harney League.—Alarm of the Secessionists.—The muster of the Secessionists in Jefferson City.—Personal interview of Governor Jackson with General Lyon.—Firmness of Lyon. The Secessionists giving up all hope of promoting their cause by diplomacy.—Making a stand at Jefferson City. Destruction of Telegraph and Railway bridges.—Proclamation of Governor Jackson.—Counter-proclamation of General Lyon.—General Lyon determines to rout out the disunion plotters from Jefferson City.

1861. The league which General Harney had, with a too yielding confidence in their professions of peace, made with the secession leaders of Missouri, failed, as has been recorded, to check rebellion in that State. After his recall, and the succession to the command of General Lyon, a man of sterner stuff, Missouri promised to vindicate more decidedly its loyalty to the Union.

Nathaniel Lyon was born in Ashford, Wyndham County, Connecticut. His father was Amasa Lyon, a hard-working and thriving farmer of the place, where his intelligence and integrity won the appreciation of its inhabitants, who elected him a justice of the peace. His wife, whose family name was Kezia, was a descendant of the Knowltons, one of whom, Colonel Thomas Knowlton, had served in the French colonial war, and in the Revolutionary struggle, having commanded a Connecticut company at Bunker's Hill, and fallen on the plains of Harlem. Washington honored his memory with the tribute: "He would have been an honor to any country."

There is little record left of the boyhood of General Lyon. It was passed among the simple associations of his rustic home. In the winter he was sent to the village school, and in seed-time and harvest he aided his father or his neighbors in farm-work. An aged fellow-townsman in recalling, at the grave of the heroic soldier, his recollections of the country boy, said: "Nathaniel worked for me on my farm when he was a boy. He was smart, daring, and resolute, and wonderfully attached to his mother."

General Lyon, on the night before his last battle, while lying with a fellow-officer between two steep rocks, where the space was so narrow that there was hardly room to move, made light of the inconvenience, and playfully remarked, with a fond allusion to his home, that he was "born between two rocks." He referred to the position of the house

where he was born, and the homestead of his family, which "stands about four miles from Eastford (Ashford was divided in 1847, and the name of the northern portion of the township changed to Eastford), on the road to Hampton. Leaving the little hamlet of Phœnixville," says his biographer,* "we climb a long hill, thence over a rough road to a valley, nestled in which, between two steep and rocky hills, about twenty rods from the highway, is the house—a small, old building, somewhat out of repair, with rusty clapboards, which were once painted red."

Though he found in the village school little opportunity for the development of his talent, he is reported to have shown a natural aptitude and fondness for the study of mathematics. This early taste probably induced his parents to obtain for him an appointment to a cadetship in West Point, where he entered at the age of eighteen. He graduated in 1841, ranking the eleventh of his class, a position which proved a fair degree of successful study. He commenced his military service, on leaving the academy, as a second lieutenant of infantry, and first entered upon active duty in Florida, during the campaign against the Seminole Indians. He was subsequently stationed at various points on our Western frontier, and on the breaking out of the war with Mexico, accompanied the army of Scott as first lieutenant. He took part in the siege of Vera Cruz, and at the battle of Cerro Gordo, where his good service was acknowledged by the commander of his regiment. "No sooner," said he, "had the height become ours, than the enemy appeared in large force on the Jalapa road, and we were ordered to that point. Captain Canby, with a small detachment, accompanied by Lieutenant Lyon, pressed hotly in their rear, and were soon in possession of a battery of three pieces which had been firing upon us in reverse."

At Contreras, too, he bore a gallant part, and in the pursuit aided in capturing several pieces of artillery, which were turned upon the fugitives. For his good conduct and spirit at Churubusco, he was recommended by his superior to "the special notice of the colonel commanding the brigade," and was rewarded for his services with the rank of brevet captain. At the capture of the Mexican capital, he was with the advance, and while fighting spiritedly at the Belen gate, was wounded with a musket-ball.

On the declaration of peace with Mexico, Lyon, now captain, was ordered to Jefferson barracks, in Missouri, preliminary to a proposed march across the Rocky Mountains to California. He was, however, finally despatched by sea around Cape Horn, and reached California soon after its acquisition by the United States. Here he was chiefly occupied with frontier duty, and proved his activity and his capability as a skirmishing officer in Indian warfare.

Subsequently ordered to the territo-

* The Last Political Writings of General Nathaniel Lyon, United States Army, with a Sketch of his Life and Military Services. New York, Rudd & Carleton, 1861.

ries of Kansas and Nebraska, he found himself in the midst of the violent agitation to which that part of the country had become exposed. His sympathies were at once aroused in favor of the principles of the free-soilers, and with such fervor, that he was induced to take up the pen, though more used to the sword, in their defence. While stationed at Camp Riley, in Kansas, in the summer and autumn of 1860, he wrote a series of anonymous articles for the Manhattan *Express*, a weekly journal published at one of the neighboring settlements.

His private as well as his published writings show him to have been an earnest advocate of the Republican cause. Of the rebellious designs of the cotton States he seemed to have been fully conscious, and at the same time persuaded that they could be thwarted by a prompt exercise of executive authority. "There seems to be," he wrote, "little doubt that several of the Southern States will precipitate themselves into disaster and disgrace, if allowed to do so; but this can be prevented by the President, if he chooses to exercise his authority as becomes the chief magistrate of our great and powerful country. But unfortunately, Mr. Buchanan seems to regard himself as elected to submit tremblingly to any and every demand of the South, and I fear he can never rouse himself to take such action as our emergencies now require, as due to the country from him. Time must show: the only thing safe to predict is, that the conduct of the South must involve her people in suffering and shame."

Again he wrote, "Our cause is to honor labor and elevate the laborer; our candidate, Abe Lincoln." In the following exposition of the degradation of labor by slavery, he shows a thoughtful consideration of the subject.

"In countries," he wrote, "where slavery exists, labor devolves for the most part upon the slaves, and is therefore identified with slavery; and the white free laborer being valued by slave-owners, who control public opinion, only as so much physical organism (bone, muscle, etc.) for producing means, is degraded to the level of the slave, so far as his influence and moral status go, and is even lower in physical comforts, for the want of the intelligent care the slave-owner bestows upon the slave, and of which he, the free laborer, has become incompetent by a mental depravity corresponding to his moral degradation. This is a truth of philosophy and political economy, that man rises to a position corresponding to the rights and responsibilities devolved upon him; and therefore the only true way to make a man is to invest him with the rights, duties, and responsibilities of a man, and he generally rises in intellectual and moral greatness to a position corresponding to these circumstances; and it is the very want of them that makes the free non-slaveholding persons of the slave States so degraded and imbecile, that the slaves themselves feel a conscious superiority, in which they are encouraged by their owners, to the ex-

tent of thinking it better to be a nigger than a poor white man ; and this is done to pacify the slave and thus secure this artificial system of securing the products of labor to the non-laboring classes, and also, by degrading white laborers, prevent their industry from competing with slave labor, to reduce thereby the value of slaves."

From Kansas, Captain Lyon was transferred to the command of the arsenal at St. Louis, where he was when the present civil war broke out. His prompt action in surrounding and capturing Camp Jackson, and his active measures toward checking the secession movement at Liberty and Potosi, have been already recorded. His subsequent action while commanding the Federal forces in Missouri, as a brigadier-general, was characterized by a spirit and promptitude which gave promise of security to the State and a certainty of renown to himself, which have won for him the gratitude of the country, and fixed him forever in its annals as among the bravest and most devoted of its heroes and patriots.

General Lyon, even while General
May 22. Harney was in command, seeing how that officer had been deceived by the secession leaders, who, while pretending peace, were preparing for war, did not intermit his vigilance for a moment. He seized, on the very next day after the signing of the Harney league, the steamer J. C. Swan, at a point thirty miles below St. Louis, and caused her to be brought up and secured at the arsenal in the city. This was the vessel which had been employed by the secessionists to convey the arms from Baton Rouge, which Lyon had seized after capturing Camp Jackson. He also succeeded, in spite of considerable resistance, in seizing five thousand pounds of lead at Ironton, on the Iron Mountain Railroad, while in transit to the Confederates in the South.

Price, the military leader of the secessionists, was evidently disturbed by the recall of his unsuspecting ally, and the transfer of power to the hands of the less confiding and more decided Lyon. Price, however, strove to wheedle him as he had done his predecessor, by fair words. In a proclamation issued to the brigadier-generals commanding the various military districts of Missouri, he expressed the desire that the State, in accordance with the Harney league, should exercise the right of determining its position in the contest, without the aid of any military force on either side. At the same time, alluding to the change in the command of the Federal forces, he said, with evident anxiety, though affected confidence, "The Government has thought proper to remove General Harney from the command of the Department of the West ; but as the successor of General Harney will certainly consider himself and his Government in honor bound to carry out this agreement in good faith, I feel assured that his removal should give no cause of uneasiness to our citizens for the security of their liberties and property. I intend on my part to

adhere both in its spirit and to the letter. The rumor in circulation, that it is the intention of the officers now in command of this Department to disarm those of our citizens who do not agree in opinion with the administration at Washington, and put arms in the hands of those who, in some localities of this State, are supposed to sympathize with the views of the Federal Government, are, I trust, unfounded. The purpose of such a movement could not be misunderstood, and it would not only be a violation of the agreement referred to, and an equally plain violation of our constitutional right, but a gross indignity to the citizens of the State, which would be resisted to the last extremity."

Notwithstanding this affected confidence, that General Lyon would thus carry out a league so dangerous to the loyalty of the State, and for the forming of which General Harney had been recalled, the secessionists became alarmed for their safety. Hurrying from the faithful St. Louis, they gathered together in Jefferson City, the capital of the State, where, under the sanction of the disloyal Governor, they were pursuing their machinations for wresting Missouri from the Union. Governor Jackson himself now strove, by a personal interview with General Lyon, to make with him an agreement such as had paralyzed the Federal authority under Harney's league. He proposed to disband the militia, or State guard as it was termed, provided Lyon would consent to disarm the Union volunteers. This the latter resolutely refused, insisting that the Federal Government should enjoy the unrestricted right to move and station its troops throughout the State whenever and wherever, in the opinion of its officers, it might be necessary, either for the protection of loyal subjects of the Federal Government or for repelling invasion.

General Lyon in this memorandum specified in detail his answer to the Governor's wily proposition. **June 11.** "General Lyon," he wrote, "sets forth as his conviction that if the Government withdrew its forces entirely, secret and subtle measures would be resorted to to provide arms and effect organizations which, upon any pretext, could put forth a formidable opposition to the General Government, and, even without arming, combinations would doubtless form in certain localities to oppress and drive out loyal citizens, to whom the Government is bound to give protection, but which it would be helpless to do, as also to repress such combinations, if its forces could not be sent into the State. A large aggressive force might be formed and advanced from the exterior into the State, to assist it in carrying out the secession programme, and the Government could not, under the limitation proposed, take posts on these borders to meet and repel such force. The Government could not shrink from its duties nor abdicate its corresponding rights; and, in addition to the above, it is the duty of its civil officers to execute civil process, and in case of resistance to receive the support of military force. The proposition of the Gov-

ernor would at once overturn the Government privileges and prerogatives, which he (General Lyon) has neither the wish nor authority to do. In his opinion, if the Governor and the State authorities would earnestly set about to maintain the peace of the State, and declare their purposes to resist outrages upon loyal citizens of the Government, and repress insurrections against it, and, in case of violent combinations needing co-operation of the United States troops, they should call upon or accept such assistance, and in case of threatened invasion the Government troops took suitable posts to meet it, the purposes of the Government would be subserved, and no infringement of the State's rights or dignity committed. He would take good care, in such faithful co-operation of the State authorities to this end, that no individual should be injured in person or property, and that the utmost delicacy should be observed toward all peaceable persons concerned in these relations. Upon this basis, in General Lyon's opinion, could the rights of both the General and State governments be secured and peace maintained."

The Governor finding that the resolute Lyon was not to be shaken from his firm determination to uphold the Federal authority and sustain the loyal citizens of Missouri, lost all further hope of promoting secession by diplomacy, and appealed to arms. He hurried with his confederates to Jefferson City, the capital, destroying on the route the telegraph wires and railroad bridges, with the evident purpose of commencing war and resisting the Federal authority. At the same time the Governor issued an insurrectionary proclamation.*

* "To the People of Missouri: A series of unprovoked and unparalleled outrages have been inflicted upon the peace and dignity of this Commonwealth, and upon the rights and liberties of its people, by wicked and unprincipled men, professing to act under the authority of the United States Government; the solemn enactments of your Legislature have been nullified; your volunteer soldiers have been taken prisoners; your commerce with your sister States has been suspended; your trade with your own fellow-citizens has been and is subjected to the harassing control of an armed soldiery; peaceful citizens have been imprisoned without warrant of law; unoffending and defenceless men, women, and children have been ruthlessly shot down and murdered; and other unbearable indignities have been heaped upon your State and yourselves.

"To all these outrages and indignities you have submitted with a patriotic forbearance which has only encouraged the perpetrators of these grievous wrongs to attempt still bolder and more daring usurpations.

"It has been my earnest endeavor, under all these embarrassing circumstances, to maintain the peace of the State, and to avert, if possible, from our borders, the desolating effects of a civil war. With that object in view, I authorized Major-General Price, several weeks ago, to arrange with General Harney, commanding the Federal forces in this State, the terms of an agreement by which the peace of the State might be preserved. They came, on the 21st of May, to an understanding, which was made public. The State authorities have faithfully labored to carry out the terms of that agreement.

"The Federal Government, on the other hand, not only manifested its strong disapprobation of it, by the instant dismissal of the distinguished officer who, on his part, entered into it, but it at once began, and has unintermittingly carried out a system of hostile operations, in utter contempt of that agreement, and the reckless disregard of its own plighted faith. These acts have latterly portended revolution and civil war so unmistakably, that I resolved to make one further effort to avert these dangers from you. I therefore solicited an interview with Brigadier-General Lyon, commanding the Federal army in Missouri. It was granted, and, on the 10th instant, waiving all questions of personal and official dignity, I went to St. Louis, accompanied by Major-General Price.

"We had an interview on the 11th instant with General Lyon and Colonel F. P. Blair, Jr., at which I submitted to them this proposition: That I would disband the State Guard and break up its organization; that I would disarm all the companies which had been armed by the State; that I would pledge myself not to attempt to organize the militia under the military bill; that no arms

General Lyon responded to this manifesto of hostility of the Governor of Missouri, by issuing a counter-proclamation.*

or munitions of war should be brought into the State; that I would protect all citizens equally in all their rights, regardless of their political opinions; that I would repress all insurrectionary movements within the State; that I would repel all attempts to invade it, from whatever quarter and by whomsoever made; and that I would thus maintain a strict neutrality in the present unhappy contest, and preserve the peace of the State. And I further proposed that I would, if necessary, invoke the assistance of the United States troops to carry out these pledges. All this I proposed to do upon condition that the Federal Government would undertake to disarm the Home Guards, which it has illegally organized and armed throughout the State, and pledge itself not to occupy with its troops any localities in the State not occupied by them at this time.

"Nothing but the most earnest desire to avert the horrors of civil war from our beloved State could have tempted me to propose these humiliating terms. They were rejected by the Federal officers.

"They demanded not only the disorganization and disarming of the State militia, and the nullification of the military bill, but they refused to disarm their own Home Guards, and insisted that the Federal Government should enjoy an unrestricted right to move and station its troops throughout the State whenever and wherever it might, in the opinion of its officers, be necessary, either for the protection of the "loyal subjects" of the Federal Government or for the repelling of invasion, and they plainly announced that it was the intention of the Administration to take military occupation, under these pretexts, of the whole State, and to reduce it, as avowed by General Lyon himself, to the 'exact condition of Maryland.' The acceptance by me of these degrading terms would not only have sullied the honor of Missouri, but would have aroused the indignation of every brave citizen, and precipitated the very conflict which it has been my aim to prevent. We refused to accede to them, and the conference was broken up.

"Fellow-citizens, all our efforts toward conciliation have failed. We can hope nothing from the justice or moderation of the agents of the Federal Government in this State. They are energetically hastening the execution of their bloody and revolutionary schemes for the inauguration of civil war in your midst; for the military occupation of your State by armed bands of lawless invaders for the overthrow of your State government: and for the subversion of those liberties which that government has always sought to protect; and they intend to exert their whole power to subjugate you, if possible, to the military despotism which has usurped the powers of the Federal Government.

"Now, therefore, I, C. F. Jackson, Governor of the State of Missouri, do, in view of the foregoing facts, and by virtue of the powers vested in me by the Constitution and laws of this Commonwealth, issue this my proclamation, calling the militia of the State, to the number of *fifty thousand*, into the active service of the State, for the purpose of repelling said invasion, and for the protection of the lives, liberty, and property of the citizens of this State. And I earnestly exhort all good citizens of Missouri to rally under the flag of their State for the protection of their endangered homes and firesides, and for the defence of their most sacred rights and dearest liberties.

"In issuing this proclamation, I hold it to be my solemn duty to remind you that Missouri is still one of the United States; that the Executive department of the State Government does not arrogate to itself the power to disturb that relation; that that power has been wisely vested in a convention, which will, at the proper time, express your sovereign will; and that, meanwhile, it is your duty to obey all the *constitutional* requirements of the Federal Government. But it is equally my duty to advise you that your first allegiance is due to your own State, and that you are under no obligation whatever to obey the *unconstitutional* edicts of the military despotism which has enthroned itself at Washington, nor to submit to the infamous and degrading sway of its wicked minions in this State. No brave and true-hearted Missourian will obey the one or submit to the other. Rise, then, and drive out ignominiously the invaders who have dared to desecrate the soil which your labors have made fruitful, and which is consecrated by your homes.

"Given under my hand, as Governor, and under the great seal of the State of Missouri, at Jefferson City, this 12th day of June, 1861.

"By the Governor. CLAIBORNE F. JACKSON.

"B. F. MASSEY, Secretary of State."

* "TO THE CITIZENS OF MISSOURI: Prior to the proclamation issued by Governor Jackson, of date of June 12, it is well known to you that the Governor and Legislature sympathized with the rebellion movements now in progress in the country, and had adopted every means in their power to effect a separation of this State from the General Government. For this purpose, parties of avowed secessionists have been organized into military companies throughout the State, with the full knowledge and approval of the Governor. The establishment of encampments in the State at an unusual period of the year, and authorized for an indefinite period, could have had no other object than the concentration of a large military force, to be subjected to the provisions of the military law then in contemplation, and subsequently passed—a bill so offensive to all peaceable inhabitants, and so palpably unconstitutional, that it could be accepted by those only who were to conform to its extraordinary provisions for the

He at the same time marshalled his forces at St. Louis, and hurried to rout out the Governor and his secession bands from Jefferson City, the capital

purpose of effecting their cherished object—the disruption of the Federal Government. That bill provides for an obligation to the State on the part of all persons enrolled under its provisions irrespective of any obligation to the United States, when the Constitution requires all State officers to take an oath of allegiance to the United States. This of itself is a repudiation of all authority of the Federal Government, whose Constitution is the supreme law, on the part of the State Government, its officers, and such citizens as might choose to adopt the provisions of the bill, and, coupled as it was, on the part of the Legislature and the Governor, with declarations hostile to its authority and in sympathy with those who were arrayed in a condition of actual hostility against it, could leave no doubt of its object to carry out the provisions of this extraordinary bill, having in direct view hostilities to the Federal Government. It was so denounced by General Harney, who characterized it as a secession ordinance in his proclamation of 14th May last. That proclamation, doubtless, gave rise to an interview between General Harney and General Price, that resulted in an agreement which it was hoped would lead to a restoration of tranquillity and good order in your State. That a repudiation of the military bill, and all efforts of the militia of the State under its provisions was the basis of the agreement, was shown as well by this proclamation of General Harney immediately preceding it, as by a paper submitted to General Price, containing the preliminary conditions to an interview with him.

"This agreement failed to define specifically the terms of the peace, or how far a suspension of the provisions of the military bill should form a part of it, though from the express declaration of General Harney at the time of the conference, as well as from the foregoing paper, a suspension of any action under the bill until there could be a judicial termination of its character by some competent tribunal, must in good faith be regarded as a fundamental basis of the negotiation.

"Nevertheless, immediately after this arrangement, and up to the time of Governor Jackson's proclamation, inaugurating complaints of attempts to execute the provisions of this bill, by which most exasperating hardships have been imposed upon peaceful loyal citizens, coupled with persecutions and proscriptions of those opposed to its provisions, have been made to me as commander of the United States forces here, and have been carried to the authorities at Washington, with appeals for relief, from the Union men of all parties of the State who have been abused, insulted, and, in some instances, driven from their homes.

"That relief I conceive it to be the duty of a just government to use every exertion in its power to give. Upon this point the policy of the Government is set forth in the following communication from the Department at Washington:

"'ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, *May* 27, 1861.

"'BRIGADIER-GENERAL W. S. HARNEY, COMMANDING DEPARTMENT WEST ST. LOUIS—*Sir:* The President observes with concern that, notwithstanding the pledge of the State authorities to co-operate in preserving the peace of Missouri, loyal citizens in great numbers continue to be driven from their homes. It is immaterial whether these outrages continue from inactivity or indisposition on the part of the State authorities to prevent them. It is enough that they continue, and it will devolve on you the duty of putting a stop to them summarily by the force under your command, to be aided by such troops as you may require from Kansas, Iowa, and Illinois. The professions of loyalty to the Union by the State authorities of Missouri are not to be relied upon. They have already falsified their professions too often, and are too far committed to secession to be admitted to your confidence, and you can only be sure of their desisting from their wicked purposes when it is not in their power to prosecute them. You will, therefore, be unceasingly watchful of their movements, and not permit the clamors of their partisans and the opponents of the wise measures already taken to prevent you from checking every movement against the Government, however disguised, under the pretended State authority. The authority of the United States is paramount, and whenever it is apparent that a movement—whether by order of State authorities or not—is hostile, you will not hesitate to put it down.

"'L. THOMAS, Adjutant-General.'

"It is my design to carry out these instructions in their letter and spirit. Their justness and propriety will be appreciated by whoever takes an enlightened view of the relations of the citizens of Missouri to the General Government, nor can such policy be construed as at all disparaging to the rights or dignity of the State of Missouri, or as infringing in any sense upon the individual liberty of its citizens. The recent proclamation of Governor Jackson, by which he has set at defiance the authorities of the United States, and urged you to make war upon them, is but a consummation of his treasonable purposes, long indicated by his acts and expressed opinions, and now made manifest. If, in suppressing these treasonable projects, carrying out the policy of the Government, and maintaining its dignity as above indicated, hostilities should unfortunately occur, and unhappy consequences should follow, I would hope that all aggravation of those events may be avoided, and that they may be diverted from the innocent, and may fall only on the heads of those by whom they have been provoked.

"In the discharge of these plain but onerous duties, I

of Missouri, where they were plotting against and making ready to attack the Union troops and overthrow the Federal authority.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

General Lyon's movement from St. Louis.—Occupation of the Railroad.—Force under Lyon.—Embarkation of Troops.—Arrival at Jefferson City.—Flight of the Enemy.—Their destructive proceedings.—General Lyon in pursuit. Boernstein at the capital.—Route of General Lyon.—Reception by the way.—Rochefort.—First indication of the Enemy. Dispersion of Scouts. Disembarkation of General Lyon.—March of the Federal Troops.—Coming up with the Enemy.—Position of the Antagonist.—Opening Fire.—Battle of Booneville.—Flight of the Enemy.—Courage and coolness of General Lyon.—Pursuit of the Enemy.—Another Stand and another Rout. A deserted Camp.—A half-cooked Breakfast.—The Federal Boats doing good service.—Capture of a Battery.—The stand at the Fair Grounds.—A third Rout.—The scattering of the Enemy.—The Killed and Wounded.—The Prisoners.—A warlike Parson.—Successful Appeal to an "old Rebel."—Comparative strength of Forces.—Approach to Booneville.—A civic and military Delegation.—Welcome to the Town.—Union Enthusiasm.—The Secessionists' Demand.—Danger to the Unionists.—The "Greatest Crime," etc.—General Lyon's Proclamation.—Forgiveness of Rebels.—Mildness and Severity.—Proclamation of Boernstein at Jefferson City.—The Missouri Convention taking Courage.—Convoked to reassemble.—The Congratulations of the Unionists.—Another Riot in St. Louis.—Attack upon the Federal Soldiers.—Tragic Results.—The Verdict of a St. Louis Jury.—General Lyon inspirited.—A bold move to the Southwest.—Sterling Price and Ben McCulloch.—Departure of Lyon.—An Augmenting Force.

GENERAL LYON'S first movement was to send the Second Regiment of 1861. Missouri Volunteers, under the command of Colonel Siegel, by land, along June 12. the Pacific Railroad, to occupy the line, and thus prevent any further destruction, by the secessionists, of the bridges. This detachment proceeded, without any show of opposition, as far as the Gasconade River, where the enemy had destroyed the bridge. On June 13. the next day, Lyon embarked his troops in two divisions; one consisting of the Second Battalion of the First Regiment of Missouri Volunteers, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Andrews, one section of Totten's light artillery, and two companies of regulars under Captain Lathrop; and the other of the First Battalion of the First Regiment of Missouri Volunteers under Colonel Blair, another section of Totten's artillery, and a detachment of pioneers, numbering in all about two thousand men. Each division was embarked on board of a river steamer at the wharves of St. Louis, and together with the men a large supply of horses, baggage wagons, camp equipage, ammunition, and provisions was put on board, evidently with the view of a long march. General Lyon and his staff embarked with the second division, and the two steamers proceeded up the Missouri

shall look for the countenance and active co-operation of all good citizens, and I shall expect them to discountenance all illegal combinations or organizations, and support and uphold, by every lawful means, the Federal Government, upon the maintenance of which depend their liberties and the perfect enjoyment of all their rights.

"N. LYON,

"Brigadier-General U. S. Volunteers Commanding."

to Jefferson City, the capital, situated on that river, near the centre of the State.

On the second day after embarking, June 15. General Lyon reached Jefferson City, but on marching into the place found that Governor Jackson, General Sterling Price, and their secession confederates and bands, had retreated the day before to Booneville, some forty miles farther up the Missouri, within the interior of the State. They had striven to conceal their destination, but the people of Jefferson City had no doubt of the direction of their flight, and being loyally disposed, freely gave all the information they possessed to the Federal officers. In their retreat the secessionists had sought to hinder pursuit, by seizing the cars and locomotives, which they carried along with them, and by destroying the bridges and telegraphs, as they hurriedly pushed forward.

Lyon promptly hurried on in pursuit. June 16. Embarking again in the steamers, to which was added a third, he moved with his troops up the Missouri, having left three companies of Boernstein's regiment under the command of the Colonel himself, at Jefferson City, to protect the capital. On passing the little town of Marion, on the Missouri River, the inhabitants manifested their loyalty by heartily cheering the expedition. Having reached Providence during the night, the steamers hauled up until daybreak, when they continued their course. At Rochefort the sullenness of some of the people indicated that the Federal forces had arrived in a part of the State where they were less welcome. Though the citizens were little disposed to be communicative, the information was obtained from them that the enemy were in considerable force some miles below Booneville.

The expedition, after pressing into the service a steam ferry-boat at Rochefort, continued its course up the river, until it reached a point within eight miles of Booneville. Here was seen the first indication of the enemy in a battery on the bluff or high embankment of the river, and some scouts appeared, who hastened, on seeing the steamers, to convey information of their approach to the main body of the secessionists. The boats now moved at once to the shore, where there was a stretch of alluvial land or "bottom" a mile and a half in width between the water and the bluff, on the south side of the river, and making fast, the troops disembarked without opposition.

Scouts were now sent in advance, and the main body followed them, marching along the river road. The troops had thus proceeded about a mile and a half to the point where the road ascends the bluffs, when a firing was heard, indicating that our scouts were engaged with the picket guards of the enemy, whom they succeeded in driving back. The Federal troops continued to push on, marching up the gentle slope of the ascent for nearly half a mile, when their advanced guard came galloping back with the information that the enemy

were in full force, posted advantageously upon the summit of the rising ground, about three hundred yards in front.

Their position was on the crest of the hill along which the road ascends. Colonel Marmaduke, in command, held the road itself with a troop of horsemen and a battalion of infantry. On his left was a brick house occupied by a portion of his force, and to the rear, in a lane leading to the river, was formed the main body of his left wing. Behind this again stretched a wheat-field, in which had gathered small bodies of men apparently without form or order. The enemy's right wing was posted behind a "worm" fence, which divided the wheat-field where the men were formed from a neighboring field of Indian corn.

The Federal troops, as soon as they discovered the position of the enemy, formed on the ridge of rising ground facing them and separated only by a shallow valley with a scattered growth of oak. On our right there were also some trees, while on the left there was a field of Indian corn. The regular troops were posted, with Colonel Blair's regiment of Missouri Volunteers, on the left, and the Germans, also volunteers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Shaeffer, on the right.

Captain Totten, of the light artillery, opened the engagement by firing a shell from a twelve-pounder, among the enemy's force in the road. This was immediately followed by another well-aimed shell, which fell among the throngs in the wheat-field, and forced them to a hasty retreat. The battle thus begun, our men on the right and left advanced in good order and soon opened with a volley of musketry, which was spiritedly returned by the enemy. The regulars on our right marched boldly along the field of Indian corn, until they reached the ascent which led to the crest upon which the enemy were posted. They now began to move more cautiously, creeping along and firing when a good opportunity for a shot presented. The volunteers sent to support them gallantly followed the example of the regulars and spiritedly joined in the attack. The Germans on the right were advancing no less firmly and persistently and engaging the enemy's left. The secessionists were forced back by the steady advance of our men, and the effective firing of Totten's artillery. They, however, as they retired, still made a show of resistance.

Two bombshells, sent by Totten against the brick house, within which the enemy had sought cover, penetrated the wall and effectually routed them out. After this the secessionists gave way more rapidly before the steady advance of our troops, and were soon forced to abandon their position, which the Federalists occupied in twenty minutes after the first shot fired by Totten, which opened the engagement.

"The commander, General Lyon," says an eye-witness of the battle, "exhibited the most remarkable coolness, and preserved throughout that undisturbed presence of mind shown by him

alike in the camp, in private life, and on the field of battle. 'Forward, on the extreme right;' 'give them another shot, Captain Totten,' echoed above the roar of musketry, clear and distinct, from the lips of the general who led the advancing column."

The enemy continued to retreat and the Federalists to pursue without further collision, until the latter had advanced about a mile and a half, when the former made a stand in some woods near their encampment. Two shells, however, and a volley of musketry soon put them again to the rout, and they fled in confusion towards Booneville. Their deserted camp, which our men now occupied, was found to contain a considerable quantity of provisions, arms, and ammunition. The evident haste with which, after the landing of the Federalists, they had advanced to meet them, proved how unexpected had been their arrival. The breakfasts of the men were found in the course of preparation in the camp; the half-baked bread, the partially fried pork, the ham with the knife sticking in the meat, and the pots of coffee still on the fire, showed how sudden had been their movement. Our troops gave them no opportunity of resuming the cooking of their morning's meal, or of breaking their long morning's fast. A company being left to guard the camp, General Lyon led the rest of his force on to Booneville.

In the mean time, while the main body of the Federalists had been acquitting themselves so satisfactorily on land, the artillerists under Captain Voorhies, and the company of infantry in command of Captain Richardson, who had been reluctantly left behind to take charge of the boats, contrived also to do some effectual service. After the troops began their march, Richardson went ashore with his men, and captured a battery of two iron six-pounders, posted on the river about five miles below Booneville. He then moved on with one of the boats, the McDowell, towards the town, with the view of co-operating with the land force.

This he was able to effect, when Lyon had marched within a mile of Booneville, where the secessionists, again at the fair grounds, seemed disposed to make a stand. Captain Richardson being from his position on the river in their rear, first discovered their intention, and was enabled to fire upon them with great effect. A shot from his howitzer, followed by a fire from Totten's artillery, and a volley of musketry from Lyon's main body, which had in the mean time become aware of the enemy's purpose, soon scattered them for a third time. The secessionists now continued their flight, dispersing in various directions. Some crossed the river, some went south, but the chief portion, after having passed through the town, escaped up the Missouri in boats to the west.

In the course of the attack and pursuit by the Federal forces, there were but three of them killed, ten wounded, and one missing. It was difficult to estimate the loss of the secessionists, but it is supposed to have been large. Eighty were taken prisoners, of whom

twenty-six were captured by the chaplain of the First Regiment. "He had charge," says the authority before quoted, "of a party of four men, two mounted and two on foot, with which to take charge of the wounded. Ascending the brow of a hill, he suddenly came upon a company of twenty-four rebels, armed with revolvers, and fully bent upon securing a place of safety for their carcasses. Their intentions, however, were considerably modified, when the parson ordered them to halt, which they did, surrendering their arms. Surrounded by the squad of five men, they were then marched on board the Louisiana, prisoners of war. The parson also captured two other secessionists during the day, and at one time, needing a wagon and horses for the wounded, and finding friendly suggestions wasted on a stubborn old rebel, placed a revolver at his head, and the desired articles were forthcoming. In time of peace the preacher had prepared for war."

The enemy were reported to have been four thousand strong, and the Federalists only two thousand, of whom less than half were actively engaged. Governor Jackson is supposed to have discreetly kept at a distance from the battle, and to have been among the first to seek safety in flight while General Sterling Price was prevented by an inopportune attack of illness from taking command of the secession forces.

As General Lyon was approaching the town of Booneville, he was met by some of the officials and leading citizens bearing a flag of truce. They were anxious to impress upon the victors, that the greater proportion of their fellow-citizens were favorable to the Federal cause. General Lyon received them in a conciliatory spirit, and assured them that, if no resistance should be offered to the entrance of his troops, no harm need be feared. Soon after Major O'Brien, a military officer of Booneville, presented himself, and the town was formally surrendered. The Federal troops now advanced, headed by General Lyon and the civic and military representatives of the place. On passing through the principal street, they were met by a party of citizens waving the United States flag and cheering lustily for the Union, to which the Federal troops gave a hearty response. The "stars and stripes" now suddenly fluttered out from house window and church steeple, and Booneville proclaimed itself once more a loyal town.

"One can hardly imagine," declares a writer who was present on the occasion, "the joy expressed and felt by the loyal citizens when the Federal troops entered the city. Stores which had been closed all day, began to open, the national flag was quickly run up on a secession pole, cheers for the Union, Lyon, Blair, and Lincoln were frequently heard, and everything betokened the restoration of peace, law, and order. 'True men' are reported to have said, 'that had the troops delayed ten days longer, it would have been impossible for them to have remained in safety. Irresponsible vagabonds had been taking guns wherever they could find them, and notifying the

most substantial and prosperous citizens to leave.' One worthy citizen, the proprietor of the City Hotel, was said to have denounced 'the whole secession movement as the greatest crime committed since the crucifixion of our Saviour.'"

On the next day after entering Booneville, General Lyon released his prisoners, most of whom were youths and had been misled, as he believed, by the artful devices of older conspirators.

June 18.

In the mean time Colonel Boernstein, who had been left with a battalion of the Second Regiment of Missouri Volunteers, in command of Jefferson City, the capital, was effectually keeping in check the secessionists, and striving to soothe the disaffected with proclaiming summary punishment for treason and security for property. "Your personal safety," he said, "will be protected, and your property respected. Slave property will not be interfered with by any part of my command, nor will slaves be allowed to enter my lines without written authority from their masters; and, notwithstanding we are in times of war, I shall endeavor to execute my instructions with moderation and forbearance, and at the same time shall not suffer the least attempt to destroy the Union and its Government, by the performance of any unlawful act."

Under the protection of the military rule of Boernstein, at the capital, and inspirited by the success of the Federal troops under Lyon, the members of the Convention of the State of Missouri took courage. Having already, as early as February, refused by a large majority to consider the question of secession, they now prepared to execute the will of the people whom they represented, in thwarting the action of the secessionist Governor and his confederates of the Legislature. The Convention was accordingly called to reassemble in Jefferson City, on the twenty-second day of July.

Lyon having by his prompt movement swept the eastern part of Missouri, from St. Louis to Booneville, clear of the secession leaders and their bands, the unionists began to congratulate themselves that the State was now secure in the enjoyment of a loyal tranquillity. There was, however, even in St. Louis, some unwillingness to submit quietly to the Federal power. The military authorities having considered it prudent to station guards on the various railways leading from the city, had detailed a regiment commanded by Colonel Kallman for that duty. After detailing the necessary number of men, the rest of the regiment returned, passing through St. Louis, when a collision took place with the citizens.

June 17.

The event was thus related by one of the journals* of that city.

"Forming at the dépot in good order, they marched quietly down Broadway and Seventh Street without interruption or disturbance of any kind, so far as is known, till Company B reached St. Charles Street. At that point a half-drunken or crazed individual insulted

* St. Louis *Democrat*.

the troops with language so abusive and threatening, that several of them took him into custody. The captain came up, inquiring into the circumstances of the case, and, on the prisoner's protesting that he meant no harm, ordered his release. This took place in Olive Street. In a moment afterward a pistol was fired from a second-story window on the east side of the street, just south of Olive, a second almost simultaneously from near the pavement, and instantly a third from the window above.

"Some of the troops noticed that an attack was in contemplation, and began arranging caps on their muskets, a movement perceived by spectators, who were as yet unaware of the cause. During this quick movement one of the muskets accidentally exploded, and this occurred near the time of the first firing of the pistol as described.

"Colonel Kallman gave the order to halt, pistol shots still firing from the windows. The order was promptly obeyed, and the troops, till then marching four abreast, wheeled westward and formed into double file, fronting east. No order to fire was given. Captain Risech, of Company I, marching in the rear, was shot so as to be disabled from command, and a soldier at the same time fell senseless in the ranks. The troops began firing briskly up to the windows of the Missouri engine-house and Recorder's court-room, and the second story of the building adjoining on the north. The fire of the pistols was returned, but soon ceased, the officers below passing along the ranks and ordering the troops to stop firing. The terrible scene, which lasted scarcely a minute and a half or two minutes at the furthest, was thus terminated."

There were no less than six victims of this tragic occurrence, all of whom were private citizens, while the soldiers escaped with but some slight wounds. The coroner's jury, after a long investigation of ten days, rendered a verdict which, while it exonerated citizens and the military officers, imputed the blame to the soldiers. They declared that the "wounds were inflicted without any provocation or discharge of firearms from the citizens then present, and also without any order to fire having been given by the officers of the said companies."

General Lyon, inspirited by his success in the north and east, and trusting to the loyalty which his triumphs had encouraged to manifest itself, now boldly determined to push on to the southwest, where Sterling Price and Ben McCulloch, the Texan ranger, had formed a junction and mustered a strong force. Lyon accordingly, with his characteristic self-reliance, left Booneville, with only two thousand men. **July 3.** This meagre band, however, rapidly increased on the march by the accessions of the loyal men of the country, who welcomed and offered their services readily to the victorious leader of the Federal troops. The events of this campaign and its fatal results will be related in the due course of this narrative.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Unabated spirit of the North.—Large mustering of Troops.—The Force at Washington.—The Potomac Line.—Commanders.—Force at Fortress Monroe.—Force in the neighborhood of Harper's Ferry.—Force in Western Virginia.—Force at Cairo.—Force in Missouri.—Force in Maryland.—The Line on the Potomac.—Topography of the Country.—The dangers of the ground.—Fortifications.—Arlington Heights.—Alexandria.—The ghost of a city.—Deserted Streets.—Abandoned Houses.—Closed Warehouses and Shops.—Military Occupation.—Present Inhabitants.—Soldiers and Negroes.—Description of Vienna.—Description of Fairfax Court House.—The Position of the Enemy in Virginia.—Manassas Junction.—Position and Fortifications.—Distances and Communications.—Exploit of Lieut. Tompkins at Fairfax Court House.—A spirited Charge.—The result.—The affair at Vienna.—A clear field reported. Orders to General Schenck. Departure of Schenck.—His Force.—How it was disposed of.—A sudden stoppage—A Masked Battery.—A Conflict.—Killed and Wounded.—Conduct of the Engineer.—Criticism upon the management of the Expedition.—The Enterprise denounced.—The sacrifice.—Gallantry of Federal Troops.—An account of the Enemy. Tribute to a "Few."—The Enemy's Batteries on the Potomac.—Captain Ward's Reconnoissance of Matthias Point.—An Attack planned.—Landing of Men.—Federal Batteries raised on the Virginia Shore.—A sudden surprise from the Enemy.—Death of Captain Ward.—An official criticism on the expedition.

1861. THERE was no abatement of the military spirit of the loyal North. With each development of secession there was an increased vigor shown on the part of the defenders of the Union. In two or three months after the fall of Fort Sumter it was estimated that two hundred and twenty-five thousand men, militia and volunteers, had already mustered into the service of the United States. Of these there were some sixty thousand who had marched to the protection of the capital, one half of whom were stationed in and about the city of Washington, under the command of Brigadier-General J. K. T. Mansfield, and the other half on the opposite and south side of the Potomac, under the command of Brigadier-General T. McDowell.

Twelve thousand men were at Fortress Monroe and its environs, in command of Major-General B. F. Butler. Twenty thousand had marched from Pennsylvania under Majors-General Robert Patterson and W. H. Kein to the neighborhood of Harper's Ferry, to which point Major-General George Cadwallader with six thousand was also proceeding. This combined force was intended to co-operate with Major-General George B. McClellan, who, crossing the Ohio from the west, was in Western Virginia at the head of twenty-five thousand men. Seven thousand had gathered at Cairo, under the command of Brigadier-General B. M. Prentiss; and Brigadier-General Lyon was supposed to be able to muster throughout the State of Missouri a force of nearly thirteen thousand. Major-General N. P. Banks, who had succeeded Cadwallader, was keeping Baltimore and Maryland in check with over ten thousand. The rest of this large army was still in camp in the various Northern and Western States, ready to

march to any point to which it might be directed.

The line of the Federal forces on the south side of the Potomac opposite to Washington extended from Alexandria on the east in the direction of Vienna on the west, a distance of about sixteen miles, and again to the north toward Fairfax Court House, over twelve miles from the capital. The whole country is rolling, composed of hills and shallow valleys, and intersected with numerous small streams. The ground is very favorable for defence. Its approaches, winding in narrow roads or lanes about the hills, are readily commanded by fortifications, while a march through it would be greatly exposed to surprises from ambuscades and concealed batteries. There is hardly a spot which a commanding officer would select for the manœuvering of a large force in regular battle.

The most commanding heights had been seized by the Federal forces, upon which they had raised entrenchments and redoubts. Among these was Arlington Heights, directly opposite and commanding the capital, formerly the property of George Washington Custis, the descendant of Washington's wife, and belonging at this time to Mrs. R. E. Lee, wife of the celebrated General in the Confederate service. Here General McDowell had his headquarters.

Alexandria, on the Potomac, about seven miles from Washington, was also held in force by the Federal troops, and its approaches commanded by the construction of an earthen redoubt. This city ordinarily contained about ten thousand inhabitants, mostly engaged in commerce. Grain, flour, and tobacco were its principal exports, and its domestic trade was in negroes, for the sale of whom there were two thriving slave-pens. On the possession of Alexandria by our troops, the greater portion of the leading people, who were devoted to the cause of secession, abandoned the place and allowed it to become little more than barracks for soldiers or a refuge for the negroes whom their masters could not compel to fly with them. Its communications with the interior, by means of canals and railways, and with other ports by the Potomac, were cut off by the war. An eye-witness at this time pictures the city as "a ghost of its former self." Warehouses and mills on the wharves are closed, save perhaps here and there one which has been opened as a guardhouse for soldiers or a receptacle for munitions of war. The little river steamboats still ply between Washington and the town, but convey only armed soldiers, or a few privileged visitors, who can neither embark nor disembark without submitting their 'passes' to a vigilant sentinel. The main street, still bearing in its name, 'King,' a reverential reminiscence of colonial loyalty, is silent except to the rumbling of heavy baggage wagons or the clatter of the mounted dragoon. Most of the shops are closed and their shutters heavily barred with iron. The few which remain open, show the timid anxiety of their occupants, by the darkened windows and half-opened doors. The villas

in the suburbs are deserted, with the vines hanging from the verandahs in tangled neglect, and the gardens overgrown with weeds. The public halls and hotels are turned into barracks, and private mansions and school-houses into military hospitals; churches and churchyards are locked and abandoned by priest and sexton. Soldiers are on guard at the corner of every street. But few of the ordinary inhabitants of the town are to be seen, except some "poor whites," who may be still slinking out of hovels or into the groggeries, and the negroes, who are idly chatting as they lie in groups upon the door-steps, or striving to support their sudden independence by selling fruits and pastry and other delicacies to lounging soldiers."

Vienna, towards which the other extremity of the Federal line of occupation extended on the south side of the Potomac, is a small village on the Loudon and Hampshire Railroad, about fifteen miles from Alexandria and nearly twelve from Washington. It was near this point that the Federal troops were imprudently exposed to an attack from the enemy, which will soon be narrated.

Fairfax Court House, though of inconsiderable size, is a place of more importance than Vienna. It is situated on the turnpike road leading from Alexandria to Centreville, and is about fifteen miles both from Washington and Alexandria. This was also the scene of an early skirmish, between a troop of Federal cavalry and the enemy, in which our soldiers were enabled by the gallantry of their leader to acquit themselves with more credit than in the blundering expedition to Vienna.

The enemy had, in the mean time, while the Federal forces had been crossing the Potomac and occupying the country bordering on that river, been mustering a large number of troops in Virginia.

Their main force was posted at "Manassas Junction," a railway station where the Manassas Gap Railroad joins that between Orange and Alexandria. The place derives all its importance from its strategic position, as it commands the land communications from the north with Richmond. Here Beauregard was in command, and exercising all his skill as an engineer in fortifying the post. The distance of Manassas Junction, to the south-west, from Alexandria is about twenty-seven miles; from Washington, south, thirty-two; and from Richmond a hundred and thirty-five miles north.

From Manassas Junction the enemy's line extended toward Acquia Creek on their right; in the direction of Harper's Ferry on their left, whence a considerable body was manœuvering with the view of subjecting Western Virginia, and in front to Fairfax Court House.

It was at this last place that Lieutenant Tompkins performed his spirited exploit. Being ordered on a scouting expedition, he set out from the camp on the Potomac, at half-past ten o'clock at night, with a company of United States cavalry numbering seventy-five men. He reached Fairfax Court House next morning before daylight, at three o'clock. Having surprised and

May 31.

captured the enemy's picket guard, the Lieutenant boldly pushed into the town. As he entered, he was met by a fire from the windows of the houses. He then charged on the troops he found there, and drove them from the town. They, however, being reinforced by several companies, were encouraged to return, when Tompkins, finding himself greatly outnumbered, retreated in good order, bringing with him as trophies five prisoners fully armed and equipped and two horses.

"My loss," the Lieutenant officially reported, "is three men missing, three slightly wounded, and twelve horses lost. The loss of the rebels is from twenty to twenty-five in killed and wounded. From observations I should judge that the rebels at that point numbered fully one thousand five hundred men." The Lieutenant himself was reported to have lost two horses killed under him, but to have escaped with but a slight wound from the fall of one of them.

The affair which occurred at Vienna was less successful. A detachment of Connecticut troops having been sent out to reconnoitre, reported, although one of the men had been wounded by a concealed shot, that the railroad from the Federal lines to two miles beyond Vienna was clear of the enemy. On the same night, however, General McDowell learned that the secessionists were about to obstruct the road, by destroying the bridges and tearing up the rails. He accordingly ordered Brigadier-General Schenck, of the Ohio Volunteers, formerly member of Congress, to reconnoitre the ground and station guards at the various exposed points of the road. Schenck accordingly mustered six hundred and sixty-eight rank and file, with twenty-nine field and company officers of the First Ohio Volunteers, and started on the expedition from his camp three miles beyond Alexandria. Placing his men in the railroad cars he proceeded on his route along the Loudon and Hampshire Railroad, upon which the village of Vienna is situated, at a distance of about fifteen miles from the city of Alexandria.

In accordance with his orders, Schenck stationed one hundred and thirty men at the crossing of the road, and sent one hundred and seventeen men to Falls Church to reconnoitre in that direction. He then went on, leaving one hundred and thirty men to guard the railroad and the bridge between the crossing and Vienna. He had now only four companies left, consisting of two hundred and seventy-five men. With this remnant of his force he proceeded toward Vienna."

"On turning the curve slowly, within one quarter of a mile of Vienna," said the Brigadier in his official report, "*we were fired upon by raking masked batteries* of, I think, three guns, with shells, round shot, and grape, killing and wounding the men on the platform and in the cars before the train could be stopped. When the train stopped, the engine could not, on account of damage to some part of the running machinery, draw the train out of the fire. The engine being in the rear, we left the

cars, and retired to the right and left of the train through the woods.

"Finding that the enemy's batteries were sustained by what appeared about a regiment of infantry, and by cavalry, which force we have since understood to have been some fifteen hundred South Carolinians, we fell back along the railroad, throwing out skirmishers on both flanks; and this was about seven P. M. Thus we retired slowly, bearing off our wounded five miles to this point, which we reached at ten o'clock."

The loss reported was five killed, six wounded, and ten missing. The General had good ground of complaint against the engineer, who, he says, "when the men left the cars, instead of retiring slowly, as I ordered, detached his engine with one passenger car from the rest of the disabled train and abandoned us, running to Alexandria, and we have heard nothing from him since. Thus we were deprived of a rallying-point, and of all means of conveying the wounded, who had to be carried on litters and in blankets."

The conduct of the expedition was severely censured. A writer* who accompanied it, and wrote a graphic description of it, while he did not withhold his admiration of the courage of the Ohio troops and their leaders, did not hesitate to rebuke the imprudent management of the enterprise. He wrote: "However wise or necessary this plan of dropping squads behind might be in an ordinary advance, it certainly was of doubtful expediency in this case. There were no villages or groups of houses along the route, among which the enemy's men could have established themselves in force, and the only point from which an attack could be seriously apprehended was Vienna itself. Had the entire regiment—and a larger body would have been better—been pushed rapidly down to Vienna, we should have been more fully prepared to encounter and act against an ambush; and, had all proved quiet, nothing would have been lost, since we had the advantage of railroad speed, by stationing the guards on the return, instead of the advance. It is true that the entire course of the road is through a valley, and that the hills on either side, and the heavy thickets which screen them, appear to offer excellent situations for ambuscade; but the roads in the neighborhood are few, and those which exist are quite impracticable for the ready transportation of troops, not to speak of artillery. Decidedly the suspicious spot was Vienna and its vicinity. A certain disposition to tardy caution was frustrated by the carelessness of the engine-driver. He had been directed to stop at the distance of a mile from the town, whence skirmishers were to be thrown out, and proper reconnoissances to be made. Instead of doing so, he shot ahead until within half a mile or less, so that this single chance of averting the impending danger was wasted. The train was rounding a gentle curve, and the men were laughing, quite unconscious of peril, when the first round of shot fell among them, tearing five of them to pieces, and wounding many

* Correspondent of the New York *Tribune*.

others. The rebels' guns had been carefully planted in the curve, and were hidden until the worst part of their work was accomplished. The first discharge was the most fatal. The four companies were disposed upon open platform cars, and were first of all exposed to the enemy's fire. The engine was at the rear of the train. It was fortunate that most of the men were sitting, for the shot flew high, and only those who stood erect were struck. Major Hughey was among the foremost, but was unharmed. General Schenck and Colonel McCook were in a covered car behind the troops. The Colonel instantly sprang out, and gathered the best part of his men together. The enemy's field-pieces had been stationed to command the line of the railroad and nothing else. They were at the termination of the curve, to the left of the track, and elevated a few feet above the grade. With the exception of that company which was the most exposed, and which suffered the most, the men promptly assembled near Colonel McCook, who proceeded to form them in line of battle, and to lead them into the protection of a little wood, or thicket, at the right of the track, apart from the range of the battery. Meanwhile shot and shell continued to assail the train, and those who lingered near it. The engine-driver, in a panic, detached his locomotive and a single car, and dashed off at full speed. The rebel artillerists then directed their range, so as to menace Colonel McCook's three companies, upon which the Colonel quietly marched them over to the left of the track, into another clump of trees, where he collected all his little force, and arrayed them boldly in line. The shot from the rebels now flew very wild, cutting the trees overhead and around, and; in their hurry, they made the frequent blunder of discharging their shell without opening the fuse. But, notwithstanding this, Colonel McCook's position was far from comfortable. He saw that he was prodigiously outnumbered, and that if the enemy could only keep their wits for a few minutes, he must inevitably be captured, or venture a struggle at fearful odds. He had only about one hundred and eighty men, while the rebel force exceeded two thousand. Their field-pieces alone, decently managed, would have destroyed the little Ohio band in a twinkling. But the Ohio men never flinched, and this was the reward of their bravery: the rebels observing such a mere handful bearing themselves undaunted before their superior host, were at first amazed, and then startled into the conviction that powerful reinforcements must be close at hand. How else, it seemed to them, could this sprinkling of troops hold their ground. It could be nothing but the confidence of overwhelming strength that sustained them. And this is not conjecture. The information since received from Vienna proves it to have been their real belief. Disheartened by this belief, they became irresolute, their fire slackened, they wavered, and, in a few minutes, broke up their lines and slowly retired. At the same time

Colonel McCook, having secured his wounded, also withdrew, his two thousand assailants making no attempt or motion to oppose his retreat."

The enemy, too, gave their version of the affair at Vienna, claiming a victory, which they said they had won with a force of six hundred Carolinians, a company of artillery, and two companies of cavalry. They, moreover, insisted that the attack was an extemporaneous one, and that they "had scarcely time to place two cannon in position" when the Federal troops first showed themselves. One "well-directed shot," which raked the railroad cars, was sufficient, they asserted, to cause consternation and dismay, and force the Federalists to fly to the woods. "A few of the party," however, they confessed, "exhibited some bravery, and endeavored, by shouts, to rally their flying comrades, but it was impossible."

The enemy had possession, on their right, to the south of Alexandria, of the Virginian bank of the river Potomac, and here they had been zealously at work, protecting themselves with batteries. Captain Ward, of the steamer Freeborn, and in command of the flotilla of the Potomac, was on the alert, and was eager to prevent the completion of these batteries. Accordingly, having discovered that the enemy were about to erect works at Matthias Point, a commanding position fifty miles below Washington, where the river narrows and makes an abrupt turn, first to the north and then to the south, Captain Ward determined to try to dislodge them. His plan was, to effect a landing upon the point under cover of the guns of his steamer, and after driving away the enemy, to destroy the works in progress and cut down the trees which concealed them from the river. He accordingly obtained from Captain Rowan, in command of the Pawnee, stationed above on the Potomac, off the mouth of Acquia Creek, two boats' crews, and these, together with some of his own men, numbering in all about forty, armed and equipped with axes and building materials, he sent ashore at Matthias Point, while he closed in with his own steamer to cover their landing. June 27.

The men succeeded in reaching the land without resistance, and selecting a position began at once to construct sand-bag breastworks. Under cover of the guns of the Freeborn they remained at work unmolested for four hours and a half. At five o'clock in the afternoon, however, when returning to their boats, with the view of going on board the steamer to obtain cannon to mount upon the work, a large number of the enemy suddenly made their appearance, and fired upon them a volley of musketry.

The men hurried in confusion to their boats, and as they pushed off, left some of their comrades behind. The Freeborn, in the mean time, brought her guns to bear upon the enemy, who were, however, greatly protected by the brushwood, behind which they had sought cover, and whence they kept up a direct fire upon the steamer. The gun-

ner at the bow guns being wounded, Captain Ward took his place himself, and was sighting the piece, when a Minié ball struck him in the abdomen and killed him almost on the instant.

That the enterprise of Captain Ward, however gallantly conducted, was an imprudent one, seemed to be the opinion of some of his fellow-officers. Captain Rowan, of the Pawnee, says "the Resolute returned, with a request from Captain Ward that I should send her back, if I had no more important service for her. I immediately despatched the Reliance to Captain Ward, knowing the danger to which our people would be exposed if he contemplated a landing at Matthias Point, as I feared was his intention, judging from the nature of the order he gave me, to furnish him with such equipments as were necessary to cut down trees on the Point and burn them;" and Captain Rowan continues with the declaration, that "Lieutenant Chaplin and his command" (whom he sent to the aid of Ward, and complimented for their gallantry) "escaped utter destruction by a miracle."

CHAPTER XXX.

Occupation of Harper's Ferry by the Enemy.—Their Force.—General Johnston.—His Life and Character.—The advantages of position at Harper's Ferry.—The defences of the place.—The movement of the Federal Forces upon Harper's Ferry.—Combination of Federal Generals.—Alarm of General Johnston.—Evacuation of Harper's Ferry.—Destructiveness.—A lively description by a Secessionist.—A conflagration.—A picture.—Route of Johnston.—Advance of the Federalists.—Movement of General Patterson.—Crossing the Potomac.—Coming up with the Enemy.—Battle of Falling Waters.—A droll description.—The Secessionists routed.—Flight to Bunker Hill.—Pursuit by General Patterson.—Arrival at Martinsburgh.—Losses at Falling Waters.—Harper's Ferry unoccupied.—Return to Harper's Ferry of a detachment of the Enemy.—Their proceedings on the occasion.—Terror and destruction.—Combined movement of the Secessionists.—Subjection of Western Virginia intended.—The Secession force under General Garnett.—The encampment at Laurel Hill.—Distribution of Troops.—March of General Wise.—Position of Johnston.—Advance of General McClellan.—Proclamations.—Disposition of his forces.—Skilful strategy.—General Rosencranz sent against the enemy.—Battle of Rich Mountain.—Flight of the Enemy.—Losses.—A rich Capture.—Advance of McClellan to Beverly.—Sudden disappearance of the Enemy.—McClellan in possession of Beverly—The retreat of the Enemy.—Possession of their camp.—McClellan's movement to cut them off.—Importance of Beverly.—The enemy's works.—Inner and outer works.—Rifle Pits.—Abattis.—Redoubts.—McClellan's reports.—Surrender of Pegram and his force.—Correspondence on the occasion.—Coming up with Garnett.—Battle of Carrick's Ford.—Death of Garnett.—Account of the Battle.—Reports of McClellan.—A glowing tribute to his Soldiers.—Failure of a well-laid plan.—Escape of the Fugitives.—An enemy's account of the Battle of Rich Mountain.

EVER since the abandonment and unfortunately incomplete destruction
1861. of the public works at Harper's Ferry by Lieutenant Jones, already described in an earlier part of this narrative, the enemy had occupied the place. A large force, amounting to nearly twenty thousand men, was here mustered under one of their ablest officers, General Johnston.

Joseph Eccleston Johnston was born in Virginia, in 1804, and at an early

age entered the military academy of West Point. After a career of successful study in this institution, he received the commission of second lieutenant of artillery. In 1836, he became first lieutenant, and was appointed to the lucrative position of assistant commissary of subsistence. In 1838, such was his high professional repute, he was promoted to a first lieutenancy in that *corps d'élite* the Topographical Engineers, in which rank he served during the Indian war in Florida, and was brevetted captain in reward for his services. In 1846, he was promoted captain in full, and during the Mexican war served with distinction, first in the engineer corps, and subsequently with the voltigeurs. He was brevetted twice for good service and gallant conduct. At the end of the war he resumed his position as an officer of engineers, and after a long service in the bureau of that department, was appointed, by General Scott, in June, 1860, quartermaster-general. Notwithstanding this late appointment to so important a post, which would seem to have been a proof of great reliance placed in his fidelity by the commander-in-chief of the United States, Johnston was among the earliest of the Federal officers of Southern origin to abandon the Union and give in his adherence to secession. At this time, although fifty-seven years of age, a man of great energy, he was esteemed one of the ablest officers in the service of the Southern Confederacy. With great ability as a strategist and a man of inflexible spirit, he proved to be as a leader and conspirator a most persistent and formidable antagonist. A square and compact head, a firm compression of the upper lip and a certain fulness of animal development about the lower lip, chin, and neck, are the external indications of those qualities of calculation, firmness, and brute courage which are known to characterize him.

Johnston seemed determined to hold Harper's Ferry as a basis of operations. Commanding the Ohio and Baltimore Railroad, the great avenue of communication between the valley of the Ohio and the sea, through Chesapeake Bay, and being separated from Maryland only by the river, and from Pennsylvania by a narrow stretch of the former State, Harper's Ferry was favorably placed for operating in Western Virginia, Maryland, or even in Pennsylvania. The enemy seemed determined to hold the position, and raised works of defence commanding the various approaches not only on the Virginia but the Maryland side of the river, where they occupied the high banks in force.

The Federal forces now moved from three different points with the view of driving the secessionists from Harper's Ferry. General McClellan was advancing from the Ohio through Western Virginia; General Stone, detached from the army before Washington, was moving up the Potomac; and General Patterson marching with his column from Pennsylvania in the north, with the view of closing in upon the enemy's position at Harper's Ferry.

General Johnston becoming alarmed,

determined to evacuate the place. Before leaving, however, he strove to render it untenable by and useless to his antagonists. All the machinery of the public works left, after the incomplete destruction by Lieutenant Jones, had been already removed to Richmond and there utilized, greatly to the advantage of the enemy. Johnston, however, destroyed all the remnant of the arsenals and workshops, the great railway bridge over the Potomac, and a portion of the railroad itself. A secessionist officer has given a lively description of the evacuation.

June 13. "On Thursday, just as the troops were in a fair way for the enjoyment of the holiday from military duty, consequent upon the fast-day, an order was circulated among the different regiments for immediate preparations for march. This was the first intimation we had of General Johnston's purpose to evacuate Harper's Ferry. Instantly the whole place was in a stir. Hundreds of baggage-wagons were laden, burly, big-bellied broad treads, and stuffed with provision stores, while ammunition was carefully deposited in safe trains, and from every side arose the swelling strains of music as the troops took up the line of march.

"The necessity of this step was rendered the more apparent by the fact that intelligence had been received of the rapid approach of General McClellan's division of the Federal army toward Winchester. Thus we were to be intercepted, and our small force completely hemmed in by the constantly augmenting numbers of the Northerners, and either cut to pieces or compelled to surrender. Our commander very prudently chose to take neither horn of the dilemma, but resolved to desert Harper's Ferry and boldly strike into the valley of Virginia, where he could attack the enemy. We are thus to be made the offensive party, and shall certainly, in good time, make a proper report of our interview with the blustering Hoosiers and Buckeyes.

"The companies of Captains Desha and Pope were quickly under arms, and moved to the armory yard, where, having stacked their rifles, they awaited orders. The Kentuckians, under Colonel Duncan, reported themselves at the same place, and were subsequently removed to Camp Hill, overlooking the battery. A large number of men left by railway for Winchester, and others, for lack of transportation, marched afoot. During the day there was an indescribable scene of excitement. Broadway, in its palmiest day, never witnessed such a jam as this little town. The business houses were closed, families were attempting to move their effects, and every street and avenue was crowded with loaded wagons. Officers were dashing hither and thither, and soldiers were on the *qui vive* for movement. Loads of provisions, that it was found impossible to transport, were dumped in the river. There was a general rush by the boys for sugar and bread. It was, indeed, in more senses than one, a *fast* day. In the first place, we had no regular meal, and every movement was made at the most accelerated rate of speed.

"During the afternoon, the pickets of the enemy were distinctly observable on the Maryland Heights, and Captain Desha and Lieutenant Rogers took a crack at them with their rifles, which caused the tories to disappear rather suddenly.

"Just after dark, Captain Desha's company was ordered to accompany Major Whiting, the chief engineer, across the Potomac, and make preparations for blowing up the bridge. This was an undertaking of no inconsiderable hazard. The enemy was known to be in the immediate vicinity, and it was thought not unlikely that they might attempt to force a passage of the bridge. I have slept in many places and under many disadvantages, but never before above a foaming, turbulent river, and just above a terrible mine that in an instant could flash the structure into a myriad of fragments. The night, however, passed quietly, and in the early grey of the morning we were visited by Major Whiting. The immense bridge, over three quarters of a mile in length, was thoroughly saturated, the torch lit, and just as we reached the Virginia shore the magnificent structure was hurried into mid air, falling a shapeless mass of ruins into the rapid stream. The burning *débris*, with the clouds of lurid flame, presented a picture worthy an artist's study. In an hour or two the massive and extensive armory buildings were ignited, and the conflagration that ensued was of the most terrific and impressive character. In order to prevent the flames extending to private property, the troops were detailed to act as firemen, under Captain Fauntleroy, of the Confederate navy, and right manfully did they discharge their arduous duty. Not a penny's worth of that which did not belong to the Government was destroyed."

After evacuating Harper's Ferry, General Johnston retreated along the valley of the Shenandoah to Winchester, in order to secure his communications with the main body of the secessionists at Manassas Junction and the city of Richmond.

It is here necessary to recur to the progress of the Federal forces, which had caused this sudden and important movement of the enemy from Harper's Ferry.

General Patterson left Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania, on June 8th, with nearly twenty thousand men, on his march southward through Maryland. From Cumberland and Hagerstown, in the latter State, he marched to Williamsport, on the Potomac, about twenty- **June 18.**
five miles northwest of Harper's Ferry. Here he crossed the river into Virginia, a movement effected with- **July 2.**
out opposition or difficulty. The enemy, however, although they made no show of resistance to the passage of the troops over the Potomac, were in considerable force at a short distance from the ford by which the Federal army was passing.

This was the enemy's rear guard, consisting of three or four thousand men, with cavalry and artillery under the command of General Jackson, encamped

at a place called Falling Waters, near Hainesville.

The advance of the Federal army, consisting of the Wisconsin First and the Pennsylvania Eleventh and Twelfth Regiments, with artillery and cavalry, was immediately thrown forward by Patterson, while his main body was still crossing the river to attack the enemy at Falling Waters. The commencement of the engagement is thus drolly described by a participator:

"The battle commenced about nine o'clock, as no other battle probably ever commenced in the history of war. Colonel Perkins' battery was in advance, and the Colonel himself a quarter of a mile in the lead of his men, when, upon making a turn in the road, he came suddenly upon two mounted officers. Military salutes were passed, hands were shaken all round, and the strangers asked Colonel Perkins what company he belonged to, and when he had got in. The Colonel replied that he belonged to Company C, and had just arrived. One of the strangers observed, reflectively, 'Company C! Company C!' and just then the first piece of the battery showed itself around the turn, when he exclaimed, 'Artillery, by God!' and fled for his life with his companion. Colonel Perkins immediately shouted to his men, 'Now, boys, come on, we've got 'em.' In less than a minute the battery was in operation, and blazing away right and left, while the rebels could be seen in all directions, trying to form their men."

The infantry in support of the battery came promptly into line after the first shot, and poured such rapid volleys of musketry upon the enemy that they did not find time to form. They accordingly retired in confusion, turning and shooting irregularly as they went. However, on reaching a farm belonging to a person of the name of Porterfield, they succeeded in forming, and made a brief stand. Although covered by the house and barn, behind and within which they sought refuge, they were soon again forced to fly, being shelled out by the artillery. They were pursued beyond Hainesville, when our wearied men awaited the coming up of their comrades, and the secessionists continued their retreat to Martinsburgh. Joined by the secession troops in occupation of that place, they again fell back until they reached the main body under General Johnston, encamped at Bunker Hill.

General Patterson followed closely with his whole force, and took possession of Martinsburgh without resistance, on the day after it had been abandoned by the enemy. The loss of the Federal troops engaged in the affair at Falling Waters, was three killed and ten wounded; that of the enemy was estimated to amount to nearly thirty killed and fifty wounded. Their force in the battle was said to have numbered five thousand men, while the unionists were less than three thousand.

Harper's Ferry, for some good strategic reason, doubtless, was not occupied by the Federal troops, and General Johnston, emboldened by the fact, sent back a detachment to the place, which

destroyed the fine bridge over the Shenandoah, the railroad bridge, and many of the public buildings and private dwellings.

Co-operating with the army under General Johnston, whose retreat from Harper's Ferry and subsequent manœuvres until he reached Winchester have been already alluded to, were two other columns of Confederate troops, thrown into Western Virginia with the object of subjecting that loyal district. One of these columns, estimated to number about ten thousand men, under the command of General R. S. Garnett, a Virginian, and formerly an officer of repute in the Federal service, had marched into the valley of Cheat River, the principal and eastern branch of the fork of the Monongahela. Garnett had his headquarters at Beverly, on the eastern side of the ridge called Laurel Hill, which lies parallel to the Alleghany range of mountains. Detachments of his command were distributed in various parts of Western Virginia, at Bealington, Buckhannon, Romney, and at points approaching Philippi and Grafton, which had been seized by the unionists under General Kelley.

The third column of secession troops, under the command of Wise, the former Governor of Virginia, had advanced from the extreme southwest of the State beyond the Greenbrier Mountains, into the valley of the Kanawha.

Johnston was thus to the east of the Alleghanies, between that range and the Blue Ridge, and so placed that he might co-operate either with the Confederate line extending from Manassas to the Potomac, or give aid to Garnett, who was not far from him, though on the other side of the mountains, while Wise was to act in co-operation with the whole to the extreme west beyond the Alleghanies.

General McClellan* having now, in

* General McClellan, on entering Virginia, issued these proclamations:

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO, GRAFTON (VA.), *June* 23, 1861.

"TO THE INHABITANTS OF WESTERN VIRGINIA: The army of this department, headed by Virginia troops, is rapidly occupying all Western Virginia. This is done in co operation with and in support of such civil authorities of the State as are faithful to the Constitution and laws of the United States. The proclamation issued by me under date of May 26, 1861, will be strictly maintained. Your houses, families, property, and all your rights will be religiously respected. We are enemies to none but armed rebels, and those voluntarily giving them aid. All officers of this army will be held responsible for the most prompt and vigorous action in repressing disorder and punishing aggression by those under their command.

"To my great regret I find that the enemies of the United States continue to carry on a system of hostilities prohibited by the laws of war among belligerent nations, and of course far more wicked and intolerable when directed against loyal citizens engaged in the defence of the common Government of all. Individuals and marauding parties are pursuing a guerrilla warfare, firing upon sentinels and pickets, burning bridges, insulting, and even killing citizens because of their Union sentiments, and committing many kindred acts.

"I do now, therefore, make proclamation and warn all persons that individuals or parties engaged in this species of warfare, irregular in every view which can be taken of it, thus attacking sentries, pickets, or other soldiers, destroying public or private property, or committing injuries against any of the inhabitants because of Union sentiments or conduct, will be dealt with in their persons and property according to the severest rules of military law.

"All persons giving information or aid to the public enemies will be arrested and kept in close custody; and all persons bearing arms, unless of known loyalty, will be arrested and held for examination.

"GEO. B. MCCLELLAN, Major-General U. S. A., "Commanding Department."

"TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF THE WEST: You are here to support the Government of your country, and protect the lives and liberties of your brethren, threatened

person, entered Western Virginia, from Ohio, disposed his force so as to counteract this combination of the Confederates for the subjection of the loyal valley of the Kanawha. He first sent a detachment, under the command of General Cox, up the Kanawha River to meet Wise advancing in that direction, and keep him in check, while he himself, with his main body, having reached Clarksburgh, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, marched directly from that place against the enemy under Garnett, encamped at Laurel Hill, near Beverly. At the same time a detachment was sent to Philippi to act with the Western Virginians there under Kelley, and move to Bealington in order to prevent the retreat of the enemy by the Cheat valley; another body of troops was despatched to West Union, in case they should strive to escape by that way over the Alleghanies and form a junction with Johnston at Winchester.

The only other means of retreat was through the Cheat Mountain Gap, above Beverly, which the self-reliant McClellan determined himself to close, by a victory which he confidently calculated upon.

Having reached Buckhannon on his march, and after some spirited skirmishes with the enemy's advance in that neighborhood, McClellan's scouts discovered a large body of the enemy, under Colonel Pegram, in an entrenched camp in Rich Mountain Gap of the Laurel Hill range. This position, twenty-six miles east from Buckhannon and four from Beverly, commanded the road to Staunton, a town situated to the west of the Alleghanies.

July 7.

After a thorough reconnoissance, McClellan sent a detachment under Colonel, now General, Rosencranz, to make a circuit through the woods and attack the position at Rich Mountain, while he himself led his main body against Garnett's principal camp at Laurel Hill.

After a long and rapid march, eight miles of which were through a dense

by a rebellious and traitorous foe. No higher or nobler duty could devolve on you, and I expect you to bring to its performance the highest and noblest qualities of soldiers—discipline, courage, and mercy.

"I call upon the officers of every grade to enforce the highest discipline, and I know that those of all grades, privates and officers, will display in battle cool, heroic courage, and will know how to show mercy to a disarmed enemy. Bear in mind that you are in the country of friends, not of enemies—that you are here to protect, not to destroy. Take nothing, destroy nothing unless you are ordered to do so by your general officers. Remember that I have pledged my word to the people of Western Virginia, that their rights in person and property shall be respected. I ask every one of you to make good this promise in its broadest sense.

"We have come here to save, not to upturn. I do not appeal to the fear of punishment, but to your appreciation of the sacredness of the cause in which we are engaged. Carry into battle the conviction that you are right and that God is on our side. Your enemies have violated every moral law; neither God nor man can sustain them. They have without cause rebelled against a mild and paternal Government; they have seized upon public and private property; they have outraged the persons of Northern men merely because they came from the North, and of Southern Union men merely because they loved the Union; they have placed themselves beneath contempt, unless they can retrieve some honor on the field of battle.

"You will pursue a different course; you will be honest, brave, and merciful; you will respect the right of private opinion; you will punish no man for opinion's sake. Show to the world that you differ from our enemies in these points of honor, honesty, and respect for private opinion, and that we inaugurate no reign of terror wherever we go.

"Soldiers, I have heard that there was danger here. I have come to place myself at your head, and share it with you. I fear now but one thing, that you will not find foemen worthy of your steel. I know that I can rely upon you. GEO. B. McCLELLAN, Maj.-Gen. Com'g."

July 11.

mountain forest and in a dark night with a severe storm of rain, Rosencranz halted his troops next morning in view of the enemy's pickets. The Federal force numbered sixteen hundred men; that of the secessionists, estimated at two thousand, was strongly entrenched on the west side of the mountain, at its foot. They had felled and "rolled whole trees from the mountain side and lapped them together, filling in with stones and earth from a trench outside," testifies General Rosencranz's guide, who thus gives an artless and interesting account of his personal experience in the battle.

"We started," he says, "about daylight, having first taken something to eat (but got nothing more until six o'clock next night, when some of them got a little beef), and turned into the woods on our right. I led, accompanied by Colonel Landor, through a pathless route in the woods, by which I had made my escape about four weeks before. We pushed along through the bushes, laurels, and rocks, followed by the whole division in perfect silence. The bushes wetted us thoroughly, and it was very cold. Our circuit was about five miles. About noon we reached the top of the mountain, near my father's farm. It was not intended that the enemy should know of our movements; but a dragoon with despatches from General McClellan, who was sent after us, fell into the hands of the enemy, and they thus found out our movements. They immediately despatched two thousand five hundred men to the top of the mountain with three cannon. They entrenched themselves with earth-works on my father's farm, just where we were to come into the road. We did not know they were there until we came on their pickets, and their cannon opened fire upon us. We were then about a quarter of a mile from the house, and skirmishing began. I left the advance and went into the main body of the army. I had no arms of any kind. The rain began pouring down in torrents, while the enemy fired his cannon, cutting off the tree-tops over our heads quite lively. They fired rapidly. I thought, from the firing, they had twenty-five or thirty pieces. We had no cannon with us. Our boys stood still in the rain about half an hour. The Eighth and Tenth then led off, bearing to the left of our position. The bushes were so thick we could not see out, nor could the enemy see us. The enemy's musket balls could not reach us. Our boys, keeping up a fire, got down within sight and then pretended to run, but they only fell down in the bushes and behind rocks. This drew the enemy from their entrenchments, when our boys let into them with their Enfield and Minié rifles, and I never heard such screaming in my life. The Nineteenth, in the mean time, advanced to a fence in a line with the breastworks, and fired one round. The whole earth seemed to shake. They then gave the Indiana boys a tremendous cheer, and the enemy broke from their entrenchments in every way they could. The Indiana boys had previously been ordered to fix bayonets. We could

hear the rattle of the iron very plainly as the order was obeyed. Charge bayonets was then ordered, and away went our boys after the enemy. One man alone stood his ground, and fired a cannon, until shot by a revolver. A general race for about three hundred yards followed through the bush, when our men were recalled and reformed in line of battle, to receive the enemy from the entrenchments at the foot of the mountains, as we supposed they would certainly attack us from that point; but it seemed that as soon as they no longer heard the firing of the cannon they gave up all for lost. They then deserted their works and took off whatever way they could. A reinforcement, which was also coming from Beverly to the aid of the two thousand five hundred, retreated for the same reason. We took all their wagons, tents, provisions, stores, and cannon, many guns which they left, many horses, mules, etc. In short, we got everything they had, as they took nothing but such horses as they were on. We found several of these in the woods. One hundred and thirty-five of the enemy were buried before I left. They were for the most part shot in the head, and hard to be recognized. Some six hundred, who had managed to get down to the river at Caplinger's, finding no chance of escape, sent in a flag of truce, and on Saturday morning they were escorted into Beverly by the Chicago cavalry, which had been sent after them, Gen. McClellan having in the mean time gone on there with his main column."

The enemy lost a hundred and fifty killed and about three hundred wounded and captured. The Federal loss was reported to have been but eighteen killed and some thirty-five wounded. The struggle lasted only forty minutes, when the enemy fled precipitately, abandoning everything, camp and camp equipage, provisions, artillery, and ammunition, to our victorious troops.

In the mean time, while Rosencranz was routing the enemy at Rich Mountain, General McClellan was advancing toward Beverly. He arrived at night before the enemy's fortified position at Laurel Hill, and waited but for the break of morning to plant his cannon on a commanding position and begin his attack. The morning came, and it was dis- **July 12.** covered that the enemy had fled, abandoning their strong position, which was occupied by a detachment of troops under General Morris, while McClellan himself delayed not a moment in pushing forward to Beverly to prevent their retreat in that direction.

The enemy thus headed off by the prompt movement of McClellan, were forced to countermarch and seek another outlet of escape. They now fled down the valley toward St. George. McClellan at once despatched Captain Benham, with a detachment from his own force, to join General Morris and the troops left in occupation of the enemy's abandoned camp, and followed the fugitives in rapid pursuit.

General McClellan, in his report of the action under Rosencranz, gave a **July 12.** characteristically terse yet comprehensive account of the victory:

"HEADQUARTERS DEPT. OF OHIO,
RICH MOUNTAIN, VA., *July* 12, 9 A. M.

"COLONEL E. D. TOWNSEND:

"We are in possession of all the enemy's works up to a point in sight of Beverly. We have taken all his guns, a very large amount of wagons, tents, etc.—everything that he had. A large number of prisoners were also taken, many of whom are wounded, and several of whom are officers. The enemy lost many killed. We have lost, in all, perhaps twenty killed and forty wounded, of whom all but two or three belong to the column under General Rosencranz, which turned the position of the enemy. The mass of the rebels escaped through the woods, entirely disorganized.

"Among the prisoners is Dr. Taylor, formerly of the army. Colonel Pegram was in command of the enemy's forces.

"General Rosencranz's column left camp yesterday morning, and marched eight miles through the mountains, reaching the turnpike two or three miles in the rear of the enemy, and defeated an advance force and captured a couple of guns. I had a position ready for twelve guns near the main camp, and as the guns were moving up, it was ascertained that the enemy had retreated.

"I am now pushing on to Beverly. A part of General Rosencranz's troops are now within three miles of it. Our success is complete, and almost bloodless. The behavior of our troops in action and toward the prisoners is admirable. * *

"G. B. MCCLELLAN, Maj.-Gen. Com."

McClellan's own movement on Beverly, though effected without a struggle with the enemy, was still more important than that of Rosencranz. The position which they had abandoned at Beverly, on the approach of the Federal troops, was considered of great importance naturally, and had been strengthened by elaborate works. These consisted of a line of entrenchments nearly a mile in extent, stretching on both sides of the main road which runs from Philippi to Beverly. Divided by this road they extended up the slopes of the hills on either side, and commanded one of the most important mountain passes. Rifle pits were dug to the depth of three feet, while the earth was thrown up so as to form breastworks to each, which were further protected by large bushes. Trees had been cut down and their trunks and branches so prepared and disposed as to form an abattis, which extended for several hundred yards in front of the approaches. On the summits of two commanding elevations of ground were built redoubts of logs and earth, with embrasures for six cannon and loopholes for musketry. Within the outer works were others, consisting of entrenchments with two salients for cannon. This was intended as a cover under which the enemy, in case he had been driven from his exterior fortifications, might make a stand. The work seemed so formidable, and the natural position of Beverly so strong, that if the secessionists had been disposed to hold their ground, it would probably have cost a severe struggle and great loss of life to have driven them from it.

General McClellan summed up the result with his usual conciseness:

"BEVERLY, *July* 13, 1861.

"COL. E. D. TOWNSEND, WASHINGTON, D. C.:

"The success of the day is all that I could desire. We captured six brass cannon, of which one is rifled, and all the enemy's camp equipage and transportation, even to his cups. The number of tents will probably reach two hundred, and more than sixty wagons. Their killed and wounded will amount to fully one hundred and fifty, with at least one hundred prisoners, and more coming in constantly. I know already of ten officers killed and prisoners. Their retreat was complete. I occupied Beverly by a rapid march. Garnett abandoned his camp early this morning, leaving much of his equipage. He came within a few miles of Beverly, but our rapid march turned him back in great confusion, and he is now retreating on the road to St. George. General Morris is to follow him up closely. I have telegraphed for the two Pennsylvania regiments at Cumberland to join General Hill at Rowlesburg. The General is concentrating all his troops at Rowlesburg, and will cut off Garnett's retreat near West Union, or, if possible, at St. George. I may say that we have driven out some ten thousand troops, strongly intrenched, with the loss of eleven killed and thirty-five wounded. Provision returns found here show Garnett's force to have been ten thousand men. They were Eastern Virginians, Georgians, Tennesseeans, and, I think, Carolinians. I trust that General Cox has by this time driven Wise out of the Kanawha Valley. In that case I shall have accomplished the object of liberating Western Virginia. I hope the General-in-Chief will approve of my operations.

"G. B. MCCLELLAN,

"Major-General Department of Ohio."

The good result of McClellan's prompt movement and possession of Beverly following the success of Rosencranz was soon manifest in the surrender of Gen. Pegram, who had been routed at Rich Mountain. This was thus announced by McClellan in his despatch to Washington:

"HEADQUARTERS, BEVERLY, VA., *July* 13, 1861.

"COL. E. D. TOWNSEND, WASHINGTON, D. C.:

"I have received from Colonel Pegram propositions for the surrender, with his officers and remnant of his command—say six hundred men. They are said to be extremely penitent, and determined never again to take up arms against the General Government. I shall have near nine hundred or one thousand prisoners to take care of when Colonel Pegram comes in. The latest accounts make the loss of the rebels in killed some one hundred and fifty.

"G. B. MCCLELLAN,

"Major-General Department of Ohio."

The correspondence which passed between the Confederate general and McClellan was as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS AT MR. KETTLE'S HOUSE,
"*Near Tygart's Valley River,*
Six miles from Beverly, July 12, 1861.

"TO 'COMMANDING OFFICER' OF NORTHERN FORCES, BEVERLY, VIRGINIA:

"SIR: I write to state to you that I

have, in consequence of the retreat of General Garnett, and the jaded and reduced condition of my command, most of them having been without food for two days, concluded, with the concurrence of a majority of my captains and field-officers, to surrender my command to you to-morrow as *prisoners of war.* I have only to add, I trust they will receive at your hands such treatment as has been invariably shown to the Northern prisoners by the South.

"I am, sir, your obedient servant,

"JOHN PEGRAM,

"Lieut.-Col. P. A. C. S. commanding."

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF OHIO,
BEVERLY, VA., *July* 13, 1861.

"JOHN PEGRAM, ESQ., STYLING HIMSELF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL P. A. C. S.:

"SIR: Your communication, dated yesterday, proposing to surrender as prisoners of war the force assembled under your command, has been delivered to me. As commander of this department, I will receive you and them with the kindness due to prisoners of war; but it is not in my power to relieve you or them from any liabilities incurred by taking arms against the United States. I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant, GEO. B. MCCLELLAN,

"Major-General U. S. A., Com. Dept."

General Garnett having fled from Beverly, and been turned by McClellan and Rosencranz, was forced to seek safety in the direction of St. George. General Morris, however, and Captain Benham followed close after him, and succeeding in coming up with him at Carrack's Ford, forced him to a fight, in which the Confederate commander lost his life, and his troops were once more dispersed. One who served under General Morris has given this account of the engagement:

"We entered the camp at Laurel Hill at ten A.M. on Friday, the 12th, and at eleven o'clock the Fourteenth Ohio and Seventh and Ninth Indiana regiments started in pursuit. The command pushed on about two miles south of Leedsville that night, and halted to rest from eleven P.M. till two A.M. At that early hour on Saturday morning, the force pushed forward in a pitiless rain-storm, guided by the baggage, tents, trunks, blankets, haversacks, knapsacks, and even clothing of the flying enemy. It was found by our advanced guard that the enemy, in striking off on the 'Leading Creek' road, had felled trees across it as they fled, to retard the movement of our artillery. Fortunately a guide directed our men into a cross road, which, though extremely rough, led again into the route of the enemy at some distance from the Beverly road, and this road for that distance was unobstructed. Reaching the enemy's track again, it was found necessary to keep relays of axe-men at work in advance to clear the road, and yet, in the face of the terrible storm, our gallant men literally cut their way through, handling their axes like heroes, and gaining on the enemy sensibly every hour.

"The road was a terribly rough one, and was rendered extremely muddy by the rain, and the passage of several thousand troops in front had not im-

proved its condition; but when it was found that the enemy had left the turnpike and struck off to the right over a mere wood-path, up and down the roughest hills, over rocks, and through a dense forest, hoping to discourage pursuit, there was still no flinching. The boys had no time to eat or rest, and thought nothing of such things—*they were after the enemy*, and with this incentive, and the prospect of a fight ahead, they performed one of the most severe marches of the war with an eager alacrity exhilarating to behold. This route led across the branches of the Cheat River several times, the men plunging through the streams with a dash, and hurrying forward with renewed zeal as the articles thrown away along the road began to indicate that the foe was so hard pushed that he must soon endeavor to make a stand.

"At the fourth ford, known as Carrack's Ford, we caught sight of the enemy. Some thirty or forty wagons were discovered in the river and at the banks of the ford, apparently stuck fast. As our column pushed rapidly forward across a level space, the Fourteenth Regiment, Colonel Stedman, in front, the teamsters called out that they would surrender. The position, however, looked so suspicious that the men were disposed in proper order, and skirmishers were thrown out toward the ford, the line moving down in fine order. Just as our advance was near the stream, and only about two hundred yards from a steep bluff rising on the other side, an officer was seen to rise from the bushes and give an order to fire, and immediately a volley, coming from the brow of the hill, followed by a very rapidly delivered fire from their artillery, announced the fact that the enemy had taken a stand on his own ground. The Fourteenth and Seventh Indiana formed under the fire, and with the utmost rapidity began to return it, our sharpshooters picking off numbers of the enemy, whose fire went almost entirely over the heads of our men, the shot from three rifled guns cutting off the trees from two to four feet over the heads of the troops in position. The Fourteenth Ohio, being nearest the ford, were almost exclusively aimed at, and for a while the iron hail above them was terrible, the roar of the guns across the river, the crashing of trees, shells bursting, and volley upon volley of musketry, making 'war's fell music' for at least twenty minutes. Yet the men stood like stones, and returned the fire with the greatest rapidity and the best of order. Not a man flinched. Meantime, Burnett's artillery came up and opened, and, under cover of their well-directed fire, the Seventh Indiana was directed to cross the river and climb the steep, almost perpendicular, face of the bluff, on the enemy's right. The order was in process of execution, and two companies had nearly scaled the cliff, when they were ordered to return, and Captain Benham directed them to move down the bed of the stream, under the bluff, and between, but below, the fire of both armies, and turn the enemy's right flank. No sooner said than it was undertaken. Colonel Dumont led his

men down the stream so rapidly, that the enemy were unable to bring their guns to bear upon them until they were concealed by the smoke and out of reach of the depression of the guns on the bluff. Meantime, the Fourteenth Ohio and the Ninth Indiana, with the artillery, kept up a brisk fire in front, until, with a cheer, Colonel Dumont's men scaled the lower bank on the enemy's right and poured in a volley. No sooner were our boys seen coming over the brink of the river bank, than the entire force of the enemy, variously estimated at from three thousand to four thousand, fled in the wildest confusion.

"On came the regiments and artillery from beyond the river, and our whole force joined in a hot pursuit. After leading along about a quarter of a mile, the road again crosses the stream, and at this point General Garnett endeavored vainly to stop his routed troops and rally them around him. Major Gordon, of the Seventh Indiana, leading the advance, reached the bank in pursuit among the first, and discovering a point from which fire could be effectively delivered, called up Captain Ferry's company of his regiment, and ordered them to fire. Garnett stood near the river bank, and fell, shot through the heart. A Georgia boy was the only one who fell near him. The panic-stricken forces of the enemy abandoned the dead body of the General, and fled up the hill in utter rout. They were pursued about two miles, when our exhausted men were recalled.

"General Garnett's body was brought to this place to-day, and properly cared for, and word has been sent to his friends that it is at their disposal."

McClellan, who is always reticent of speech, again pithily summed up the results of his campaign in these few words:

"HUTTONSVILLE VA., *July* 14, 1861.

"COLONEL E. D. TOWNSEND, ASSISTANT-ADJUTANT-GENERAL:

"General Garnett and his forces have been routed and his baggage and one gun taken. His army is completely demoralized. General Garnet was killed while attempting to rally his forces at Carrack's Ford, near St. George. We have completely annihilated the enemy in Western Virginia. Our loss is but thirteen killed and not more than forty wounded, while the enemy's loss is not far from two hundred killed, and the number of prisoners we have taken will amount to at least one thousand. We have captured seven of the enemy's guns in all. A portion of Garnett's forces retreated, but I look for their capture by General Hill, who is in hot pursuit. The troops that Garnett had under his command are said to be the crack regiments of Eastern Virginia, aided by Georgians, Tennesseeans, and Carolinians. Our success is complete, and I firmly believe that secession is killed in this section of the country.

"G. B. MCCLELLAN, Maj.-Gen. U. S. A."

McClellan at the same time proved himself not incapable of a warm sympathy with the soldier, and of a fervid expression of it, by this glowing tribute

to the courage and good conduct of his troops:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION, WESTERN VIRGINIA, BEVERLY, VA., July 19.

"SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF THE WEST:

"I am more than satisfied with you. You have annihilated two armies, commanded by educated and experienced soldiers, intrenched in mountain fastnesses, and fortified at their leisure. You have taken five guns, twelve colors, fifteen hundred stand of arms, one thousand prisoners, including more than forty officers. One of the two commanders of the rebels is a prisoner, the other lost his life on the field of battle. You have killed more than two hundred and fifty of the enemy, who has lost all his baggage and camp equipage. All this has been accomplished with the loss of twenty brave men killed and sixty wounded on your part. You have proved that Union men, fighting for the preservation of our Government, are more than a match for our misguided and erring brothers. More than this, you have shown mercy to the vanquished. You have made long and arduous marches, with insufficient food, frequently exposed to the inclemency of the weather. I have not hesitated to demand this of you, feeling that I could rely on your endurance, patriotism, and courage. In the future I may have still greater demands to make upon you—still greater sacrifices for you to offer. It shall be my care to provide for you to the extent of my ability; but I know now that by your valor and endurance you will accomplish all that is asked. Soldiers, I have confidence in you, and I trust you have learned to confide in me. Remember that discipline and subordination are qualities of equal value with courage. I am proud to say that you have gained the highest reward that American troops can receive—the thanks of Congress and the applause of your fellow-citizens.

"GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN, Maj.-Gen."

McClellan was, however, disappointed, notwithstanding his well-laid plan, in his expectation of cutting off completely the escape of the Confederate forces. General Hill had failed to intercept the fugitives at West Union and thus prevent their crossing the mountains. If McClellan's skilful strategy had not thus been thwarted by the incompetency or indifference of his subordinate, the result in Western Virginia might have justified his boast, that "secession was killed in that section of the country." This campaign, however, had been more brilliant and successful than that of any Federal general since the beginning of the war. He was soon called to a wider field, destined to be the scene of still greater deeds, it was hoped, as it was of graver duties and weightier responsibilities.

The enemy strove to console themselves for their defeat in Western Virginia by an attempt to diminish its gravity, and to exaggerate the strength of the Federal forces. A writer in one of their journals* gave this account of the battle of Rich Mountain:

"It is a sad pleasure to communicate

* The Richmond *Whig*.

to you a state of affairs in Northwestern Virginia that at first sight may appear disastrous, but which, upon closer examination, sheds many a ray of satisfaction and encouragement to our future career—satisfaction that our late ill success has lost to our State that portion which should never have been defended, and encouragement from the fact that our gallant boys fight with so much success against a thousand odds.

"Camp Garnett is situated in a gorge just beyond the pass that runs between Rich and another mountain. The low slope of this latter mountain retreats from the camp, and consequently does not command it; but the more perpendicular slope of Rich Mountain is adjacent to the position, and upon it there is an eminence that is considered the very key to Camp Garnett. On Tuesday last, Colonel Pegram, knowing the importance of this point, detached three companies (Buckingham Lee Guard, Rockbridge Guard, and Pryor Rifles) and one gun from the Lynchburgh Artillery, to secure the position at all hazards. They gained the height, and about ten o'clock had built a breastwork to the height of two logs; meanwhile the enemy, headed by the Union Mountaineers, had, by squads and companies, reached a point beyond the breastworks and a little more elevated. Immediately they commenced an attack upon our unfinished breastwork from the distance of fifteen hundred yards. They advanced, and fired with Minié rifles incessantly. No execution, however, was done with these arms. Our loss was at shorter distances from the deadly fire of our *brother* Virginians. Approaching within five hundred yards, they began to feel the fatal shots from our boys. At this and shorter distances they were mowed down like wheat before the blade. At every volley from us they fell back in confusion, but their overwhelming numbers pressed forward until they discharged their pieces in our very faces; then we thought retreat better than a foolhardy death, and each one sought safety in flight down the other side of the mountain.

"The whole force of the enemy was said to have been eight thousand. Three thousand advanced to the attack, while the rest were held in reserve. Part of the reserve occupied Rich Mountain, while part descended that mountain, crossed the pass, and occupied the side of the other mountain, not far from the road—thus being on both sides of the road, in order, I suppose, to cut off Colonel Pegram, if he should attempt to retreat to Beverly. Our whole force in the engagement was two hundred and fifty. We held the enemy in check with this little handful for an hour and a half. Leonidas, with his three hundred Spartans, could have done no more. Our loss was, considering all the circumstances, comparatively small—sixty will cover the whole. The Buckingham Lee Guard suffered most severely, having thirty men, together with Captain Irving and Lieutenant Boyd, killed. Captain Curry, of the Rockbridge Guard, and Captain Anderson, of the Lynchburgh Artillery, were also among the killed.

Four hundred of the enemy found a merited doom in death.

"The battle began at half-past one, and ended at three. At sunset, report says that Colonel Pegram led six companies out from his camp up Rich Mountain to retake his position, but mistaking his way he missed his mark, and told his men to save themselves as best they could—he would return and bring out the regiment. In this latter attempt he was taken prisoner. Many of his men cut through the enemy, and came up with our regiment on its retreat. This is the last we know of the affair.

"Now for the movements of our (the Forty-fourth) regiment. That morning (the 11th) we resumed our march at Beverly from Staunton to Laurel Hill, and had advanced five miles, when Colonel Scott received a despatch from Colonel Pegram, urgently begging for assistance. Colonel Scott faced about, marched back to Beverly, and took a road almost at right angles for Rich Mountain. Within three miles of Rich Mountain he heard the firing, and advanced at quick time to the scene of action. Arriving there at three o'clock, when the firing had almost ceased, he halted in the mountain path. And upon his six hundred unconscious men the reserve of the enemy were looking down from each mountain. They must have mistaken us for friends, or our destruction would have been certain. Colonel Scott was not aware of the proximity of the enemy until he sent forward a scout (Lipford, of Fluvanna) to reconnoitre. This scout being shot, he immediately ordered a retreat. Sending on the baggage train, he returned to Beverly. Here he halted an hour, and resumed his march toward the Cheat Mountains. After two nights' and a day's march we reached Greenbrier River, at which place (Saturday morning) I left the camp, on special detail, for Richmond."

CHAPTER XXXI.

Maryland still a source of inquietude. Successor to General Butler.—Failure of Cadwalader.—Major-General Banks.—Birth.—Early Education.—At work in a Factory.—Ambitious Youth.—Apprentice to a Machinist.—Dramatic Tastes.—Amateur Theatricals.—A public Lecturer.—Editor of a Paper.—Politician.—Member of the Legislature.—Shifting of his Profession.—A Machinist turned Lawyer.—Speaker of Massachusetts House of Representatives.—A Democrat. Member of Congress—Abandonment of Party.—A Reviser of the Constitution.—A Republican.—Speaker of Congress.—Governor of Massachusetts.—Retirement from Public Life.—Manager.—Director of Illinois Central Railroad.—Removal to Chicago.—Martial qualities—Appointed Major-General.—In command of the Department of Annapolis.—Personal Appearance and Character.—Energy in Maryland.—Arrest of Kane.—Kane's Conduct.—Action of Police.—Justification of the Arrest of Kane.—Protest of Police Commissioners.—Rejoinder of Banks.—Suspicion of the Loyalty of Police Commissioners.—Discovery of Concealed Arms.—Arrest of Police Commissioners—Good effect upon the Unionists.—Provost-Marshal.—Martial Law.—Relief of Baltimore.—A new Police Marshal.—The Federal Troops withdrawn from the City.—Stringent orders.—Maryland and Baltimore secured to Federal Authority.

MARYLAND continued to be a source of great inquietude to the Federal
1861. Government. General Butler had apparently succeeded, when in command of that department, by his prompt energy, in keeping the restless secessionists in awe, and the less active unionists in courage. On his removal, however, to Fortress Monroe, his successor, Cadwalader, either by a too great disposition to conciliate, or with too little force to subject, allowed a freer scope to the seditious, and gave a proportionate check to the loyal.

The Federal authority, however, was
June 10. now represented by a man who had the capacity as well as the resolution to make it respected. This was Major-General Banks, who had been appointed to the command of the department of Annapolis, with his headquarters in Fort McHenry, at Baltimore.

Nathaniel Prentiss Banks was born in Waltham, Massachusetts, on the 30th of January, 1816. In common with most New England youths of whatever origin, he was sent to the public school of the State, where he made fair progress in the elements of a good English education. As his father, however, who was the overseer of a cotton factory, was forced to be frugal, and to economize both time and money, he withdrew his son at an early period from school and set him to work under his own eye. Anxious to be something more than a mere operative, tied down to the unvarying routine of the day's labor, the lad sought, by apprenticing himself to a machinist, a wider scope for the exercise of his faculties.

Having a taste for dramatic entertainments, he got up, by the aid of his comrades, for the amusement of his leisure hours, theatrical representations, in which he assumed the leading parts, and with such success, that some of his friends would have persuaded him to become



an actor by profession. He, however, resisted their inducements and his own natural inclinations, and confined his public performances to the stage of the lecture-room. He became quite noted in the neighborhood as a holder forth at lyceums, temperance societies, and political meetings. With the literary culture thus acquired in the course of his career as a lecturer, he was emboldened to assume the editorship of the newspaper of his native village. His new functions necessarily involved an interest in politics, and becoming a political advocate he was rewarded by his Democratic allies with an appointment in the custom-house at Boston, under the administration of President Polk. He, at the same time, continued his advocacy of the Democratic cause by occasional speeches at political meetings, where he was always a prominent and favorite speaker.

In 1849, Banks was elected a representative of his native district to the Legislature of Massachusetts, and was entered on the roll of members as a "machinist." He, however, soon, with characteristic American versatility, shifted from trade to a profession, for in the very next year he was recorded as a "lawyer."

In 1851, he was elected speaker of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, by the coalition, of Democrats and Free-soilers, of which he had become one of the ablest and most prominent advocates. In the succeeding year he was again chosen speaker by the same combination, and afterward elected a member of the United States Congress. During the very first session of congressional service, Banks abandoned his Democratic allies, by voting against the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and thus became more exclusively a free-soiler.

During the summer of 1853 he presided over the convention summoned to revise the constitution of the State of Massachusetts; in the next year he was again elected to Congress, though at this time by a coalition between the American (Know Nothing) and Republican parties, his old allies the Democrats having forsaken him as he had them. He was now adopted by the Republicans as their candidate for speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress. A contest ensued, which lasted for two months, at the close of which Banks was finally chosen by a plurality of votes. Notwithstanding the vigorous opposition to his election, his conduct in this trying position was such as to secure, at the close of the session, an emphatic vote of thanks for the acceptable manner with which he had performed his duties.

He was again elected a member of the succeeding Congress, and in 1857, having been nominated both by the "Americans" and "Republicans," was chosen Governor of Massachusetts. So thoroughly had he won the good opinion of his fellow-citizens, that he was elected to the same high office for three successive years. His political friends were again preparing to secure for him the governorship, when they were surprised and disappointed by the announcement of

his intention to retire forever from political life.

His abilities as an administrative officer were so remarkable, that the Illinois Central Railroad Company determined to secure them, and appointed him their manager-director. On receiving this lucrative appointment he removed to Chicago, and had entered upon the performance of his new duties when the present civil war broke out.

While the chief executive officer of Massachusetts, and *ex officio* commander of the State forces, he had exhibited great interest in military matters, and much aptitude in their conduct. Commended thus by his martial tastes and reputed military acquirements, and favored by the party in power, of which May 30. he was a resolute ally, he was appointed major-general, and received the command of the department of Annapolis, June 10. where his energetic proceedings, in checking secession in Maryland, will now be related.

General Banks, though possessed of little military experience, has qualities which naturally fit him to command an army of volunteers. He has a happy faculty of organization and remarkable administrative skill. He can readily shift from one sphere of duty to another, however diverse, while with great power of concentration he seems so to devote himself to each fresh vocation as thoroughly to master it. In the full vigor of a manly prime, with a physical structure capable of much endurance, great activity of body and mind, a quick perception and tenacious industry, much knowledge of men and experience as a political leader, General Banks seemed likely to become a hardy campaigner, a prompt tactician, a persistent antagonist, and a commander who, honored and obeyed by his soldiers, would lead them to victory.

General Banks, on assuming command in Maryland, at once proceeded to take measures for the effectual suppression of the secession movement, which, during the mild administration of General Cadwalader, had again made much progress in the State, and especially in the city of Baltimore.

His first step was to arrest* George P. Kane, marshal of the police of Baltimore. It seems strange that this official, whose complicity with the secessionists could not be doubted, should have been so long allowed to exercise his functions, which he was evidently directing to the advantage of the enemies of the Federal

* In this and other cases of arrest, frequently occurring, of treasonable and suspected persons, the privilege of the *habeas corpus* was denied, the writ having been suspended by President Lincoln. This unusual exercise of authority gave rise to much discussion. Some contended that the President had exceeded his constitutional powers, while others claimed that he had kept within the limits of his legal prerogative. Among the former was the chief-justice of the United States, Taney, who had granted a writ of *habeas corpus* to John Merryman, a notable citizen of Baltimore, who had been arrested on suspicion of political offence. General Cadwalader, however, had refused obedience on the ground that he had been authorized by President Lincoln to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*. Chief-Justice Taney rejoined with an order of attachment for contempt of court against the General, who, however, refused admittance to the marshal attempting to serve it. Thereupon Judge Taney made an elaborate and learned statement to the court, in which he argued that the President had transcended his authority in suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*, and that Congress alone possessed that power. There were, however, other able jurists who fully justified the President's action.

Government. As early as the attack by the Baltimore mob on the Massachusetts soldiers, he had telegraphed to

April 19.

Bradley T. Johnson, holding a command in the Confederate army, declaring that the streets of the city were "red with blood," and emphatically urging him to come with his men to meet the Northern troops who were expected, while he boastingly said, "We will fight them, and whip them, or die."

Kane, it could not be questioned, was keeping up a constant correspondence with the secession leaders, and was preparing to organize in Baltimore a movement to oppose the Federal authorities and co-operate with the enemy. The police force under his control was so modified by changes among the men, or by influences brought to bear upon them, that they were ready to do the bidding of the marshal and carry out his insurrectionary plans. Arms had been obtained by Kane and secreted at the headquarters and the stations of the police, and it seemed that he was only awaiting a favorable opportunity to rise with his whole force and begin an insurrection, which it was hoped might wrest Baltimore from the Federal authority.

June 27.

Banks accordingly determined to arrest the marshal. Eighteen hundred men marched from Fort McHenry into Baltimore with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets, just before daybreak. "The men," wrote a lively correspondent,* "wore their cartridge boxes, in which were a few rounds, but no knapsacks. They knew, therefore, that serious work was expected, and that they had not far to go to find it. They had marched a square, when a policeman, in his cool summer uniform, and swinging his long baton, was observed crossing the street ahead. Instantly the head of the column opened, the body swept on, and the policeman, riveted to the ground in astonishment at this manœuvre, unknown to the tactics of either Matsell or Vidocq, found himself swallowed up and borne along in the resistless advance. Two squares ahead another policeman was discovered. Again the column opened and another was engulfed. By the time the column reached the residence of the marshal, not less than fifty-seven of the vigilant guardians of the night had been thus swallowed up; but when they found that their captors had halted at the door of the marshal's house, they began to smell a rat of the largest possible dimensions. An officer now rang the bell. After some delay a night-capped head popped out of the window, and the well-known voice of Marshal Kane inquired, in a rather gruff tone, what was wanted. The officer blandly replied that he himself was the article just then in demand. 'Hum, hum,' said the marshal, never at a loss for a joke, 'I'll supply that demand.'

"Did the vision of escape cross the marshal's mind? Possibly. It is certain that he skipped with agility to a back window, raised the curtain and looked out. Alas! the moonbeams played upon five hundred glittering bayonets in the yard below. The game was up, and the

* New York *Herald*.

marshal knew he must submit to his inevitable fate. He descended the stairs and opened the front door. 'Good God!' he exclaimed to the officer in command, 'why did you not bring five or six more regiments and some artillery? If you had sent me a note and a carriage, I would have come without all this fuss.'

"It was daybreak then, and the column moved briskly forward, and the marshal enjoyed the rare sight of sunrise from the ramparts of Fort McHenry. The policemen were released as soon as the gate of the fortress was closed upon the marshal, and, returning to the city, soon spread the tidings like wildfire throughout the town. It is said that General Banks was convinced that the rebels in the city would rise in a few days unless this step was taken."

General Banks justified this arrest in a proclamation.*

The commissioners, forming a board of reputable citizens of Baltimore, upon whom the control of the police devolved by law, protested emphatically against this action of General Banks as illegal.*

* "HEADQUARTERS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANNAPOLIS, *June* 27, 1861.

"By virtue of the authority vested in me, and in obedience of orders as Commanding General of the Military Department at Annapolis, I have arrested, and do now detain in custody, Mr. George P. Kane, chief of police of the city of Baltimore. I deem it proper, at this the moment of arrest, to make a formal and public declaration of the motive by which I have been governed in this proceeding. It is not my purpose, neither is it in consonance with my instructions, to interfere in any manner whatever with the legitimate government of the people of Baltimore or Maryland. I desire to support the public authorities in all appropriate duties in preserving the peace, protecting the property, in obeying and enforcing every municipal regulation and public statute consistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States and Maryland. But unlawful combinations of men organized for resistance to such laws, to provide hidden deposits of arms and ammunition, to encourage contraband traffic with men at war with the Government, and who, while enjoying its protection and privileges, stealthily wait an opportunity to combine their means and forces with those in rebellion against its authority, are not among the recognized or legal rights of any class of men, and cannot be permitted under any form of government. Such combinations are well known to exist in this Department, and the mass of the citizens of Baltimore and of Maryland loyal to the Constitution and the Union are neither parties to nor responsible for them. But the chief of police is not only cognizant of these facts, but in contravention of his duty and in violation of law, he is, by direction or indirection, both witness and protector to the transactions and parties engaged therein Under such circumstances the Government cannot regard him otherwise than as the head of an armed force hostile to its authority, and acting in concert with its avowed enemies; for this reason, superseding his official authority, as well as of the commissioners of police, I have arrested, and do now detain him in custody of the United States; and, in further pursuance of my instructions, I have appointed for the time being, Colonel Kenly, of the First Maryland Regiment of Volunteers, provost marshal in and for the city of Baltimore, to superintend and cause to be executed the police laws provided by the Legislature of Maryland, with the aid and assistance of the subordinate officers of the police department, and he will be respected accordingly.

"Whenever a loyal citizen shall be otherwise named for the performance of his duty, who will execute the laws impartially and in good faith to the Government of the United States, the military of this Department will render to him that instant and willing obedience which is due from every good citizen to the Government.

"NATH. P. BANKS, Major-General Commanding Dept."

* The following was the protest of the commissioners:

"*Whereas*, The laws of the State of Maryland give the whole and exclusive control of the police force of the city to the Board of Police organized and appointed by the General Assembly; and not only are the said Board **June**
bound to exercise the powers vested in and discharge **27.**
the duties imposed upon them, but all other persons are positively prohibited, under heavy penalties, from interfering with them in so doing; and whereas, there is no power given to the Board to transfer the control over any portion of the public force to any person or persons whomsoever, other than the officers of police appointed by them, in pursuance of the express provisions of the law, and acting under their orders; and whereas, by the orders of Major-General Banks, an officer of the United States Army commanding in this city, the marshal of police has been arrested, the Board of Police superseded, and an officer of the army has been appointed provost marshal, and directed to assume the command and control of the police force of the city; therefore be it

The assertion in their protest, that the active operation of the police law was suspended by the arrest of its chief executive officer and his acolytes, was met by a counter-declaration* of General Banks in his instructions to the provost marshal, Kenly, whom he had ap pointed.

It now was suspected that the board of commissioners of police, who had protested so earnestly against the arrest of Kane and the deposition of the police, were implicated in the conspiracy of the marshal and his men, to overthrow the Federal authority. This suspicion was confirmed by the discovery of a large quantity of arms and munitions of war concealed at the headquarters of police, under the control of the commissioners themselves.

In addition to what was found secreted at the various public stations, there was discovered at the headquarters the following formidable collection of implements and munitions of war: Two six-pound iron guns; two four-pound iron guns; half ton assorted shot; half keg shot for steam gun; one hundred and twenty flint muskets; two Hall's carbines; forty-six rifles; three double-bar-

"*Resolved*, That this Board do solemnly protest against the order and proceedings above referred to, of Major-General Banks, as an arbitrary exercise of military power, not warranted by any provision of the Constitution or laws of the United States, or of the State of Maryland, but in derogation of all of them.

"*Resolved*, That while the Board, yielding to the force of circumstances, will do nothing to increase the present excitement, or obstruct the execution of such measures as Major-General Banks may deem proper to take on his own responsibility for the preservation of the peace of the city and of public order, they cannot, consistently with their views of official duty, and of the obligations of their oaths of office, recognize the right of any of the officers or men of the police force, as such, to receive orders or directions from any other authority than from this Board.

"*Resolved*, That in the opinion of the Board, the forcible suspension of their functions suspends at the same time the active operation of the police law, and puts the officers and men off duty for the present, leaving them subject, however, to the rules and regulations of the service as to their personal conduct and deportment, and to the orders which this Board may see fit hereafter to issue, when the present illegal suspension of their functions shall be removed.

"CHARLES HOWARD, President, WILLIAM H. GATCHELL, CHARLES D. HINKS, JOHN W. DAVIS, GEORGE W. BROWN, Mayor, and *ex officio* member of the Board."

* "My attention," wrote the General to his provost marshal, "has been called to a resolution purporting to have been this day (June 27) passed by the late board of police commissioners, expressing the opinion that 'the suspension of their functions suspended at the same time the operations of the police law, and puts the officers and men off duty for the present.'

"You will take special notice, sir, that by my proclamation of this day neither the law nor the officers appointed to execute the laws are affected in any manner whatever, except as it operates upon the members of the board of commissioners and the chief of police, whose functions were and are suspended. Every part of the police law is to be enforced by you, except that which refers to the authority of the commissioners and chief of police; and every officer and man, with the exception of those persons above named, will be continued in service by you, in the positions they now occupy, and with the advantages they now receive, unless one or more shall refuse to discharge their duties.

"If any police officer declines to perform his duty, in order to avoid the anarchy which it was the purpose of the commissioners to bring upon the city, by incorrectly stating that it had been by my act deprived of its police protection, you will select, in conference with such of the public authorities as will aid you, good men and true to fill their places and discharge their duties.

"You will also take especial notice that no opinion, resolution, or other act of the late board of commissioners can operate to limit the effective force of the police law, or to discharge any officer engaged in its execution. If any provision of the law fails to be executed, it will be from the choice of the city; and if any officer, except such as are herein named, leaves the service, it will be upon his own decision.

"You will cause these views to be made known as the rule of your conduct.

"I repeat my declaration and my purpose—no intervention with the laws or government of the city whatever is intended, except to prevent secret, violent, and treasonable combinations of disloyal men against the Government of the United States."

relled shot guns; eight single-barrelled shot guns; nine horse pistols; sixty-five small pistols; one hundred and thirty-two bullet moulds; four cwt. balls; eight dirk knives; five swords; eight kettle drums; one lot of screw drivers; one box musket cartridges; thirty-three gun coats; forty-four copper flasks; eighteen muskets; one hundred and seventeen canisters; one lot flannel bags; twelve old muskets; twenty-five Minié muskets; forty-six Hall's carbines; one lot of slow matches; forty-eight thousand percussion caps; two kegs ball cartridges; one hundred rifle ball cartridges; seven hundred and thirty-five Hall's rifle cartridges; three thousand one hundred and sixty-two round ball cartridges; six thousand five hundred and twenty long ball Minié cartridges; seven canister shot; twenty small flasks; one ball, twelve-pounder, labelled "from Fort Sumter to Colonel Kane."

General Banks accordingly did not hesitate to arrest the police commissioners themselves.*

These decided measures of General Banks seemed to have an inspiriting effect upon the Union men of Baltimore who rallied around him. At their suggestion he relieved the city from the control of martial law, and substituted a citizen of Baltimore, George R. Dodge, Esquire, as marshal, in place of Colonel John P. Kenly, one of the officers of the Federal army, who, as provost marshal, had joined to his military duties the civic functions of chief of police.

General Banks gave proof of his disposition to recognize the right of self-government by this new appointment, which he had made, as he stated, "at the suggestion and upon the advice of very many influential and honorable citizens of Baltimore, representing its different sections, parties, and interests. And in order that public opinion shall have proper influence, and the civil authority due weight in all municipal affairs, it is my desire," he added, "and expectation, that the marshal shall receive suggestion, advice, and direction from them and other loyal citizens, as from all the departments of the government of the city, and in all respects to administer

* On making the arrest General Banks issued this proclamation:

July 1. "The headquarters under the charge of the Board, when abandoned by the officers, resembled in some respects a concealed arsenal. After public recognition and protest against the suspension of their functions, they continued their sessions daily. Upon a forced and unwarrantable construction of my proclamation of the 28th ultimo, they declared that police law was suspended, and the police officers and men put off duty for the present, intending to leave the city without any police protection whatever.

"They refused to recognize the officers and men necessarily selected by the provost marshal for its protection, and hold, subject to their orders now and hereafter, the old police force, a large body of armed men, for some purpose not known to the government, and inconsistent with its peace or security.

"To anticipate any intentions or orders on their part, I have placed temporarily a portion of the force under my command within the city.

"I disclaim, on the part of the Government I represent, all desire, intention, and purpose to interfere in any manner whatever with the ordinary municipal affairs of the city of Baltimore. Whenever a loyal citizen can be named who will execute its police laws with impartiality, and in good faith to the United States, the military force will be withdrawn from the central parts of the municipality at once. No soldiers will be permitted in the city except under regulations satisfactorily to the marshal; and if any so admitted violate the municipal law, they shall be punished by the civil law, by the civil tribunals.

every department of the police law in full freedom, for the peace and prosperity of the city, and the honor and perpetuity of the United States."

General Banks, at the same time, withdrew the Federal troops from the Custom House, Post Office, City Hall, and other public buildings and squares where they had been posted, while he was executing these decided measures for the suppression of the supposed insurrectionary movement.

The soldiers accordingly broke up their camps within the city and resumed their former position in the suburbs. The officers, moreover, were ordered not to allow a man to visit Baltimore unless with good cause and without arms, while the soldiers were counselled to good conduct and reminded that whoever violated "the ordinances established for the government of the city, will be punished by the civil tribunals according to the laws of the State."

The prompt and energetic action of General Banks seemed effectually to have checked every attempt at insurrection, and so to have secured the city of Baltimore and the State of Maryland to the Federal power, that the Union sentiment, wherever it might exist, had free scope for development and expression.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Meeting of Congress in Extraordinary Session.—Importance—Peculiar character.—Message of President Lincoln.—Its style.—Its purport.—Justification of his conduct.—Action in regard to Fort Sumter explained.—His suggestions and demands.—Regret at being forced into the War.—Report of Secretary of War.—His suggestions. Report of Secretary of Treasury.—His Financial Schemes.—Report of Secretary of Navy.—His statements of the Naval Force and suggestions for additional strength.—The unity of Congress.—Irrelevant Discussion effectually checked.—General war spirit.—Few exceptions.—Union of all parties.—Extremists.—Breckenridge in opposition. Others like him.—Eccentricity of Abolitionists.—Mr. Lovejoy's motion tabled.—The President's action sanctioned.—Superfluous Legislation.—Division of responsibility.—Heroic remedies.—The Military Acts.—Great Vote of Men and Money.—The President's demands exceeded.—The President apologizes for the largeness of his demands.—The Act of Confiscation.—Reluctance of Lincoln to sign.—Unanimity of Congress.—The small Majority of Opponents.—Protest against the Treason Bill.—The Integrity of the Union declared to be the object of the War.—Expulsion of Southern Members of Congress.—Adjournment of Congress.

1861. ON the Fourth of July, Congress assembled in extraordinary session in accordance with the proclamation of the President. This Congress, apart from its important action, will be always memorable as the first—would that it were the last!—in which the United States was not represented in its unity. With the exception of Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Maryland, whose allegiance, though divided, still clung to the sovereignty of the Union, all the slave States contumaciously withheld their representatives from the national Legislature, and gave their fealty to a government arbitrarily created by them-

selves, denied by the United States, and unrecognized by the world.

On the day after the assembling of July 5. Congress, President Lincoln sent in his message to the two Houses. This document was characteristic of its author, being forcible in argument though somewhat inelegant in expression, and exhibited such a strong sense of constitutional obligations, that it was received as a welcome indication of his honesty of purpose.

The President began by alluding to the condition of the country at the time of his inauguration, and declared that his policy "looked to the exhaustion of all peaceful measures before a resort to stronger ones. It sought only to hold the public places and property not already wrested from the Government, and to collect the revenue; relying for the rest on time, discussion, and the ballot box."

Concerning his action in regard to Fort Sumter, he said that he had determined at first, after consulting with his cabinet and the commander-in-chief, to abandon all intention of making an effort to hold it. Failing, however, in an attempt to reinforce Fort Pickens, in consequence of delay in the arrival of orders, by which it was intended to manifest the "policy" of the Government, he was driven to the necessity of appearing to relieve Fort Sumter. "It was believed," said the President, "that to abandon that position under the circumstances, would be utterly ruinous; that the *necessity* under which it was to be done would not be understood; that by many it would be construed as a part of a *voluntary* policy; that at home it would discourage the friends of the Union, embolden its adversaries, and go far to insure to the latter a recognition abroad; that, in fact, it would be our national destruction consummated."

The President thus resolved upon provisioning the garrison at Fort Sumter, which was threatened with starvation. While proceeding to execute this purpose, South Carolina inaugurated the civil war by bombarding the fort and forcing Major Anderson to surrender.

The President being thus driven to evoke the full war power of the Government, made a demand upon the country for troops. The call was only obeyed by the free States and Delaware. Virginia passed an ordinance of secession, but even before its passage seized the arsenal at Harper's Ferry and the navy-yard at Gosport. Referring to the attitude of neutrality which Kentucky proposed to maintain, the President called it "disunion completed." He admitted that in calling for troops, and suspending the *habeas corpus* act, he had exceeded his constitutional powers, and looked to Congress for indemnity. He was forced to choose between breaking one law, or seeing all the others violated with impunity, and chose the former as the least evil. His demands from Congress were summed up as follows:

"It is now recommended that you give the legal means for making this contest a short and decisive one; that you place at the control of the Government for the work at least four hun-

dred thousand men and $400,000,000. That number of men is about one tenth of those of proper ages, within the regions where, apparently, all are willing to engage; and the sum is less than a twenty-third part of the money-value owned by the men who seem ready to devote the whole. A debt of $600,000,000 now is a less sum per head than was the debt of our Revolution when we came out of that struggle, and the money-value in the country bears even a greater proportion to what it was then than does the population. Surely each man has as strong a motive now to preserve our liberties as each had then to establish them. A right result at this time will be worth more to the world than ten times the men and ten times the money."

The President then proceeded to show that there is not, and never was, any such thing as State sovereignty—touched upon the cases of Florida and Texas, and denied the principle of secession, which he called one of perpetual disintegration. He affirmed that the people in many of the seceded States were still in favor of the Union, and charged the seceding politicians with keeping out of view the rights of the people. Alluding to the resignations of officers of the navy and army, he said that not one private soldier or sailor had resigned.

"Our popular Government," he continued, "has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have settled—the successful establishing and the successful administrating of it. One still remains. Its successful maintenance against a formidable internal attempt to overthrow it. It is now for them to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry an election can also suppress a rebellion; that ballots are the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets, and that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided, there can be no successful appeal back to bullets; that there can be no successful appeal except to ballots themselves at succeeding elections. Such will be a great lesson of peace, teaching men that what they cannot take by an election, neither can they take it by a war; teaching all the folly of being the beginners of a war."

Finally, the President regretted that he had been forced into this war, and emphatically declared that he would not betray the vast and sacred trust confided to him by a free people.

Accompanying the President's message were the reports of the several executive officers of the Federal Government.

The Secretary of War, Mr. Cameron, recommended that, in the enlistment of men to fill the additional regiments of the regular army, the term should be made for three years, and that a bounty of one hundred dollars be given to all who should receive an honorable discharge at the close of their service; that an appropriation be made for the reconstruction and equipment of railroads, the expense of maintaining and operating them, and also for the construction of additional telegraph lines and their appurtenances; that a special appropri-

ation be made for the reconstruction of the Long Bridge across the Potomac; that Congress consider the subject of a properly organized military tribunal, empowered to take cognizance of criminal offences, and to punish the guilty; also, the enlargement of the powers of the commissariat, and the better equipment of the army; that our troops should be supplied in part from private domestic factories, instead of from abroad. The Secretary further recommended a more liberal supply of improved arms to the militia of the States and Territories, and called attention to the system of discipline pursued at West Point. He concluded with a recommendation, that Congress should authorize the appointment of an Assistant Secretary of War, and the requisite appropriation for an extra force of clerks.

The report of Mr. Chase and the financial scheme it developed were considered very able.

The Secretary of the Treasury asked for $320,000,000. He believed that $80,000,000 should be sought by taxation, to meet the ordinary demands for 1862, for which actual appropriations had been made amounting to $65,887,-849 34, while interest, estimated at $9,000,000 and $5,000,000, toward the reduction and final extinguishment of the public debt, would complete the amount. He proposed to meet this demand by a duty of 2½ cents per pound laid on brown sugar, 3 cents per pound on clayed sugar, 4 cents per pound on loaf and other refined sugars, 2½ cents per pound on the syrup of sugar-cane, 6 cents per pound on candy, 6 cents per gallon on molasses, and 4 cents per gallon on sour molasses; and suggested also that a duty of 5 cents per pound be imposed on coffee, 15 cents per pound on black tea, and 20 cents per pound on green tea. The collection of internal duties on stills and distilled liquors, ale and beer, tobacco, bank-notes, spring-carriages, silver-ware and jewelry, and on legacies was recommended, although it was suggested that, if preferred by Congress, the plan of taxation of real and personal property would achieve the same result. The use of the confiscated property of the rebels, together with a reduction, for a time at least, of 10 per cent. upon salaries and wages paid by the Federal Government, was also recommended. To raise the $240,000,000 needed for the thorough prosecution of the war, the Secretary proposed a national loan of not less than $100,000,000, to be issued in the form of Treasury notes, bearing a yearly interest of 7 3-10 per centum (an interest equal to one cent a day on $50, and therefore very easy of calculation), and in sums of $50, $100, $500, $1,000, and $5,000; books to be opened at the Treasury Office in Washington, and at various other offices throughout the States, and sums subscribed to be paid in cash. In case the national loan should prove insufficient, it was proposed that bonds, or certificates of debt, be issued to lenders in the country, or in any foreign country, not exceeding in the aggregate $100,000,000, to be made redeemable at the pleasure of the Government after a period not

exceeding 30 years, and bearing an interest not exceeding 7 per cent. To supply the full amount required for the service of the fiscal year, it was recommended that provision be made for the issue of Treasury notes for $10 or $20 each, payable one year from date, to an amount not exceeding $50,000,000—these notes bearing interest at the rate of 3 65–100 per cent., and exchangeable at the will of the holder for Treasury notes with 7 3–10 per cent. interest, or exchequer bills.

The Secretary of the Navy asked Congress to sanction the extraordinary measures which were necessarily taken to meet the difficulties treachery had thrown in the way of the Department. Purchases and contracts had been made, the authority for which was found in the exigencies of the times. The naval force in commission was stated to have been augmented to 82 vessels, carrying upward of 1,100 guns, and a complement of about 13,000 men, exclusive of officers and marines. The Naval Academy, formerly at Annapolis, temporarily removed to Newport, Rhode Island, was reported to be without its authorized number of pupils, one third of the districts having neglected or refused to be represented, and there being no legal way of supplying this deficiency from other districts. It was suggested that Congress should provide for the deficit, and that for a period, at least, the numbers in the school should not be increased until there was a full complement of officers. The Secretary recommended that an officer should be appointed, to be known as the director of ordnance, who should, under the Department, have the immediate supervision of the manufacture, description, and supply of ordnance for the navy, in all its details. A change or modification of the law regulating the navy ration was advised, by which the vessels stationed along the coast might be regularly supplied with nourishing food. An increase of the number of surgeons and assistant surgeons was recommended; also an increase of the marine corps, with, perhaps, an entire reorganization of the corps; also, the appointment of a proper and competent board to inquire into the expediency of iron-clad steamers or floating batteries; also, an increase of the clerical force of the Department, together with the appointment of an Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

The Congress now in session applied itself with directness and unity of purpose to the momentous interests of the country, unexampled in its previous history. One of the very first acts of the House of Representatives was to check all irrelevant discussion by adopting a resolution "only to consider bills and resolutions concerning military and naval appropriations for the Government and financial affairs connected therewith, and that all bills of a private character, and all other bills and resolutions not directly connected with the raising of revenue and military and naval affairs shall be referred without debate to the appropriate committees, to be considered at the next regular session of Congress." To this resolution, however, was added an amendment to admit the considera-

tion of questions of a judicial character. Both senators and representatives, with but few exceptions, responding to the universal war spirit of the country, waived all partisan objects and animosities, and with great unanimity intrusted the Government with the power and means of maintaining its authority. Democrats and Republicans were thus found in friendly union. Those who had so long been arrayed against each other in political camps were now mustered under the same banner. A few there were who, from incompatibility and other causes, resisted all fusion with this general political combination; others, though disposed to union from similarity of principle, were yet too impetuously in advance to be always within the common control.

Breckenridge, the senator from Kentucky, and former Vice-President, hardly making an effort to conceal that sympathy with the seceding States which his subsequent conduct has more clearly manifested, opposed every measure of the Government. Other senators and representatives from border States of divided allegiance were alike bold in their expression of opposition. Some even from the Northern States, either from a perverse partisanship or a weak loyalty, did not hesitate to resist the general patriotic action of their fellow-legislators.

An early indication was made of the eccentric tendencies of the extreme abolitionists. Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois, introduced a resolution declaring that it is no part of the duty of the army to capture and return fugitive slaves; also directing inquiry as to the expediency of repealing the fugitive slave law. This was promptly tabled by a vote of eighty-seven to sixty-two. The pertinacious member for Illinois, on a subsequent day, renewed his resolution, which he, however, modified by dropping the recommendation in regard to the fugitive slave law. His perseverance was rewarded by the passage of his resolution by a vote of ninety-two to fifty-five.

True to their pledge to confine themselves strictly to the business of the occasion, both houses of Congress proceeded directly and rapidly to pass various acts of immediate moment. The action of the President in his efforts to check the insurrection was duly confirmed and ratified, and his scruples and those of the country, in regard to measures confessedly unconstitutional, but universally acknowledged to be necessary, removed. Some publicists contended, it is true, that no such justification for the conduct of Mr. Lincoln was required, and that the action of Congress was supererogatory, as it could not make that legal which was in itself illegal. The first law of nations, as of individuals, that of self-preservation, and the plea of necessity, were sufficient to authorize or extenuate the President's action. Congress, however, was credited with the generous motive of desiring to share in the responsibility, whatever it might be, of the chief magistrate of the Union, who had applied an heroic remedy to save the state while apparently *in extremis*.

The most important proceeding, however, of Congress, about the relevancy and purport of which there could be no question, was the passage of an act authorizing the President to call into the field an army of five hundred thousand volunteers, to serve for three years, or during the war. At the same time an increase of the regular army was voted, and various acts were passed with the view of improving the condition and efficiency of the soldiers. Their pay, which before had been eleven dollars a month, was increased to thirteen.

The navy was no less amply provided for. The President was authorized to buy or charter as many merchant vessels as might be necessary to complete the blockade or check privateering. Twenty-three gun-boats, and twelve side-wheel steamers of light draught, and four first-class sloops of war were voted as additions to the navy, and bills passed to secure the proper number of sailors and marines for the manning of this expansive naval force.

The appropriations of money were equally liberal, amounting in all to the immense sum of five hundred millions, thus exceeding by a hundred millions the demand of President Lincoln, who, in his message, had asked for four hundred millions of money and four hundred thousand men, while he excused the apparent exorbitancy of his demand by a proof of its reasonableness. "That number of men," he said, "is about one-tenth of those of proper ages within the regions where apparently *all* are willing to engage; and the sum is less than a twenty-third part of the money-value owned by the men who seem ready to devote the whole. A debt of six hundred millions of dollars *now*, is a less sum per head than was the debt of our Revolution when we came out of that struggle; and the money-value in the country now bears even a greater proportion to what it was *then* than does the population. Surely each man has as strong a motive *now* to *preserve* our liberties as each had *then* to *establish* them."

The act, however, which will probably bear the most important part in the final issue of the war, was that entitled "An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes." This was proposed by Senator Trumbull, of Illinois, and adopted by a vote of thirty-three to six. The act is here given at length:

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That if, during the present or any future insurrection against the Government of the United States, after the President of the United States shall have declared, by proclamation, that the laws of the United States are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the power vested in the marshals by law, any person or persons, his heir, or their agent, attorney or employée, shall purchase or acquire, sell or give, any property of whatsoever kind or description, with intent to use or employ the same, or suffer the same to be used or employed, in aiding, abetting,

or promoting such insurrection or resistance to the laws, or any person or persons engaged therein; or if any person or persons being the owner or owners of any such property, shall knowingly use or employ, or consent to the use or employment of the same as aforesaid, all such property is hereby declared to be lawful subject of prize and capture wherever found, and it shall be the duty of the President of the United States to cause the same to be seized, confiscated, and condemned.

"SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That such prizes and capture shall be condemned in the district or circuit court of the United States having jurisdiction of the amount, or in admiralty in any district in which the same may be seized, or into which they may be taken and proceedings instituted.

"SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That the attorney-general, or any district attorney of the United States in which said property may at the time be, may institute the proceedings of condemnation, and in such case they shall be wholly for the benefit of the United States; or any person may file an information with such attorney, in which case the proceedings shall be for the use of such informer and the United States in equal parts.

"SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That whenever any person claiming to be entitled to the service or labor of any other person, under the laws of any State, shall employ such person in aiding or promoting any insurrection, or in resisting the laws of the United States, or shall permit him to be so employed, he shall forfeit all right to such service or labor, and the person whose labor or service is thus claimed shall be thenceforth discharged therefrom, any law to the contrary notwithstanding."

The President is reported to have signed this act of confiscation with great reluctance. It had, however, been passed by the Senate with wonderful unanimity, there being only a minority of six who voted against it. These were Breckenridge and Powell of Kentucky, Johnson of Missouri, Kennedy and Pearce of Maryland, and Polk of Missouri, men who either openly sympathized with the secessionists, or were little disposed to resist them.

The bill entitled "An act to define and punish certain conspiracies" also met with opposition from the same source. Not content with resisting it by their votes, nine senators, who composed the minority, entered their formal protest* against its passage.

* "PROTEST.—The undersigned members of the Senate dissent from the passage of the bill on the following grounds:

"The Government of the United States is a Government of specially delegated powers, and though treason is one of the highest crimes known to the law, it is a political offence.

"To guard against the abuses which, in times of high excitement had, in the history of England previous to the revolution of 1688, too often sacrificed able, virtuous, and innocent men on the charge of treason and kindred offences, unaccompanied by acts, the Constitution of the United States expressly defines the crime of treason in the following terms:

"'Art. 3, Sec. 3.—Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.'

"It further provides that 'no person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.'

While Congress proved its warlike spirit by rejecting without debate every conciliatory proposition for securing peace, it unanimously passed a resolution, declaring that the only object of the Government in prosecuting the war was to maintain the integrity and the unity of the entire country, and when these were secured, it should terminate. The senators and members of the House belonging to the Confederate States having been stigmatized by being expelled from Congress, both Houses finally adjourned on the 6th of August.

"The intent to restrict Congress in the creation of crimes of the nature created by this bill seems obvious, for in treason all are principals, and in any conspiracy of the kind stated in the bill, an overt act in pursuance of it, proved by two witnesses, would be treason against the United States.

"Thus the creation of an offence resting in intention alone, without overt act, would render nugatory the provisions last quoted, and the door would be open for those similar oppressions and cruelties which, under the excitement of political struggles, have so often disgraced the past history of the world.

"The undersigned can conceive no possible object in defining the crime of treason by our ancestors, and requiring proof by two witnesses to the same overt act, to justify the conviction of the accused, unless it be to restrict the power of Congress in the creation of a political crime kindred to treason, and charged as resting an intent, which would, if accompanied by an overt act, be treason.

"It matters not that the punishment prescribed in the law is not death but imprisonment, for the passage of the bill, though it might not affect the life of an innocent man, would give, from the uncertainty of the offence charged, and the proof requisite to sustain it, the utmost latitude to prosecutions founded on personal enmity and political animosity, and the suspicions as to the intention which they inevitably engender.

"J. A. Bayard, Delaware.
"John C. Breckenridge, Kentucky.
"L. W. Powell, Kentucky.
"Waldo P. Johnson, Missouri.
"J. D. Bright, Indiana.
"W. Saulsbury, Delaware.
"Trusten Polk, Missouri.
"J. A. Pearce, Maryland.
"A. Kennedy, Maryland."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The magnitude of the present struggle.—Relative strength of the two antagonists.—Population of the United States.—Population of Northern States.—Population of Southern States.—Number of Slaves. Population of Seceded States.—Number of Slaves.—Proportion liable to Military Duty in the United States.—Proportion at the North. At the South. The Slaves an element of strength.—Slave Labor compared with Free.—Nature of Southern Resources.—The advantages of Agriculture in times of War.—The Southern Force in the field.—Is it exaggerated?—Proportion of Soldiers to Population in the states of Europe.—The Armies of North and South compared numerically.—The Sentiment of North and South.—What the South is fighting for.—Slavery endangered.—Slavery, how regarded by the South.—Union an Abstraction.—Slavery a Reality.—How the Southerner and Northerner fight.—Material Resources of North and South compared.—Munitions of War at the South. Superiority of the North.—Southern and Northern Marine.—Navies.—Edible products of North and South compared.—Live-stock, Grain, etc.—The Wealth of the South. Cotton and Negroes.—Their Value computed.—The Geographical Difficulties of the War.—Area of the Southern States.—A Gigantic War.—Hope in the Future.

1861. To form a judgment of the magnitude of the present struggle, its probable duration, and its final issue, it will be necessary to measure the relative strength of the contending parties. The whole population of the United States, according to the census of the year 1860, was thirty-one million

four hundred and forty thousand five hundred and ninety-seven (31,440,597) souls. Of these, eighteen million nine hundred and five thousand and eighty-two (18,905,082) inhabited the Northern States, and twelve million two hundred and forty thousand two hundred and ninety-six (12,240,296), the Southern or slave States. Of the aggregate Northern population, two hundred and twenty-one thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight (221,738) were negroes, who of course are free, leaving a population of whites amounting to eighteen million six hundred and eighty-three thousand three hundred and forty-four (18,683,344).

Of the population of the Southern States, eight million forty-one thousand nine hundred and eighty-two were whites (8,041,982), two hundred and forty-seven thousand nine hundred and seventy-one (247,971) free blacks, and three million nine hundred and fifty thousand three hundred and forty-three (3,950,343) were slaves.

Of the slave States, eleven only have seceded--Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, whose white population amounts to five million four hundred and fifty thousand seven hundred and eleven (5,450,711), and negro population to three million six hundred and fifty-two thousand three hundred and three (3,652,303). Portions of Western Virginia and Eastern Tennessee being still loyal to the Federal Government, in estimating the strength of the enemy, it would be necessary perhaps to deduct nearly a million persons, were they not more than counterbalanced by the fighting force supplied to the South by the still loyal States of Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland.

The proportion of white males throughout the United States between eighteen and forty-five years of age, being the period when men are supposed to be serviceable for military duty, is estimated at five million four hundred and eighty-four thousand (5,484,000). Of these, three million seven hundred and seventy-eight thousand (3,778,000) are possessed by the Northern States; one million one hundred and eighty-six thousand (1,186,000) by the seceded States; five hundred and thirty-nine thousand (539,000) by the border slave States, and fifty-one thousand (51,000) by the Territories. These latter—belonging to the border States and Territories, which are divided in sentiment—may be apportioned equally between the two belligerents.

The number of fighting men at the service of the Federal Government would thus seem greatly to surpass the available force of the Southern Confederacy. But it must be borne in mind, that an estimate based on age alone is not entirely reliable. It would not be practicable for the North, even under the most urgent demands for men, to bring into the field all of those who are within the age of military service. A large number of such are necessarily so occupied by labor, indispensable to the trade, manufactures, and commerce of the country, that their services could

not be withdrawn from civil life without ruin to those resources of the nation upon which its power as a belligerent depends. There are, moreover, from the complicated nature of the relations of society and business which prevail in a highly civilized community like that of the North, obligations, ties, habits, and affections which men are either unable or unwilling to rend. They thus become reluctant, however patriotically disposed, to leave their homes to carry on war against a distant people.

In the seceded States, the laboring population is composed of slaves, who amount in round numbers to four millions. These, provided they remain faithful to their masters, form an element of greater strength than the same number of white laborers at the North. As the negro children and women are forced to work as well as the men, it is necessary, in forming a comparative estimate of the laboring power of the North and South, to give due weight to this fact. It probably gives an additional force which may be numerically estimated as one-third of the whole. The four millions of Southern slaves may thus be considered as equalling six millions of Northern white laborers in productive power. It must be also recollected that slave labor may be kept up to a maximum of work upon a minimum of support. Labor that is free not only exercises its will in regard to the extent and character of its work, but its caprices and tastes in the use of the results.

Agriculture, moreover, being the chief productive industry of the slave States, admits, by its simple operations, of comparatively rude labor, while but little supervision of a superior intelligence is required. There is no occasion accordingly for the employment at the South of that large class of intelligent masters and workmen, who, engaged in the more complicated vocations of commerce, trade, and manufactures requiring practised skill, can not arrest their functions without diminishing, if not ruining, the main sources of Northern wealth. The Southerner can leave his cotton, rice, and tobacco fields to be tilled by his gangs of negro slaves, while their disciplined obedience may be rendered subservient to his wealth in his absence. Thus in the slave States large numbers of whites are free to go to the war, while the same class in the North are kept at home.

The agricultural pursuits of the South have, moreover, the advantage of being easily adapted to the immediate necessities of the war. A tobacco or cotton plantation can be changed in the course of a single season into fields of corn, to which the patient slave may transfer his unthinking labor with undiminished effect, though his dulled brain has hardly awakened to the consciousness of the change. The complicated occupations of the North do not admit of these rapid changes. It would be hardly practicable to turn a Broadway drygoods store into a corn mill, and its shopmen into millers, or a New England pin factory, with its complicated machinery, into an armory, and its workmen into makers of improved rifles.

That the Congress of the Southern Confederacy should have authorized the President to call out four hundred thousand men, was considered a vaunting affectation of power which it did not possess. It seems probable, however, that the seceded States had already over three hundred thousand soldiers in the field. On October 1st, 1861, the following estimate was made by a New York journal :*

THE FORCES BEFORE WASHINGTON.

Gen. Beauregard's column		70,000
Gen. Johnston's column between Chain Bridge and Leesburgh		43,000
Gen. Magruder's reinforcement, intended to cross the Potomac at Aquia Creek		25,000
Total		138,000
At the various batteries on the Potomac, York, James, Rappahannock rivers		15,000
At Yorktown, Norfolk, and Portsmouth		20,000
Reserves at Fredericksburgh	5,000	
" Petersburgh	3,000	
" Brentsville	1,000	
" Culpepper	3,000	
" Gordonsville	3,000	
" Staunton	3,000	
" Covington	2,000	
" Charlottesville	5,000	
" Lynchville	5,000	
" Burkesville and other places	3,270	
" Other places	5,000	
		38,270
In Western Virginia, under Generals Lee, Wise, and Floyd		25,000
Near Winchester and Strasburg		10,000
In Kentucky, Missouri, and the West		41,000
In coast fortifications		10,000
Total in the field		297,270

This is certainly a large number of soldiers in proportion to the population. With the four millions of slaves added to the five millions of whites, the aggregate number of the inhabitants of the Confederacy amounts to only nine millions, and three hundred thousand soldiers would be very nearly in the proportion of one soldier to every thirty inhabitants. In Prussia, which supplies the largest army relative to its population, there is but one soldier to every forty-eight inhabitants, in Austria one to fifty-five, in Holland one to fifty-eight, in Spain one to sixty-one, in France one to seventy, and in Russia one to ninety. The following is the estimate of the force—taking one to fifty as the ratio—which the North and South can relatively sustain. Delaware, Maryland, and Missouri are, however, classed with the Northern States, although they have undoubtedly supplied a large contingent to the Southern Confederacy.

States.	Population.	Troops.
Virginia	1,596,000	31,920
North Carolina	992,000	19,840
Georgia	1,057,000	21,140
Florida	140,000	2,800
Alabama	964,000	19,280
Mississippi	791,000	15,820
Louisiana	709,000	14,180
Arkansas	435,000	8,700
Texas	602,000	12,040
Tennessee	1,109,000	22,180
Kentucky	1,155,000	23,100
South Carolina	703,000	14,060
Total	10,253,000	205,060

States.	Population.	Soldiers.
Maine	628,000	12,560
New Hampshire	326,000	6,520
Vermont	315,000	6,300
Massachusetts	1,231,000	24,620
Rhode Island	174,000	3,480
Connecticut	460,000	9,200
New York	3,880,000	77,600
Pennsylvania	2,906,000	58,120
New Jersey	672,000	13,440
Ohio	2,339,000	46,780
Indiana	1,350,000	27,000
Illinois	1,711,000	34,220
Michigan	749,000	14,980
Wisconsin	775,000	15,500
Iowa	675,000	13,500
Minnesota	172,000	8,440
Kansas	107,000	2,140
Oregon	52,000*	1,040
California	380,000	7,600
Delaware	112,000	2,240
Maryland	687,000	13,740
Missouri	1,182,000	23.640
Territories	220,000	4,400
Total	21,103,000	422,060

The North has greatly exceeded this estimate, as may be seen by the following statement in Secretary Cameron's Report of July 2d, 1861.

* New York *Herald*.

The following presents the entire estimated strength of the army, both volunteers and regulars:

States.	Volunteers. Three Months.	Volunteers. For the War.	Volunteers. Aggregate.
California	—	4,688	4,688
Connecticut	2,236	12,400	14,636
Delaware	775	2,000	2,775
Illinois	4,941	80,000	84,941
Indiana	4,686	57,832	62,018
Iowa	968	19,800	20,768
Kentucky	—	15,000	15,000
Maine	768	14,239	15,007
Maryland	—	7,000	7,000
Massachusetts	3,435	26,760	30,195
Michigan	781	28,550	29,331
Minnesota	—	4,160	4,160
Missouri	9,356	22,130	31,486
New Hampshire	779	9,600	10,379
New Jersey	3,068	9,342	12,410
New York	10,188	100,200	110,388
Ohio	10,236	81,205	91,441
Pennsylvania	19,199	94,760	113,959
Rhode Island	1,285	5,898	7,183
Vermont	780	8,000	8,780
Virginia	779	12,000	12,779
Wisconsin	792	14,153	14,945
Kansas	—	5,000	5,000
Colorado	—	1,000	1,000
Nebraska	—	2,500	2,500
Nevada	—	1,000	1,000
New Mexico	—	1,000	1,000
District of Columbia	2,823	1,000	3,823
Total	77,875	640,637	718,512
Estimated strength of the regular army, including the new enlistments under the act of Congress of July 29, 1861.	—	20,334	---
Total	—	660,971	—

The several arms of the service are estimated as follows:

	Volunteers.	Regulars.	Aggregate.
Infantry	557,208	11,175	568,383
Cavalry	54,654	4,744	59,398
Artillery	20,380	4,308	24,688
Rifles and Sharpshooters.	8,395	—	8,395
Engineers	—	107	107
Total	640,687	20,384	660,971

The force of the Southern Confederacy, there is also reason to believe, transcends the estimate in this chapter. It is stated on good authority that on December 1, 1861, the enemy had 360,000 men in the field. [These estimates have been all exceeded since, as will be seen in the course of this narrative.]

Some in making such an estimate might be disposed to deduct the slaves from the population of the Southern States. It has, however, been already shown that the negro element more than supplies the same numerical quantity of labor at the North, and thus should be considered as setting free a proportionate number of inhabitants for military service.

In calculating the probable ratio of soldiers to the population in the Southern Confederacy, the sentiment of the people must also be taken into account. However unreasonable or criminal we at the North may consider the motive which has induced those in the South to rise in arms against the Federal authority, it can not be now questioned that the general opinion of the latter is that the war they are waging, is one in defence of their country and its institutions. Apart from the political heresy of "State Rights," which widely prevails among the Southern people, freeing them, as they erroneously believe, from all fealty to the sovereignty of the Union, they are firmly persuaded that the existence of slavery is endangered by Northern aggression. It is needless here to strive to prove the groundlessness of this belief, or to trace it to its probably real source, the plausible arguments and corrupt designs of ambitious political leaders.

Of the existence of such a belief, whatever may have been its cause, there can be little doubt.

The Southern people imagine they are fighting for their dearest interests, believing, also, that slavery, which is interwoven with all that attaches them to their country, is in danger. This institution is the foundation of their property, the principle of their social organization, and an element of their domestic life. Not only is it clung to as their wealth, their main social tie, and chief source of domestic enjoyment, but it is commended to them by the traditions of their forefathers, who established and bequeathed it; by the sophistries of their leaders, who claim it to be the corner-stone of political freedom and happiness; and by the teachings of their religious guides, who sanction it on the revered authority of the revelation of God.

Contending thus, as they believe, for property, society, home, political excellence, history, and even religion, it is not surprising that the Southern Confederacy should engage in the struggle with all the earnestness and energy that have ever characterized a spirited people rising in defence of interests dearer to them than life itself.

In calculating, therefore, the power of resistance of our antagonists, it is necessary to give full weight to the sentiments which actuate them. The ordinary estimates of statisticians would fall far short of the might of a people stimulated by the intensity of a dominating passion, which unquestionably has been aroused in the South by the supposed danger to slavery.

When in South Carolina an aged man of three-score and ten, the grey-haired politician Ruffin, joins the ranks and is the first to open fire upon the Federal flag at Sumter; when a patriarch of the Church, Bishop Polk, of Louisiana, lays aside the crosier, the emblem of the gentle shepherd meekly leading his flock to the Lord's pasturage, and grasping the sword fiercely marshals soldiers to battle; when boys just in their teens leave the playground and its mimic contests, and, encouraged by a mother's smile, shoulder the musket and go with tragic earnestness to the battle-field, to return perhaps in death to that mother's embrace, through whose tears even then shine a glow of exultation in the sacrifice of her child to his country; when a people thus are willing to give up so much that is dear to a cause which they believe dearer still, what becomes of the calculations of the unfeeling statistician?

That the Confederate States thus have been enabled to call into the field a larger proportion of their population than is usually estimated as the quota of soldiers in the same number of inhabitants, will be readily conceded. The ordinary limit for military service between eighteen and forty-five has undoubtedly been practically if not formally extended. Old men of three-score, as well as boys hardly in their teens, are to be seen more frequently in the ranks of the enemy than in our own or in any other army.

There is also undoubtedly a strong patriotic sentiment at the North, which has already shown itself in the rapid enrolment of an immense force, now estimated at 600,000 men. This is inspired by an enthusiastic attachment to the Union, and a deep indignation against those who have attempted to destroy it. The Northern sentiment, unlike that of the South, comes from no fear of danger to any immediate personal interests. Our people feel secure in their own States, of retaining all their social institutions. The advantages of the Union, though firmly believed in and spiritedly contended for, are not felt to be direct and personal. They accept as a truth, that the preservation of the Government in its unity is essential to the glory of their country. Practically experiencing all the immediate benefits of good government, security to property, to life, and to the pursuit of happiness, they can not personally appreciate the danger to their interests that would arise from dismemberment of the nation. To them, therefore, the assertion, by arms, of the Federal authority—which to the thoughtful statesman is absolutely necessary for the preservation of national existence—is merely a struggle for an idea. The common soldier, at the North, so far as he is prompted by any motive beyond the simple duty of serving his country, is fighting for an abstraction, while the Southerner has taken up arms for a reality. This of course is to be understood rather as a difference in sentiment than in nature; for the preservation of the Union is believed to be, by the thoughtful, a much more genuine interest than the conservation of slavery, even if it were endangered.

The sentimental influence, however, prevailing to a much greater extent at the South than at the North, has produced in the former a more intense degree of earnestness. It is seen not only in the wonderful force and obstinacy with which the Confederates have hitherto resisted the superior numbers and resources of the Federal Government, but in the spirit with which the Southern soldier enters battle. He rushes to the fight with a wild shout, and seems inspired with an insatiable desire of vengeance. The Northern soldier, on the contrary, is observed to be silent, and though not less brave, is certainly less fierce.

In regard to material resources, those of the North undoubtedly greatly preponderate. The South, however, is probably provided with means which will prove to a people, animated as they are by an intense spirit of fanaticism, amply sufficient for carrying on a long defensive war.

Of munitions of war, the Southern Confederacy is reported to have a large supply. A Southern journal,* whose account, however, must be taken with reserve, asserted that the following arms had been seized since the beginning of the secession movement:

Baton Rouge	70,000	Harper's Ferry	5,000
Alabama Arsenal ..	20,000	Norfolk.	7,000
Elizabeth, N. C....	30,000	Other places.. ...	100,000
Fayetteville, N. C...	35,000		
Charleston	23,000	Total..	290,000

The following are reported to have

* The Memphis *Appeal*.

been previously purchased by the several seceding States.

Alabama	80,000	Mississippi	50,000
Virginia	78,000	Florida	17,000
Louisiana	30,000		
Georgia	120,000		
South Carolina	47,000	Total	417,000

This makes a grand total of 707,000 stand of arms, to which the same authority adds 200,000 revolvers.

Another Southern newspaper* makes the following statement:

"The facts we are about to state are official and indisputable. Under a single order of the late Secretary of War, the Hon. Mr. Floyd, made during last year, there were 115,000 improved muskets and rifles transferred from the Springfield Armory and Watervliet Arsenal to different arsenals at the South. The precise destination that was reached by all these arms, we have official authority for stating to have been as follows:

	Percussion Muskets.	Altered Muskets.	Percus. Rifles.
Charleston (S. C.) Arsenal	9,280	5,720	2,000
North Carolina Arsenal	15,408	9,520	2,000
Augusta (Ga.) Arsenal	12,380	7,620	2,000
Mount Vernon (Ala.)	9,280	5,720	2,000
Baton Rouge, La.	18,520	11,420	2,000

"The total number of improved arms thus supplied to five depositories in the South, by a single order of the late Secretary of War, was 114,868. What numbers were supplied by other and minor orders, and what numbers of improved arms had, before the great order, been deposited in the South, can not now be ascertained."

The Southern Confederates, moreover, were well supplied, by the capture of the Federal forts, foundries, and navy-yards, with a large quantity of ordnance of various kinds. At the same time, having succeeded in securing machinery abandoned or incompletely destroyed by the United States garrisons, they have been enabled to manufacture arms and cannon, while they have continued, in spite of the blockade, to add constantly to their store from Europe. It is supposed, therefore, though they may have some difficulty in readily supplying themselves with powder, that the enemy have generally a good stock of the best munitions of war.

Their resources in this respect, though more abundant, perhaps, at the beginning of the war than those of the North, will diminish in comparison, if hostilities should be long protracted. The Northern States, apart from their free commerce with Europe, have, with their more skilled artisanship, greater supplies of coal and iron, and facilities of machinery, advantages with which the slave States can not possibly compete.

It is in the marine, however, that the inferiority of the Southern Confederacy is most manifest. Notwithstanding the extended sea-coast of the slave States, and the fact that their chief productions are raised for export, their commerce has been almost entirely carried on by Northern vessels. Their own commercial marine was confined to a few small coasters, an occasional trader to foreign countries, and to river steamers. The new government has therefore but little material from which to form a navy. The Federal vessels which the secessionists have seized, added to those they already possessed, have been armed, and constitute a naval force which is

* The Richmond (Va.) *Inquirer*.

estimated at twenty-six steamers and propellers, mounted with a total of fifty guns, and five sailing vessels, originally United States revenue cutters, carrying in all ten guns. It is true that, by the abandonment by United States officers of the Norfolk navy-yard and the incomplete destruction of the vessels, several men-of-war, more or less available for service, fell into their possession. These, however, have been hitherto blockaded in James River by the Federal Fortress Monroe and our cruisers.

The privateers fitted out may amount perhaps to about a score, carrying probably four guns each. The whole naval force of the Southern Confederacy can hardly be more than half a hundred vessels, with a total of 150 guns.

The Federal navy, though at the beginning of the conflict in a condition very unfavorable for service, was even then immeasurably superior to the strongest force that the enemy could float. Those United States vessels which were fit for use had been sent mostly on foreign service, through, it was suspected, the machinations of Southern conspirators. With these, the whole available force amounted, according to the report of the Secretary of the Navy, to: July 3.

	Guns.
1 ship-of-the-line	84
8 frigates	400
20 sloops	406
3 brigs	16
3 storeships	7
6 steam frigates	212
5 first-class steam sloops	90
4 first-class side-wheel steamers	46
8 second-class steam sloops	45
5 third-class screw steamers	28
4 second-class side-wheel steamers	8
2 steam tenders	4
69	1,346

Of this force the following were in commission, the remainder being in ordinary, dismantled, etc.:

	Guns.
2 frigates	100
11 sloops	232
3 storeships	7
1 screw frigate	12
5 first-class steam sloops	90
3 side-wheel steamers	35
8 second-class steam sloops	45
5 third-class screw steamers	28
3 side-wheel steamers	5
1 steam tender	1
42	555

These vessels had a complement, exclusive of officers and marines, of about 7,600 men, and nearly all of them were on foreign stations. The home squadron consisted of 12 vessels, carrying 187 guns and about 2,000 men. Of this squadron only 4 small vessels, carrying 25 guns and about 280 men, were in Northern ports.

With the immense commercial marine, however, of the North, the Federal Government can augment its naval force almost indefinitely. Already, at the beginning of July, it had thirty-seven regular men-of-war, and thirty-nine steam gun-boats engaged in blockading the Southern coast, with an aggregate of 59,229 tons, 720 guns, and 10,113 men. In addition, the Government had either bought or chartered some thirty-nine merchant steamers, and has been since constantly augmenting this force, besides building fleets of gun-boats and other craft. Mr. Welles, the Secretary of the Navy, in his report (December 2d) makes the following computation: July 1.

"When the vessels now building and purchased, of every class, are armed,

equipped, and ready for service, the condition of the navy will be as follows:

OLD NAVY.

Class.	No.	Tonnage.	Guns.
Ships-of-line	6	16,094	504
Frigates	7	12,104	350
Sloops	17	16,031	342
Brigs	2	539	12
Storeships	3	842	7
Receiving ships, etc	6	6,340	106
Screw frigates	6	21,460	222
First-class screw sloops	6	11,953	109
First-class side-wheel steam sloops	4	8,003	46
Second-class screw sloops	8	7,598	45
Third-class screw sloops	5	2,405	28
Third-class side-wheel steamers	4	1,808	28
Steam tenders	2	599	4
Total	76	105,271	1,803

PURCHASED VESSELS.

Class.	No.	Tonnage.	Guns.
Side-wheel steamers	36	26,680	166
Screw steamers	43	20,403	175
Ships	18	9,998	52
Schooners	24	5,324	49
Barks	18	8,432	78
Brigs	2	460	4
Total	136	71,297	524

VESSELS CONSTRUCTED.

Class.	No.	Tonnage.	Guns.
Screw sloops	14	16,787	98
Gun-boats	23	11,661	92
Side-wheel steamers	12	8,400	48
Iron-clad steamers	3	4,600	18
Total	52	41,448	256

—*making a total of* 264 *vessels,* 2,583 *guns, and* 218,016 *tons. The aggregate number of seamen in the service on the 4th of March last was* 7,600. *The number now is not less than* 22,000."

It was supposed by the unionists, at the commencement of the conflict, that the secessionists would soon fail in their resistance from want of food. However inferior the seceded States may be to the loyal States in the supply of edible products, the quantity produced by the former is not so much less as has been supposed, and is amply sufficient to sustain their population.

The value of the live-stock in all the slave States amounts to $240,000,000, while that of the free States is estimated at $300,000,000. If we deduct from the former the value of the live-stock of the States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, the large amount of $180,000,000 is left as the product of the seceded States alone. The quantity of cereals, wheat, rye, Indian corn, and oats annually produced by all the slave States is computed at 400,000,000 bushels, while that of the free States amounts to 350,000,000 only. If, again, we deduct from the former the production of the four slave States still loyal, the result leaves for the seceded States 333,628,204 bushels. In addition to this large supply of edible products, there must be added rice, of which 250,000,000 bushels are produced in the slave States, and none in the free. If we again deduct the small amount of 6,400 bushels produced in Kentucky and Missouri, there is left the large number of 214,993,600 bushels of rice as the product of the seceded States.

Of cane-sugar 247,294 pounds, and of molasses 12,108,305 gallons, are produced in the seceded States, a trifling quantity of both in the other slave States, and only a few gallons of the latter and none of the former in the free.

In the annual production of barley and buckwheat, however, the free States greatly surpass the slave, that of the former being 13,750,000 bushels, and that of the latter only 560,200, of which 310,000 bushels are produced by the se-

ceded States. Of butter, the free States produce also the large quantity of 246,000,000 lbs., while the seceded States produce only 44,770,000 lbs., and the other slave States—Delaware, 1,058,308 lbs.; Maryland, 3,806,161 lbs.; Kentucky, 9,847,523 lbs.; and Missouri, 7,834,359 lbs. Of cheese, the product of the free States amounts to 104,000,000 lbs., that of the seceded States 963,000 lbs. only, and of the other slave States 424,488 lbs. Of potatoes, the product in the free States gives the annual amount of 54,000,000 bushels; that of the four slave States, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, gives 3,393,974, and that of the other slave States 40,500,000. It must be understood that the potatoes of the Northern States are mostly those known as the Irish, and those of the slave States the sweet. Thus it will be seen that there is little probability of the insurrectionists being starved out.*

In estimating the resources of the Southern Confederacy, it must be borne in mind that it has hitherto reaped some benefit, though partial, directly from its communications with Maryland, Missouri and Kentucky, and indirectly through those States from the abounding North. The larger portion of the wealth, however, of the slave States is dependent upon their cotton, estimated at an annual value of $200,000,000, and their slaves, computed to be worth from $700,000,000 to $1,000,000,000. The

* We give here some other valuable statistics which will assist in forming a comparative estimate of the resources of the two belligerents.

TOBACCO.

States.	Pounds.
Delaware	None.
Maryland	21,407,497
Kentucky	55,501,196
Missouri	17,113,784
In the other slave States	86,000,000
In all the free States	20,000,000

COTTON.

States.	Bales.
Delaware	None.
Maryland	None.
Missouri	None.
Kentucky	758
In all the slave States	2,500,000

400 lbs. in each bale.

In all the free States	None.

VALUE OF HOME-MADE MANUFACTURES.

States.	Dollars.
Delaware	38,121
Maryland	111,828
Kentucky	2,459,128
Missouri	1,674,706
In the other slave States	14,319,347
In all the free States	9,200,000

WOOL.

States.	Pounds.
Delaware	58,000
Maryland	477,000
Kentucky	2,300,000
Missouri	1,627,000
In the other slave States	9,000,000
In all the free States	40,000,000

HAY.

States.	Tons.
Delaware	30,159
Maryland	157,956
Kentucky	113,747
Missouri	116,925
In the other slave States	721,676
In all the free States	12,700,000

FLAX.

States.	Pounds.
Delaware	11,174
Maryland	35,686
Kentucky	2,100,116
Missouri	557,160
In the other slave States	2,000,000
In all the free States	3,000,000

POPULATION.

INCREASE IN THE PAST TEN YEARS.—In Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri 34 per cent. In the other slave States 25 per cent.

cotton, as long as the present blockade exists, and is respected by foreign powers, is nearly valueless, for with but few unimportant uses for it at home, it is raised almost entirely for foreign export. As for the slaves, if they remain faithful, their labor can be transferred, though with a loss of profit, to the production of what is needed during the war, or even to operations essential to it.

To form an idea of the magnitude of the work which the North has before it, it is necessary to consider the geographical difficulties to be overcome. With the greatly superior resources of our Government, the war will probably be for the most part an offensive one, in the sense that it will be carried on in the enemy's territory. The extent of that territory, therefore, becomes a question of the utmost importance in estimating the probable magnitude of our operations. The total area of the slave States, exclusive of Delaware, is no less than 886,199 square miles. To this immense territory there is a coast line of 3,523 miles, a shore line of 25,414, and an interior boundary line of 7,031 miles in length. Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky, although loyal, are included in this estimate, for they form a part of the present field of military operations. The free State of Kansas, embracing 125,283 square miles, and the Western Territories with an aggregate area of 1,163,066 square miles, might be added perhaps, as they have already become, to some extent, and will continue to be, scenes of conflict.

There is no record in history of so gigantic a war, and never have lived a people with such resources to carry it on. May the end be as beneficent as the means are profuse!

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The Effect of Cotton upon Secession.—Southern opinion.—King Cotton and his Foreign Subjects.—The influence of Cotton in England and France.—The force of necessity operating in two ways.—Will the hopes of the South be disappointed?—New sources of a Cotton Supply.—Southern Agents in Europe.—Foreign Ministers appointed by the Federal Government.—Their Character.—Adams.—Dayton.—Instructions of Mr. Seward, Secretary of State.—Intelligence from England anxiously awaited.—Lord John Russell's Speech in Parliament.—The Southern Confederacy acknowledged a Belligerent.—Speech of Lord Palmerston.—Effect in the United States.—England denounced.—Cotton in the Ears.—Ungenerous expression of the British Press.—Order of the British Government in regard to Armed Vessels and Privateers of the Belligerents.—Declaration of the Emperor of France.—Other Powers of Europe.—Queen Victoria's Proclamation.—Debate in the House of Lords.—Lord Ellenborough's Speech.—Blockade Defined.—Contraband of War.—Speech of Earl Granville.—His Definition of Blockade and Contraband.—Speech of the Earl of Derby.—Declares Privateering not Piracy.—British Subjects must be Protected.—Speech of Lord Brougham.—Declares Privateering not Piracy.—Warning to British Subjects.—Speech of the Lord Chancellor.—The Interests of England.—How affected by the War.—English soreness.—How viewed by North and South.—Difficulties.—Correspondence between Lord Lyons and Seward.—Seizure of Slidell and Mason.—Feeling toward the United States in France.—Courtesy and Disinterestedness of French Writers.—Visit of Prince Napoleon.—The Comte de Paris and the Duc de Chartres.—The Letter of the Emperor of Russia.—Seward's Circular on Sea and Lake Fortifications.—Its effect.—Its true purport.

1861. THE presumption that their chief product was of vital importance to Europe, and especially to Great Britain and France, had undoubtedly a great influence in encouraging the cotton-producing States to take the bold step of seceding from the Union. Firmly persuaded that the millions of operatives of the British and French manufacturing towns were bound in compulsory subjection to cotton, which the Southern planters, in boastful pride of its power, had crowned "king," they believed that all national obligations must necessarily yield to the peremptory allegiance demanded by their proclaimed monarch. Without cotton, they supposed that the looms of Manchester and Mulhause would be stopped, their operatives deprived of work and necessarily of bread, and that the cry of the famished millions of England and France would so ring in imperial and queenly ears, that the voice of international justice and law could not be heard. They contended that self-preservation, the first law of nations as of individuals, would force the governments of England and France to break through all restrictions of convention and right, to obtain what was supposed to be necessary to their vitality. It may be supererogatory now, while the march of events is so rapidly crushing out the most elaborate preconceived theories, to remind the sanguine calculators of the South that the very necessity upon which they presumed, has a modifying power. Suddenly deprived of a product necessary to the support, if not to the existence, of a large portion of their people, the governments of Europe invoked new sources of produc-

tion, and India, Africa, South America, and the West Indies at once responded with a generous promise of a cotton supply. That great suffering among European operatives was a consequence of the sudden arrest of the commercial relations of Great Britain and France with the Southern States of America, cannot be denied, but that it will act as a stimulus to the production of cotton elsewhere, will hardly be doubted.

The Southern Confederacy, confidently calculating upon its controlling influence upon the policy of Europe, arising from its monopoly of the cotton supply, sent, at an early period, three commissioners, Messrs. Yancey and Mann to Great Britain, and Rost to France, with the view of pressing, and giving a timely direction to, the interposition of these governments in the present struggle.

The Federal Government, under the administration of its Republican chief, Mr. Lincoln, hastened to counteract the influence of the agents of the Confederacy, by sending to the various courts of Europe ambassadors of unquestioned loyalty, to take the place of those who had been appointed by Mr. Buchanan while under the guidance of his Southern advisers. While the patriotism of some of these was unquestioned, the disloyalty of others was either suspect or manifest.

To the court of St. James was sent Mr. Adams, of Massachusetts, the son of John Quincy Adams and the grandson of John Adams, a man who with large and refined culture, much social importance from wealth and family, and considerable political experience, is an able and dignified representative of the country, capable not only faithfully to guard its interests, but honorably to uphold its character. Mr. Dayton, of New Jersey, was sent to the court of the Tuileries, and though he wants the qualification of speaking the French language—seldom possessed by our representatives sent to France—is admitted to be a judicious statesman. A senator of the United States, and the candidate for Vice-President with Fremont for President, he had been elevated to such high political position at home, that it was reasonable to hope he would prove an able and dignified representative of the country abroad. The spirit of the instructions given to these ministers may be learned from the somewhat defiant message to the French secretary of state from Secretary Seward through Mr. Dayton: "Tell Mr. Thouvenel, then, with the highest consideration and good feeling, that the thought of a dissolution of this Union, peaceably or by force, has never entered into the mind of any candid statesman here, and it is high time that it be dismissed by statesmen of Europe."

While at the South the secessionists were confidently anticipating sympathy and an alliance in Europe, the North was not without anxiety lest they might be conceded. The intelligence from England especially was anxiously awaited. The first authoritative assertion of the position of the English Government came from Lord John Russell, the foreign secretary, in the British Parlia- May 6.

ment, in answer to a question from Mr. Gregory, who had already exhibited his sympathy with the seceded States, by giving notice of a motion to recognize them.

In the House of Commons Mr. Gregory said:

"Mr. Lincoln had proclaimed a blockade of the ports of the seven Confederate States, and, therefore, it was necessary to ask a question with regard to two other States which were in an attitude of hostility to the United States, although they did not belong to the South. He had to ask the noble lord, the Foreign Secretary—1st. Whether any attempt of the Government of the United States to levy Federal dues off foreign vessels outside the ports of North Carolina and Virginia, before such vessels break bulk, would not be an infringement of international law, and, if so, whether our Minister at Washington had received instructions to that effect? 2d. Whether the Government of the United States had been informed that a blockade of any port of the Southern confederated States, unless effective, will not be recognized? 3d. The Government of the United States having refused to relinquish the belligerent right of issuing letters-of-marque, the seven Southern confederated and sovereign States having become to the United States a separate and independent foreign power, whether Her Majesty's Government recognizes the right of the President of the Southern Confederacy to issue letters-of-marque, and, if so, whether our Minister at Washington had been notified to that effect?" (Hear, hear.)

Lord J. Russell said:

"In regard to the honorable gentleman's first question, I have to say that, having consulted the Queen's Advocate with respect to Federal dues to be levied outside the ports of North Carolina and Virginia, he stated to me that the answer to such a question must depend entirely upon the circumstances of the case, and that it could not at all be declared beforehand whether such an attempt to levy dues would be according or contrary to international law. Of course, no instructions on that subject have been sent to Her Majesty's Minister at Washington; but Lord Lyons is of opinion that such an intention would be found impracticable, and would not be likely to be effective. [Hear, hear.] With respect to the honorable gentlemen's second question, whether the Government of the United States have been informed that a blockade of any port of the Southern Confederacy, unless it were effective, would not be recognized, I certainly have not felt it necessary to give any instructions to our Minister on that subject. It is well known to Lord Lyons, and it certainly has been declared law by the United States, that no blockade could be recognized or deemed valid unless it were an effective blockade [hear, hear], and I have no doubt that there would be no difference between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States on that point. With regard to the honorable member's next question, as to the belligerent right of issuing letters-of-marque, I must, in the first place, wait for more explanation, and, in the second place, reserve part of the answer which I have to give. With respect to belligerent rights in the case of certain portions of a state being in insurrection, there was a precedent which seems applicable to this purpose in the year 1825. The British Government at that time allowed the belligerent rights of the Provisional Government of Greece, and in consequence of that allowance, the Turkish Government made a remonstrance. I may state the nature of that remonstrance, and the reply of Mr. Canning. 'The Turkish Government complained that the British Government allowed to the Greek a belligerent character, and observed that it appeared to forget that to subjects in rebellion no national character could properly belong.' But the British Government informed Mr. Stratford Canning, that 'the character of belligerency was not so much a principle as a fact; that a certain degree of force and consistency, acquired by any mass of population engaged in war, entitled that population to be treated as a belligerent, and, even if their title were questionable, rendered it the interest well understood of all civilized nations so to treat them; for what was the alternative? A power or a community (call it which you will) which was at war with another, and which covered the sea with its cruisers, must either be acknowledged as a belligerent or dealt with as a pirate;' which latter character, as applied to the Greeks, was loudly disclaimed. In a separate dispatch of the same date (12th of October, 1825), Mr. S. Canning was reminded that when the British Government acknowledged the right of either belligerent to visit and detain British merchant vessels having enemy's property on board, and to confiscate such property, it was necessarily implied as a condition of such acknowledgment that the detention was for the purpose of bringing the vessels detained before an established court of prize, and that confiscation did not take place until after condemnation by such competent tribunal. The question has been under the consideration of the Government. They have consulted the law officers of the Crown. The Attorney and Solicitor-General, and the Queen's Advocate, and *the Government have come to the opinion that the Southern Confederacy of America, according to those principles which seem to them to be just principles, must be treated as a belligerent.* [Hear, hear.] But further questions arise out of that question, with respect to which we are still in doubt as what *are the alterations which are to be made in the law of nations in consequence of the declaration of Paris; and those questions being of a difficult and intricate nature, have not yet been determined upon.* They are still under the consideration of the Government, and will be still further considered, before any declaration is made to other powers." (Hear, hear.)

At a later hour the same evening, Mr. Bentinck asked Lord Palmerston, the Prime Minister, whether, after the

news recently received from America, he still adhered to the financial policy of Mr. Gladstone.

Lord Palmerston said:

"No one can regret more than I do the intelligence which has been received within the last few days from America; but, at the same time, any one must have been short-sighted and little capable of anticipating the probable course of human events who had not for a long time foreseen events of a similar character to those which we now deplore. [Hear, hear.] From the commencement of this unfortunate quarrel between the two sections of the United States, *it was evident that the causes of disunion were too deeply seated to make it possible that separation would not take place*, and it was also obvious that passions were so roused on both sides as to make it highly improbable that such separation could take place without a contest. In answer to the question of the honorable member, I would say that, however much I regret the intelligence which we have received within the last few days, *yet that intelligence ought not, in my opinion, to make any difference in the arrangements which, after the fullest consideration, we considered were calculated to meet all the requirements of the public service during the present year.*" (Hear, hear.)

The declaration in behalf of the British Government by Lord John Russell in his speech, that "the Southern Confederacy of America, according to those principles which seem to them to be just principles, must be treated as a belligerent," momentarily aroused great indignation at the North. England was charged with being recusant to her professed love of liberty and respect for law, in thus sanctioning the insurrection of a people who had exhibited a disregard for both, by proclaiming rebellion and slavery just and proper. Her statesmen were denounced as being influenced merely by commercial interests, as if their ears were so stuffed with cotton that they could not listen to the voices of justice and humanity.

If it had not been, however, for the ungenerous expression of opinion of the public press of Great Britain, to which, however, there were some honorable exceptions, there would probably have been less disposition in the United States to except to the action of the British Government. Many of the English journals, by precipitately predicting the dismemberment of the country as the result of the civil contest, and studiously perverting the motive of the struggle, greatly offended Northern sentiment. While they brought in strong relief the resolution of the Federal Government, in accordance with constitutional obligations, not to interfere with slavery, they at the same time studiously covered the desire of the seceded States to extend and perpetuate it, with the pretext that they were fighting for commercial liberty.

The original declaration of the British Government was modified by a subsequent order in council, by which the belligerent character conceded to the Southern Confederacy was deprived of its chief advantage, that of the power of disposing in English ports of prizes captured at sea. It is true that this was to be applied equally to both parties. It was, however, a curtailment of belligerent rights more injurious to the Southern Confederacy than to the United States, as the latter, alone possessed of a commercial marine, was liable to suffer from captures.

The order of the British Government was conveyed in the following letter:

"FOREIGN OFFICE, *June* 1, 1861.

TO THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY—*My Lords:* Her Majesty's Government, as you are aware, desirous of observing the strictest neutrality in the contest which appears to be imminent between the United States and the so-styled Confederate States of North America; and with the view more effectually to carry out this principle, they propose to interdict the armed vessels, and also

the privateers of both parties, from carrying prizes made by them into ports, harbors, roadsteads, or waters of the United Kingdom, or any of Her Majesty's colonies or possessions abroad.

"I have accordingly to acquaint your lordships that the Queen has been pleased to direct that orders, in conformity with the principles above stated, should forthwith be addressed to all proper authorities in the United Kingdom, and to Her Majesty's naval and other authorities in all quarters beyond the United Kingdom, for their guidance in the circumstances. I have, etc. J. RUSSELL."

A decree of the Emperor of France, coinciding in principle with the action of the British Government, soon followed. It was thus officially pronounced:

June 11.

"His Majesty the Emperor of the French, taking into consideration the state of peace which now exists between France and the United States of America, has resolved to maintain a strict neutrality in the struggle between the Government of the Union and the States which propose to form a separate confederation. In consequence, His Majesty, considering article 14 of the naval law of August, 1861, the third article of the law of the 10th of April, 1825, articles 84 and 85 of the Penal Code, 65 and following of the decree of the 24th of March, 1852, 313 and following of the Code Penal Maritime, and article 21 of the Code Napoleon, declares—

"1. No vessel of war or privateer of either of the belligerent parties will be allowed to enter or stay with prizes in our ports or roadsteads longer than twenty-four hours, excepting in case of compulsory delay (*relache forcée*).

"2. No sale of goods belonging to prizes is allowed in our ports and roadsteads.

"3. Every Frenchman is prohibited from taking a commission under either of the two parties to arm vessels of war, or to accept letters-of-marque for privateering purposes, or to assist in any manner whatsoever the equipment or armament of a vessel of war or privateering of either party.

"4. Every Frenchman, whether residing in France or abroad, is likewise prohibited from enlisting or taking service either in the land army or on board vessels of war or privateers of either of the two belligerent parties.

"5. Frenchmen residing in France or abroad must likewise abstain from any act which, committed in violation of the laws of the empire or of international law, might be considered as an act hostile to one of the two parties and contrary to the neutrality which we have resolved to observe. All persons acting contrary to the prohibitions and recommendations contained in the present declaration will be prosecuted, if required, conformably to the enactments of the law of the 10th of April, 1825, and of articles 84 and 85 of the Penal Code, without prejudice to the application that might be made against such offenders of the enactments of the 21st article of the Code Napoleon, and of articles 65 and following of the decree of the 24th of March, 1852, on the merchant service, 313 and following of the Penal Code for the navy.

"His Majesty declares, moreover, that every Frenchman contravening the present enactments will have no claim to any protection from his government against any acts or measures, whatever they may be, which the belligerents might exercise or decree. NAPOLEON.

"THOUVENEL, Minister of Foreign Affairs."

Most of the other powers of Europe issued similar decrees, recognizing the Southern Confederacy as a belligerent, but placing the same restrictions upon its armed cruisers, as well as those of the United States, as had been done by Great Britain and France.

The Queen of England, moreover, issued a proclamation, in which the "royal determination to maintain a strict and impartial neutrality," was reiterated, offences against such neutrality specified, and their penalties awarded.*

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* BY THE QUEEN—A PROCLAMATION.

"VICTORIA R.

"*Whereas*, We are happily at peace with all sovereigns, powers, and states;

"And whereas hostilities have unhappily commenced between the Government of the United States of America and certain States styling themselves 'the Confederate States of America;'

"And whereas we, being at peace with the Government of the United States, have declared our Royal determination to maintain a strict and impartial neutrality in the contest between the said contending parties;

"We, therefore, have thought fit, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation:

"And we do hereby strictly charge and command all our loving subjects to observe a strict neutrality in and during the aforesaid hostilities, and to abstain from violating or contravening either the laws and statutes of the realm in this behalf, or the law of nations in relation thereto, as they will answer to the contrary at their peril.

"And *whereas*, in and by a certain statute made and passed in the fifty-ninth year of His Majesty King George III., entitled 'an act to prevent the enlisting or engagement of His Majesty's subjects to serve in a foreign service, and the fitting out or equipping, in His Majesty's domin-

The proclamation of the Queen was followed by a discussion in the House of Lords, in the course of which the questions of what constitutes a blockade

ions, vessels for warlike purposes, without His Majesty's license,' it is, among other things, declared and enacted as follows:

"'That if any natural born subject of His Majesty, his heirs and successors, without the leave or license of His Majesty, his heirs or successors, for that purpose first had and obtained, under the sign manual of His Majesty, his heirs or successors, or signified by order in council, or by proclamation of His Majesty, his heirs or successors, shall take or accept, or shall agree to take or accept, any military commission, or shall otherwise enter into the military service as a commissioned or non-commissioned officer, or shall enlist or enter himself to enlist, or shall agree to enlist or to enter himself to serve as a soldier, or to be employed, or shall serve in any warlike or military operation in the service of, or for, or under, or in aid of any foreign prince, state, potentate, colony, province, or part of any province or people, or of any person or persons, exercising or assuming to exercise the powers of government in or over any foreign country, colony, province, or part of any province or people, either as an officer or a soldier, or in any other military capacity; or if any natural born subject of His Majesty shall, without such leave or license as aforesaid, accept, or agree to take or accept, any commission, warrant, or appointment, as an officer, or shall enlist or enter himself, or shall agree to enlist or enter himself, to serve as a sailor or marine, or to be employed or engaged, or shall serve in and on board any ship or vessel of war, or in and on board any ship or vessel used or fitted out, or equipped, or intended to be used for any warlike purpose, in the service of, or for, or under, or in aid of any foreign power, prince, state, potentate, colony, province, or part of any province or people, or of any person or persons exercising or assuming to exercise the powers of government in or over any foreign country, colony, province, or part of any province or people; or, if any natural born subject of His Majesty shall, without such leave and license as aforesaid, engage, contract, or agree to go, or shall go, to any foreign state, country, colony, province, or part of any province, or to any place beyond the seas, with an intent or in order to enlist or enter himself to serve, or with intent to serve, in any warlike or military operation whatever, whether by land or by sea, in the service of, or for, or under, or in aid of any foreign prince, state, potentate, colony, province, or part of any province or people, or in the service of, or for, or under, or in aid of any person or persons exercising or assuming to exercise the powers of government in or over any foreign country, colony, province, or part of any province, or people, either as an officer or a soldier, or in any other military capacity, or an officer or sailor, or marine in any such ship or vessel as aforesaid, although no enlisting money, or pay, or reward shall have been or shall be in any or either of the cases aforesaid actually paid to or received by him, or by any person to or for his use or benefit; or if any person whatever, within the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or any part of His Majesty's dominions elsewhere, or in any country, colony, settlement, island, or place belonging to or subject to His Majesty, shall hire, retain, engage, or procure, or shall attempt or endeavor to hire, retain, engage, or procure any person or persons whatever to enlist, or enter, or engage to enlist, or to serve or to be employed in any such service or employment as aforesaid, as an officer, soldier, sailor, or marine, either in land or sea service, for, or under, or in aid of any foreign prince, state, potentate, colony, province, or part of any province or people, or for, or under, or in aid of any person or persons exercising or assuming to exercise any powers of government as aforesaid, or to go or to agree to go or embark from any part of His Majesty's dominions, for the purpose or with intent to be enlisted, entered, engaged, or employed as aforesaid, whether any enlisting money, pay, or reward shall have been or shall be actually given or received, or not; in any or either of such cases every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon being convicted thereof, upon any information or indictment, shall be punishable by fine and imprisonment, or either of them, at the discretion of the Court before which such offender shall be convicted.'

"And it is in and by the said act further enacted:

"'That if any person, within any part of the United Kingdom or in any part of His Majesty's dominions beyond the seas, shall without the leave and license of His Majesty, for that purpose first had and obtained as aforesaid, equip, furnish, fit out, or arm, or attempt or endeavor to equip, furnish, fit out, or arm, or procure to be equipped, furnished, fitted out, or armed, or shall knowingly aid, assist, or be concerned in the equipping, furnishing, fitting out, or arming of any ship or vessel, with intent or in order that such ship or vessel shall be employed in the service of any foreign prince, state, or potentate, or of any foreign colony, province, or part of any province or people, or of any person or persons, exercising or assuming to exercise any powers of government in or over any foreign state, colony, province, or part of any province or people, as a transport or store ship, or with intent to cruise or commit hostilities against any prince, state, or potentate, or against the subjects or citizens of any prince, state, or potentate, or against the persons exercising or assuming to exercise the powers of government in any colony, province, or part of any province or country, or against the inhabitants of any foreign colony, province, or part of any province or country, with whom His Majesty shall not then be at war; or shall, within the United Kingdom, or any of His Majesty's dominions, or in any settlement, colony, territory, island, or place belonging or subject to His Majesty, issue or deliver any commission for any ship or vessel to the intent that such ship or vessel shall be

and how contraband of war should be defined, were solved variously by the different speakers. Lord Ellenborough, opposed to the present Government, de-

employed as aforesaid, every such person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall upon conviction thereof, upon any information or indictment, be punished by fine and imprisonment, or either of them, at the discretion of the Court in which such offender shall be convicted; and every such ship or vessel, with the tackle, apparel, and furniture, together with all the materials, arms, ammunition, and stores which may belong to or be on board of any such ship or vessel, shall be forfeited; and it shall be lawful for any officer of His Majesty's customs or excise, or any officer of His Majesty's navy, who is by law empowered to make seizures, for any forfeiture incurred under any of the laws of customs or excise, or the laws of trade and navigation, to seize such ships and vessels aforesaid, and in such places and in such manner in which the officers of His Majesty's customs or excise and the officers of His Majesty's navy are empowered respectively to make seizures under the laws of customs and excise, or under the laws of trade and navigation; and that every ship and vessel, with the tackle, apparel, and furniture, together with all the materials, arms, ammunition, and stores which may belong to or be on board of such ship or vessel, may be prosecuted and condemned in the like manner, and in such courts as ships or vessels may be prosecuted and condemned for any breach of the laws made for the protection of the revenues of customs and excise, or of the laws of trade and navigation.'

"And it is in and by the said act further enacted:

"'That if any person in any part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or in any part of His Majesty's dominions beyond the seas, without leave and license of His Majesty, for that purpose first had and obtained as aforesaid, shall, by adding to the number of the guns of such vessel, or by changing those on board for other guns, or by the addition of any equipment for war, increase or augment, or procure to be increased or augmented, or shall be knowingly concerned in increasing or augmenting the warlike force of any ship or vessel of war or cruiser, or other armed vessel, which at the time of her arrival in any part of the United Kingdom, or any of His Majesty's dominions, was a ship of war, cruiser, or armed vessel in the service of any foreign prince, state, or potentate, or of any person or persons exercising or assuming to exercise any powers of government in or over any colony, province, or part of any province or people belonging to the subjects of any such prince, state, or potentate, or to the inhabitants of any colony, province, or part of any province or country under the control of any person or persons so exercising or assuming to exercise the powers of government, every such person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, upon being convicted thereof, upon any information or indictment, be punished by fine and imprisonment, or either of them, at the discretion of the Court before which such offender shall be convicted.'

"Now, in order that none of our subjects may unwarily render themselves liable to the penalties imposed by the said statute, we do hereby strictly command, that no person or persons whatsoever do commit any act, matter, or thing whatsoever, contrary to the provisions of the said statute, upon pain of the several penalties by the said statute imposed, and of our high displeasure.

"And we do hereby further warn all our loving subjects, and all persons whatsoever entitled to our protection, that if any of them shall presume, in contempt of this Royal Proclamation, and of our high displeasure, to do any acts in derogation of their duty as subjects of a neutral sovereign, in the said contest, or in violation or contravention of the law of nations in that behalf—as, for example and more especially, by entering into the military service of either of the said contending parties as commissioned or non-commissioned officers or soldiers; or by serving as officers, sailors, or marines on board any ship or vessel of war or transport of or in the service of either of the said contending parties; or by serving as officers, sailors, or marines on board any privateer bearing letters-of-marque of or from either of the said contending parties; or by engaging to go or going to any place beyond the seas with intent to enlist or engage in any such service, or by procuring or attempting to procure within Her Majesty's dominions, at home or abroad, others to do so; or by fitting out, arming, or equipping any ship or vessel to be employed as a ship-of-war, or privateer, or transport, by either of the said contending parties; or by breaking, or endeavoring to break, any blockade lawfully and actually established by or on behalf of either of the said contending parties; or by carrying officers, soldiers, despatches, arms, military stores, or materials, or any article or articles considered and deemed to be contraband of war according to the law of modern usage of nations, for the use or service of either of the said contending parties, all persons so offending will incur and be liable to the several penalties and penal consequences by the said statute, or by the law of nations, in that behalf imposed or denounced.

"And we do hereby declare that all our subjects and persons entitled to our protection who may misconduct themselves in the premises will do so at their peril and of their own wrong, and that they will in nowise obtain any protection from us against any liability or penal consequences, but will, on the contrary, incur our high displeasure by such misconduct.

"Given at our Court at the White Lodge, Richmond Park, this 13th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1861, and in the 24th year of our reign.

"GOD save the QUEEN."

—*London Gazette*, May 14.

clared if they adhered to the maritime law agreed to by the Plenipotentiaries of Paris, which declared that, "in order to be binding, a blockade must be an effectual blockade"—that was to say, that it should be maintained by a force sufficient to prevent access to the enemy's coasts, and these words were to be literally understood—that "a blockade was a thing almost physically impossible, because no nation in the world possessed a fleet large enough for this purpose." His lordship, moreover, expressed his regret that the Queen, in her proclamation, had not clearly asserted the well-recognized principle, that "contraband of war was that which, in possession of an enemy, would enable him better to carry on the war."

Earl Granville, as Lord President, spoke authoritatively for the Government, and declared, "There was no doubt that blockade was lawfully and actually established, if maintained in a proper form and manner, and by such a force as to make it, not impossible, but difficult for vessels to enter or come out." In regard to contraband of war, his lordship said: "Certain articles were clearly contraband of war, and the character of others could only be determined by the decision of the prize courts. Her Majesty's Government, therefore, had pursued a wise course, in his opinion, in not specifying what was contraband of war."

The Earl of Derby, though the leader of the opposition, was not disposed, he said, "to complain of the terms of the proclamation as being vague and uncertain." He, however, insisted that Her Majesty's Government should make it clearly understood that "a mere paper blockade, alleged to extend over a wide extent of coast which it was impossible to blockade, would not be recognized as valid by the British Government." In regard to the declaration of the United States, that the privateers of the States in rebellion are pirates, his lordship said: "He apprehended that if anything was clearer than another, it was that privateering was not piracy, and that no law could make that piracy, as regarded the subjects of one nation, which was not piracy by the law of nations. Consequently the United States must not be allowed to entertain this doctrine, and to call upon Her Majesty's Government not to interfere. They must not strain the law so as to visit with penalty of death, as for piracy, persons entitled to Her Majesty's protection. That was a question which could not be viewed with indifference, but must be seriously considered by the Government."

Lord Brougham said: "It was clear that privateering was not piracy, by the law of nations, however much it might be lamented that it was not so. But if any person or subject of this country (Great Britain) entered into an expedition against another country, with which we (Great Britain) were at peace, that was of itself a piratical act, and they had themselves to blame who, after full warning, chose to take that course, and could not expect their government to interpose to save them from

the extreme penalties attached to that course."

The Lord Chancellor declared, "There was no doubt that if an Englishman engaged in the service of the Southern States, he violated the laws of the country and rendered himself liable to punishment, and that he had no right to trust to the protection of his native country to shield him from the consequences of his act. *But though that individual would be guilty of a breach of the law of his own country, he could not be treated as a pirate, and those who treated him as a pirate would be guilty of murder.*"

Lord Kingsdown said: "*As to the state of the law, there could be no doubt a privateer acting under a government was not a pirate.* No doubt the United States did not put the extravagant proclamation they had issued upon the ground that privateers were pirates, because they themselves insisted upon the right of privateering. But they put it upon this ground, that they were dealing with rebels, and that they would hang them, not, properly speaking, as pirates, but as persons who were guilty of high treason against the State to which they were subject. Of course it was a matter for their own consideration what was to be the operation of that proclamation. He believed that the enforcement of that doctrine would be an act of barbarity which would produce an outcry throughout the civilized world, but he hoped that it was a mere *brutum fulmen*, and not intended to be carried out. But that being the case with regard to their own country, the case with regard to England was quite different. We had recognized the Southern Confederacy, not as an independent State, but as a belligerent Power; and therefore, *if the Federal Government should act upon the principle they had laid down as against British subjects, he apprehended that this Government might with perfect justice interfere, and under some circumstances they might, by the influence of public opinion, be compelled to interfere.* Yet, at the same time, the offender could not as a right, having acted in violation of the feeling of his own country, and therefore of his own government, call upon his government to interfere."

Lord Brougham, at the close of the debate, made a pertinent allusion to the case of Ambrister and Arbuthnot, executed by General Jackson, to remind British subjects of the risk they run in serving on either side: "A case had occurred," his lordship said, "about thirty years ago, where two British subjects were tried and hanged for piratical interference on land, and no step was taken to save their lives or avenge their death."

Such are the intimate and extensive commercial relations between Great Britain and the United States, that any war waged by the one must necessarily affect the interests of the other. The present struggle has inflicted an enormous injury upon the manufacturing and commercial resources of England, and produced a corresponding degree of national soreness, which is watched with equal interest by both belligerents

in this country, though with different feelings. The United States looks on with defiant vigilance, while the Southern Confederacy, in the hope of an English alliance, industriously strives to inflame British irritability to active hostility.

Difficulties soon arose in regard to the seizure of British vessels and the imprisonment of British subjects, followed by a disputatious correspondence between the British ambassador at Washington, Lord Lyons, and William H. Seward, the secretary of state of the United States; but nothing occurred beyond the power of diplomacy to solve till the seizure of Messrs. Slidell and Mason, the ambassadors of the Southern Confederacy, under the British flag, and *in transitu* between neutral ports—the history of which belongs to a more advanced part of this narrative—an event which threatened for a short time to bring about an open rupture.

France, though its emperor was reputed to be disposed to interfere in our civil quarrel, by a recognition of the Southern Confederacy, excited less inquietude in the United States than Great Britain.

Under the French imperial dynasty, with its restrictions upon the press and legislature, there is necessarily less freedom of expression of opinion than in the constitutional monarchy of England, where all are free to write and speak what they think. There was accordingly in the former a more decorous reserve in regard to the merits of the question at issue, and consequently France, by apparently preserving a more dignified neutrality, did less than Great Britain to arouse unkindly feeling in the United States. French writers, as their country's material interests were not so much endangered, were able to discuss the question according to the abstract principles of liberty and right, while the English, less disinterested, treated it in reference to its practical bearings upon a suffering trade and commerce.

The visit of the cousin of the Emperor of France, Prince Jerome Napoleon, and his advocacy of the Northern cause, served to beget a friendly feeling at the North towards France, which was strengthened by the accession of the two young French princes to the ranks of our army—the Comte de Paris and the Duc de Chartres—who, though of the Orleans dynasty, and exiles, were yet welcomed in America as countrymen of the gallant Lafayette.

The Emperor of Russia manifested his regard for the United States by counselling reconciliation. His prime minister expressed the opinion of his imperial master in a letter* addressed to M. Ed. de Stoeckl, Russian minister at Washington, with instructions to read it to the President.

* "St. Petersburgh, *July* 10.

"M. de Stoeckl, etc., etc. *Sir:* From the beginning of the conflict which divides the United States of America, you have been desired to make known to the Federal Government the deep interest with which our august master was observing the development of a crisis which puts in question the prosperity and even the existence of the Union. The Emperor profoundly regrets to see that the hope of a peaceful solution is not realized, and that American citizens already in arms are ready to let loose upon the country the most formidable of the scourges of polit-

A circular by the Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, requesting the Governors of the several States to draw the attention of the legislative authorities to the necessity of providing sea and lake coast fortifications, created some inquietude, as if indicating the danger of Europe interfering in behalf of the seceded States. This circular, however, having been carefully bruited abroad, was believed to be intended rather as a warning to foreign nations than as advice for ourselves.

ical society—a civil war. For the more than eighty years that it has existed, the American Union owes its independence, its towering rise, and its progress to the concord of its members, consecrated, under the auspices of its illustrious founder, by institutions which have been able to reconcile the Union with liberty. This Union has been faithful. It has exhibited to the world the spectacle of a prosperity without example in the annals of history. It would be deplorable that, after so conclusive an experience, the United States should be hurried into a breach of the solemn compact which, up to this time, has made their power. In spite of the diversity of their constitutions and of their interests, and perhaps even because of this diversity, Providence seems to urge them to draw closer the traditional cord which is the basis of the very condition of their political existence. In any event, the sacrifices which they might impose upon themselves to maintain it are beyond comparison with those which dissolation would bring after it. United they perfect themselves, isolated they are paralyzed

"The struggle which unhappily has just arisen can neither be indefinitely prolonged, nor lead to the total destruction of one of the parties. Sooner or later it will be necessary to come to some settlement, whatsoever it may be, which may cause the divergent interests now actually in conflict to co-exist. The American nation would then give a proof of high political wisdom in seeking in common such a settlement before a useless effusion of blood, a barren squandering of strength and public riches, and acts of violence and reciprocal reprisals shall have come to deepen an abyss between the two parties of the confederation, to end, definitely, in their mutual exhaustion, and in the ruin, perhaps irreparable, of their commercial and political power. Our august master can not resign himself to admit such deplorable anticipations.

"His Imperial Majesty still places his confidence in that practical good sense of the citizens of the Union who appreciate so judiciously their true interests. His Majesty is happy to believe that the members of the Federal Government and the influential men of the two parties will seize all occasions, and will unite all their efforts to calm the effervescence of the passions. There are no interests so divergent that it may not be possible to reconcile them by laboring to that end with zeal and perseverance, in a spirit of justice and moderation.

"If, within the limits of your friendly relations, your language and your counsels may contribute to this result, you will respond, sir, to the intentions of His Majesty, the Emperor, in devoting to this the personal influence which you may have been able to acquire during your long residence at Washington, and the consideration which belongs to your character as the representative of a sovereign animated by the most friendly sentiments towards the American Union This Union is not simply, in our eyes, an element essential to the universal political equilibrium; it constitutes besides a nation to which our august master and all Russia have pledged the most friendly interest; for the two countries, placed at the extremities of the two worlds, both in the ascending period of their development, appear called to a natural community of interests and of sympathies, of which they have already given mutual proofs to each other. I do not wish here to approach any of the questions which divide the United States We are not called upon to express ourselves in this contest The preceding considerations have no other object than to attest the lively solicitude of the Emperor in the presence of the dangers which menace the American Union, and the sincere wishes which His Majesty entertains for the maintenance of that great work, so laboriously raised, and which appeared so rich in its future

"It is in this sense, sir, that I desire you to express yourself, as well to the members of the general Government as to the influential persons whom you may meet, giving them the assurance that in every event the American nation may count upon our most cordial sympathy on the part of our august master during the important crisis which it is passing through at present

"Receive, sir, the expression of my very deep consideration. GORTSCHAKOFF."

CHAPTER XXXV.

The marshaling of the Forces on the Potomac.—Strength of the Federal Army.—Uncertain Estimates.—Neglect of Officers.—Embarrassment of Officials. The Secretary of War left to conjecture.—The Commander-in-Chief unacquainted with his Army.—An undisciplined mass.—Impatience of the Nation.—"On to Richmond."—Origin of the cry.—Contempt of the Enemy.—Effect of the "On to Richmond" cry upon the Cabinet and Commander-in-Chief.—The Advance against the Enemy determined upon.—General Irvine McDowell.—His Life and Character.—The Federal Army.—How distributed.—The Strength of the Enemy.—Contradictory Computations.—The position of Manassas described.—A Eulogy of Beauregard.—Remarkable Reticence.—A truculent Proclamation of Beauregard.—"Beauty and Booty."—A reckless Movement.—Advantages of the Enemy.—Reluctance of Scott and McDowell.—Who led the Federal Troops to Bull Run?—Press, Politicians, and Cabinet.

1861. SUCH was the patriotic alacrity with which the North had already, in the months of May and June, responded to the call of the President, that over 200,000 militia and volunteers had been enrolled, and many of them engaged in active service. The enemy had been no less energetic, with the advantage of earlier preparation. By the middle of July, Washington was pronounced safe, the Virginian shore of the Potomac occupied, Maryland tranquillized, and the communications through it with the loyal States restored; a considerable force was marching to Harper's Ferry to operate in the valley of the Shenandoah, and McClellan had completed his triumphant campaign in Western Virginia.

The force in and about Washington was variously conjectured to amount to from 40,000 to 60,000 men, but it was difficult to form a precise estimate. So precipitately had the troops, inspirited by the eager patriotism of the country, poured in, and so hastily had they been enrolled, that many of the inexperienced officers, perplexed by duties of which they were ignorant, had either not ascertained or failed to make returns of the number of their men. The Secretary of War, in common with other officials, overwhelmed by the suddenly increased magnitude of his labors, was incapable for the moment of evolving order out of the general confusion. He was therefore left to conjecture, in regard to the armed multitude which had rushed to the rescue of the endangered government. The Commander-in-chief, it is believed, was unable, at that time, to compute with any degree of accuracy even the numerical force under his command, and with much less certainty its efficacy as a military power. While none could witness without patriotic pride the spirit and the excellence of material of the immense throng of citizens mustered to defend with their lives the national existence, no careful observer could behold the undisciplined mass without anxious inquietude.

The country, however, indignant at those who, after having destroyed the



unity of the nation, now threatened to attack the Government in the very seat of its capital, was impatient to avenge both the injury and insult. Not comprehending the necessity of military organization and discipline, or too impulsive to await their slow operation, and at the same time proud of and confident in their citizen soldiers, the people of the North became impatient of inaction. This feeling found expression in the public press, oftener a servile flatterer than an independent guide of popular opinion. Most of the Northern newspapers were filled with systematic attacks upon the administration at Washington and the Commander-in-chief for their inertness, and with vehement appeals to action. Thus was raised the cry of "On to Richmond." The enemy, it was declared, were a mere handful of bravadoes, who were presuming upon the cowardice of the North, which they had always proclaimed and the inactivity of the Federal forces seemed to confirm. With one swoop of the "grand army" of the North, it was again and again declared the Southern braggarts would be swept away, not only from Washington, which they impudently confronted, but from their own capital, which they had audaciously established at Richmond.

The newspaper cry of "On to Richmond," re-echoed by the people and by their representatives at Washington in Congress assembled, was taken up even, it is said, by the President and the Cabinet, and borne with official emphasis to the ears of the veteran Commander-in-chief. General Scott is believed long to have turned a deaf ear to the suggestion, however loud and peremptory, with which, with his military experience, he considered it dangerous, if not fatal, to comply. He, however, finally yielded, and it was determined to move from the line of the Potomac against the enemy.

It was resolved by the Commander-in-chief, General Scott, to advance with an army variously estimated at from 30,000 to 45,000 men, to be placed under the immediate command of General McDowell, than whom there was not at that time an officer in the United States of higher consideration.

Irvine McDowell was born in Ohio, and having received the appointment to a cadetship, entered West Point in 1834. After the usual course of study, of four years, he graduated, and in 1838 was promoted to the rank of brevet second lieutenant. For a short time, until November, 1841, he was instructor of tactics at the academy of West Point, and subsequently appointed adjutant, which office he held until October, 1845. In the mean time he had been promoted to a first lieutenancy, his rank taking date from October, 1842. From October, 1845, to May, 1847, he was aide-de-camp to General Wool, and served in that capacity during the Mexican war. For his gallant conduct at the battle of Buena Vista, he was honored with the brevet rank of captain. On the 23d of February, 1847, he was again promoted to the post of assistant adjutant-general, with the rank of captain in May, 1847. In February, 1851, he

relinquished rank in the line. On March 31st, 1856, he was still adjutant-general, with promotion, however, to the rank of major. In May, 1861, he was elevated to the high rank of brigadier-general, and appointed to the command of the Federal line on the Potomac.

All who are brought in contact with General McDowell are greatly impressed with his soldierly bearing, his frank and courteous manners, and his apparent force of character, though softened in expression by his gentle and modest mien. "He is a man," said the London *Times* correspondent, "in the prime of life, some forty and odd years of age, very powerfully built, with a kindly, honest, soldierly expression in face and manners."

A French writer in the *Opinion Nationale*, of Paris, reported to be no less a personage than Prince Napoleon himself, though probably one of his suite, who accompanied him on his visit to the United States, says:

"General McDowell commands all the troops on the right bank of the Potomac. He is a man of forty-two years, tall and large. His face is not particularly fine, but it is remarkably open and sympathetic, through its air of frankness and kindness.

"If McClellan resembles one of our engineer officers, McDowell resembles one of our infantry officers. Did I not dread reducing to puerile shades the search for resemblances and assimilations, I should say that McDowell has the type of a chief of battalion of foot chasseurs. His conversation, his character, and his principles are still superior to his appearance, favorable as that is. He is one of the honestest, truest, simplest men that you can meet. He sustained a terrible check at Bull Run, and he speaks of it without bitterness, without recrimination, with an accent of sincerity and an elevation of sentiment that do him the greatest honor. Deprived of the supreme command in consequence of that reverse, he has seen McClellan, his fellow-student at West Point, younger than himself by several years, inherit his honors, his position, and his growing popularity. He has taken, without complaint and without murmur, an inferior place under him whose mission it is to repair the misfortune attached to his name. Well, no one doubts that McDowell will be the most submissive, most devoted of McClellan's lieutenants. McDowell has, besides, a reputation in the army of being a sort of stoic philosopher, a reputation sought after and more or less deserved by a certain number of West Point pupils. He drinks neither wine, tea, nor coffee, does not smoke, and has habits of sobriety and self-denial quite in keeping with his Puritan principles."

In addition to the army under the immediate command of General McDowell, soon to advance against the enemy in Virginia, there was a considerable force under General Patterson, who, as has already been seen, was in pursuit of the enemy under General Johnston, in the northeastern part of Virginia, near Winchester. General Scott relied upon Patterson to beat, or so keep

Johnston in check as to prevent his forming a junction with Beauregard, the Confederate commander, against whom McDowell's attack was to be directed.

Manassas Junction was the main position and headquarters of Beauregard. Here and in its environs he held an army which was variously estimated at from 50,000 to 75,000, although he himself has declared that at that time his whole effective force amounted to only 17,000 men.

"The position of Manassas," according to a Louisianian, writing from its encampments, "is by nature one of the strongest that could be found in the whole State. About half way between the eastern spur of the Blue Ridge and the Potomac, below Alexandria, it commands the whole country between, so perfectly that there is scarce a possibility of its being turned. The right wing stretches off towards the head waters of the Occoquan, through a wooded country, which is easily made impassable by the felling of trees. The left is a rolling table-land, easily commanded from the successive elevations, till you reach a country so rough and so rugged that it is a defence to itself. The key to the whole position, in fact, is precisely that point which General Beauregard chose for his centre, and which he has fortified so strongly that, in the opinion of military men, 5,000 men could there hold 20,000 at bay.

"The position, in fact, is fortified in part by nature herself. It is a succession of hills, nearly equidistant from each other, in front of which is a ravine, so deep and so thickly wooded that it is passable only at two points, and those through gorges which fifty men can defend against a whole army." The same authority bears personal witness to the strength of this position in the declaration, "that it was at one of these points that the Washington Artillery were at first encamped, and though only half the battalion was then there, and we had only one company of infantry to support us, we slept as soundly under the protection of our guns as if we had been in a fort of the amplest dimensions.

"Of the fortifications superadded here by General Beauregard to those of nature, it is of course," says the cautious enemy, "not proper for me to speak." He, however, tells the general reader that "he will have a sufficiently precise idea of them by conceiving a line of forts some two miles in extent, zigzag in form, with angles, salients, bastions, casemates, and everything that properly belongs to works of this kind. The strength and advantages of this position at Manassas are very much increased by the fact, that fourteen miles farther on is a position of similar formation, while the country between is admirably adapted to the subsistence and entrenchment of troops, in numbers as large as they can easily be manœuvred on the real battle-field. Water is good and abundant; forage, such as is everywhere found in the rich farming districts of Virginia, and the communication with all parts of the country easy.

"Here, overlooking an extensive plain, watered by mountain streams, which ultimately find their way to the Potomac, and divided into verdant fields of wheat and oats and corn, pasture and meadow, are the headquarters of the advanced forces of the army of the Potomac. They are South Carolinians, Louisianians, Alabamians, Mississippians, and Virginians for the most part; the first two, singularly enough, being in front—and they will keep it, their friends at home may rest assured. Never," exclaims the partial chronicler, "have I seen a finer body of men—men who were more obedient to discipline, or who breathed a more self-sacrificing patriotism."

The same enthusiastic eulogist of all that pertains to the cause of his fellow-secessionists, pays this tribute to General Beauregard: "As might be expected from the skill with which he has chosen his position, and the system with which he encamps and moves his men, General Beauregard is very popular here. I doubt if Napoleon himself had more the undivided confidence of his army. By nature, as also from a wise policy, he is very reticent. Not an individual here knows his plans or a single move of a regiment before it is made, and then only the colonel and his men know where it goes to. There is not a man here who can give anything like a satisfactory answer how many men he has or where his exact lines are. For the distance of fourteen miles around, you see tents everywhere, and from them you can make a rough estimate of his men; but how many more are encamped on the by-roads and in the forests none can tell. The new-comer, from what he sees at first glance, puts down the number at about 30,000 men; those who have been here longest, estimate his force at 45,000, 50,000, and some even at 60,000 strong. And there is the same discrepancy as to the quantity of his artillery. So close does the General keep his affairs to himself, that his left hand hardly knows what his right hand doeth, and so jealous is he of this prerogative of a commanding officer, that I verily believe if he suspected his coat of any acquaintance with the plans revolving within him, he would cast it from him."*

* Of the truculent spirit which animated this distinguished leader, there is evidence in this proclamation:

"HEADQUARTERS, DEPT. OF ALEXANDRIA,
CAMP PICKENS, *June* 5, 1861.

"TO THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTIES OF LOUDON, FAIRFAX, AND PRINCE WILLIAM—A reckless and unprincipled tyrant has invaded your soil. Abraham Lincoln, regardless of all moral, legal, and constitutional restraints, has thrown his Abolition hosts among you, who are murdering and imprisoning your citizens, confiscating and destroying your property, and committing other acts of violence and outrage too shocking and revolting to humanity to be enumerated.

"All rules of civilized warfare are abandoned, and they proclaim by their acts, if not on their banners, that their war-cry is 'BEAUTY AND BOOTY.' All that is dear to man—your honor and that of your wives and daughters—your fortunes and your lives, are involved in this momentous contest.

"In the name, therefore, of the constituted authorities of the Confederate States—in the sacred cause of constitutional liberty and self-government, for which we are contending—in behalf of civilization itself, I, G. T. Beauregard, Brigadier-General of the Confederate States, commanding at Camp Pickens, Manassas Junction, do make this my proclamation, and invite and enjoin you by every consideration dear to the hearts of freemen and patriots, by the name and memory of your Revolutionary fathers, and by the purity and sanctity of your domestic firesides, to rally to the standard of your State and country, and by every means in your power compatible with honorable

It was against a force that none of the Federal officers could compute with accuracy, entrenched in a position strong by nature and fortified by art, and commanded by the ablest of the Confederate commanders, that General Scott, yielding to the passionate impulse of popular feeling, reluctantly determined to throw his undisciplined masses. It is true it was reasonable to suppose that the force of the enemy was no more disciplined than our own, but it could not fail to be recognized by every one of military experience, as an unquestionable fact, that raw troops always act at a disadvantage as assailants, and with most effect when on the defensive and under the cover of fortifications or breastworks. In the offensive movement, therefore, of the Federal troops against the Confederate army, entrenched at Manassas, the advantage was clearly on the side of the enemy. Conscious of this, the Commander-in-chief, Scott, reluctantly gave his orders to advance, and his experienced general, McDowell, reluctantly obeyed him. The leadership, however, of the army had been practically assumed by an excited people, an obsequious press, the artful politicians, and an inexperienced cabinet, and with the cry of "On to Richmond," they led a brave but undisciplined force to the defeat at Bull Run.

warfare, to drive back and expel the invaders from your land.

"I conjure you to be true and loyal to your country and her legal and constitutional authorities, and especially to be vigilant of the movements and acts of the enemy, so as to enable you to give the earliest authentic information at these headquarters, or to the officers under my command.

"I desire to assure you that the utmost protection in my power will be given to you all.

"G. T. Beauregard,
"Brigadier-General Commanding.

"Official—Thomas Jordan,
"Acting Assistant Adjutant-General."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

March of Federal Troops from Washington.—The Guard of the Fortifications.—The Guard of the Capital.—General Mansfield.—His Military Career and Character.—Premature old age.—No power of organization.—Advance of the "Grand Army."—The Four Divisions.—Roads and Direction of March.—Burnside's Brigade.—Advance of Hunter's Division.—Tyler's Division.—Miles' Division.—Encampment.—Advance of the 17th of July.—A Ruse of the Enemy mistaken.—Beauregard's Statement.—Spirited Advance on Fairfax Court House.—Retirement of the Enemy.—A graphic account of the Federal Success.—The raising of the "Star Spangled Banner."—Appearance of Fairfax Court House.—Behavior of the Federal Troops.—A stringent Proclamation of McDowell.—Encampment at Fairfax Court House and Neighborhood.—The Advance of Tyler's Division to Centreville.—Retirement of the Enemy.—Their object.—Description of Bull Run.—Topography of the Country.—A Reconnoissance.—Colonel Richardson's Advance.—The Enemy in Force at Blackburn's Ford.—Movement of the Enemy.—Retreat or Advance?—Major Barnard's Opinion.—Fire opened —Tyler's persistency.—A serious Engagement.—Reinforcements.—An unequal Struggle.—Retirement of the Federal Forces.—Beauregard's Report of the Battle of the 18th of July.

1861. ON the 15th of July, the Federal forces, consisting of fifty-five regiments, but numbering in all, in consequence of the numerical incompleteness of most of them, but 45,000 men, and accompanied by six batteries of artillery, began their march toward Manassas from their various encampments on the west side of the Potomac and in the neighborhood of Washington.

Some 16,000 thousand men remained on the left bank of the Potomac as a reserve to watch the capital, and a strong guard on the right to hold the forts and intrenchments on that side, to guard the bridges and crossings of the river, and to cover the roads to Alexandria, Fairfax, and Falls Church. General Mansfield was in command at Washington.

J. K. Mansfield was born in Connecticut, and entered West Point Academy in 1817. In July, 1822, he graduated, and was at once promoted to the rank of brevet second lieutenant in the corps of Engineers. In March, 1832, he became a first lieutenant; in July, 1838, a captain, and in 1846–7 served as chief engineer of the army under General Taylor throughout his Mexican campaign. He was honored with the rank of brevet major for his gallant conduct in the defence of Fort Brown, on the Rio Grande, on May 9th, 1846, and was severely wounded at the battle of Monterey. He was promoted to the rank of brevet lieutenant-colonel, in September, 1846, and subsequently to that of brevet colonel, for his spirit and good service at the battle of Buena Vista. On the 28th of May, 1853, he was appointed inspector-general of the army, with the rank of colonel, when he relinquished his position in the corps of Engineers. On the accession of President Lincoln, Mansfield was made a brigadier-general, with command at Washington, and was thus sketched:

"About fifty-five years of age, but

with his long white beard and hair, his subdued bearing, his amiable manners, his fondness for social talk, and his yielding disposition, would seem to have the characteristics, if not the infirmities, of a much older man. With too much forbearance toward individual assumption, and too little assertion of his own dignity, General Mansfield has the qualities rather of the good-natured patriarch of a rustic community than of the rigid military commander. Much of the irregularity of the troops under his command may be attributed to his want of firmness. Of unquestioned skill in his profession, and of distinguished bravery in the field, he is yet deficient in those stern qualities of the commander requisite in the organization of a volunteer force."

General McDowell having left his rear thus guarded, began his march. His "grand army," as it was exultingly termed, moved in four divisions, each numbering nearly 12,000 men. Three different roads were taken, and the whole force directed toward the line formed by portions of the Manassas Gap and Orange and Alexandria railroads. The divergence of the different lines of march was thus arranged, that if circumstances admitted, a flank movement might be made on the enemy's intrenched position. At the same time a wider extent of country could thus be swept, while there would be less chance of the various columns clogging each other's movement.

The brigade under the command of Colonel Burnside, consisting of the First and Second Rhode Island regiments, the New York Seventy-first, and the Second New Hampshire Volunteers, together with two batteries, broke up its encampment near Washington and crossed over the long bridge into Virginia on the afternoon of the 15th of July. Joining the central column on the left bank of the Potomac, under the command of Acting Major-General Hunter, this combined force on the next day (the 16th) took the direct turnpike road to Fairfax Court House.

The division forming the extreme right, under the command of General Tyler, and composed of his brigade of Connecticut regiments, the New York Sixty-ninth and Seventy-ninth and others, at the same time took the Leesburg road, passing through Vienna. The division under the command of Acting Major-General Miles marched by the old Braddock road to the extreme left, south of the turnpike taken by Hunter's division.

On the first day the several divisions, having proceeded by these different routes, had marched about eight or nine miles, when the whole army encamped. Early next morning a general advance was ordered. The whole force consequently resumed its march. The enemy apparently strove, by felling trees across the roads and by sending out their skirmishers, to embarrass the advance of our troops. It was supposed by the Federal commanders, that their opponents having been taken by surprise, were thus making a serious effort at resistance. July 17.

General Beauregard, however, in his

report, declared, that being "opportunely informed of the determination of the enemy to advance on Manassas," his advanced brigades on the night of the 16th of July were made aware of the impending movement, and in exact accordance with his instructions "their withdrawal within the lines of Bull Run was effected with complete success during the day and night of the 17th of July."

Accordingly the felled trees across the roads, the incomplete batteries, the occasional encampments, and the skirmishing fire our troops met on their advance and swept before them, were probably only so many feints of resistance, while the enemy were falling back to their strong positions at Bull Run and Manassas, whither they were desirous of enticing the Federal army.

Our men expecting resistance at Fairfax Court House, advanced against the place with great spirit. "The whole division," says one who was with Hunter's column, "with a growing eagerness for battle, kept insensibly accelerating its pace, till of its own accord it almost reached a 'double quick.' They were the first, of course, to reach the Court House, and the first consequently to be seen by the Confederates, who, surprised* at finding the enemy crossing along the turnpike road, when they expected him only by the Braddock road, seized hold of their cannon in that quarter and ran with them to the centre. At the same time reports were brought that the Federal troops were approaching on the right and appearing also in strong force in the direction of the left. They did not wait, therefore, to hear the shouts of the Rhode Islanders and the Seventy-first as they prepared to charge, but dropping whatever they were about, incontinently fled with wild huzzas; the Burnside brigade in a few minutes afterward tore their way into the village, looking eagerly to the right and left for foes, and in their disappointment penetrating often the abandoned dwellings, in the hopes of finding some secreted squads of the Confederates there. But though entirely gone they had barely escaped; and had the fifth division been a little farther forward, they must have been intercepted and cut off. As it was, they left their tents, camp equipage, forage, a quantity of arms and flour, and, in some instances, their uniforms and swords. * * * So precipitate was their flight, that the camp kettles were seething with their intended meals, and it was necessary that a corporal of the Rhode Islanders should take down their rebel flag from the Court House, and put the star-spangled banner in its place. * * *

"The village presented an extraordinary spectacle on the afternoon of the capture. The soldiers, unrestrained by duty, entered every dwelling that had been abandoned, and taking its desertion as a confession of judgment on the part of its proprietor, sacked it as mercilessly as if it had been condemned to plunder by a lawful process.

"In some instances they set houses

* Mr. George Wilkes, from whose graphic account this extract is made, wrote on the common presumption of the Federalists, that the enemy were taken by surprise.

on fire, in some insulted women, and terror took possession of the town. Toward the close of the day, when the rage of acquisition had subsided, the place wore the softened aspect of a carnival; and soldiers, apparelled in crinoline and female sheen, walked with their bearded gallants up and down, replying with affected gab to the rather racy compliments tendered them from every side. This, to the superficial looker-on, gave the scene a merry show; but I noticed that the shuddering inhabitants regarded it with fear and undisguised abhorrence. One female, hearing me condemn the conduct of the soldiers, as a fellow passed by with a pair of ladies' ruffled drawers hauled up over his pantaloons, said she 'thought it was really too bad that the clothes of Mr. Smith's poor dead mother, which had been packed away for several years untouched, should be desecrated in that coarse, vulgar way.' I myself half shuddered as she made this remark on the fellow's conduct, and I made up my mind thenceforth to contribute my share of effort to put a check upon such shocking license. I have been desirous all along to conceal whatever was discreditable to our soldiers; but I now perceive that this is the worst way to treat the evil. Public condemnation must be turned upon their outrages in its fullest tide, and if that ceases to nerve the officers sufficiently to enable them to make the men behave, we had better give up this war." To this humane reflection, which honors the writer, may be added, in confirmation of his statement of the conduct of our undisciplined troops, the order of General McDowell, in which he illustrates not only his characteristic goodness of heart, but his firmness of rule as a commander.

"HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF VA.
FAIRFAX COURT HOUSE, *July* 18.

"It is with deepest mortification that the General commanding finds it necessary to reiterate his orders for the preservation of the property of the inhabitants of the district occupied by the troops under his command. Hardly had we arrived at this place when, to the horror of every right-minded person, several houses were broken open, and others were in flames, by the act of some of those who, it has been the boast of the loyal, came here to protect the oppressed and free the country from the domination of a hated party. The property of this people is at the mercy of troops who, we rightly say, are the most intelligent, best educated, and most law-abiding of any that were ever under arms. But do not, therefore, the acts of yesterday cast the deepest stain upon them? It was claimed by some that their particular corps were not engaged in these acts. This is of but little moment; since the individuals are not found out, we are all alike disgraced. Commanders of regiments will select a commissioned officer as a provost marshal, and ten men as a police force under him, whose special and sole duty it shall be to preserve the property from depredations, and to arrest all wrongdoers of whatever regiment or corps they may be. Any one found committing the slightest depredation, killing

pigs or poultry, or trespassing on the property of the inhabitants, will be reported to headquarters, and the least that will be done to them will be to send them to Alexandria jail. It is again ordered that no one shall arrest or attempt to arrest any citizen not in arms at the time, or search or attempt to search any house, or even to enter the same without permission. The troops must behave themselves with as much forbearance and propriety as if they were at their own homes. They are here to fight the enemies of the country, not to judge and punish the unarmed and defenceless, however guilty they may be. When necessary, that will be done by the proper person. By command of

"GENERAL McDOWELL.

"JAMES B. FRY,

"Assistant Adjutant-General."

Most of the army had encamped for the night at Fairfax Court House, and in its neighborhood beyond. The more advanced troops, composing the first division, commanded by General Tyler, had pushed on to Centreville, whence the enemy had retired, with the view, as it appears by Beauregard's report, of drawing on our army. "This movement," says that General; "had the intended effect of deceiving the enemy as to my ulterior purposes, and led him to anticipate an unresisted passage of Bull Run."

Bull Run is a small stream running nearly from west to east to its junction with the Occoquan River, which empties into the Potomac. Nearly midway between Centreville and Manassas, its distance from both is about three miles. From Washington it is twenty-nine miles distant. The stream being ordinarily shallow and sluggish, is easily fordable, but it is occasionally swollen suddenly by the summer rains so as to become impassable. The banks for the most part are rocky and steep, but there are passageways over them leading to and from the numerous fords. The country immediately bordering Bull Run is broken and thickly wooded, but as it leaves the stream it becomes rolling and open. The northern bank is higher, and commands the other and lower side.

General Tyler's division having advanced to Centreville, it was determined to make a reconnoissance in the neighborhood of Bull Run. Colonel Richardson, accordingly, was directed to July 18. push forward with his brigade, consisting of the First Massachusetts Regiment, the Second Michigan, and the Twelfth New York, accompanied by a portion of Sherman's battery, under the command of Captain Ayres.

On proceeding along the road that leads to that part of Bull Run which is crossed by what is termed Blackburn Ford, it became evident from occasional glimpses that the enemy were there in force, although, owing to the thickness of the wood on the banks of the stream, no distinct view could be obtained. "I represented to General Tyler," says Major Barnard, of the Engineers, "that this point was the enemy's strong position on the direct road to Manassas Junction; that it was no part of the plan to assail it. I did not, however,

object to a 'demonstration,' believing that it would favor what I supposed still to be the commanding general's plan of campaign." In the mean time, from a neighboring height the enemy could be seen moving his troops on the road leading from Manassas to Blackburn's Ford. To most of the Federal officers it appeared that this was a movement of retreat. "I was perfectly sure," declares Major Barnard, "that they were columns moving up to meet us from Manassas."

It was determined, however, in spite of the Major's opinion, that an attack upon the enemy should be risked. "Two twenty-pounder Parrott guns were accordingly ordered up, and fire opened in various directions, without," says Barnard, "our being able to perceive the degree of effect they produced." A dozen rounds had been thus fired, when the enemy responded by a rapid discharge from a battery apparently close to the stream and near the ford. Our twenty-pounders were now aimed directly at this point, and another battery, that of Ayres, was brought up and stationed on our left to strengthen the fire. The enemy's guns soon after ceased to respond. Ours, however, continued playing for about half an hour, when Major Barnard thinking it a useless expenditure of ammunition, said so to the Assistant Adjutant-General at his side. General Tyler seemed, to be of the same opinion, for he soon ceased his fire altogether.

But General Tyler was not disposed thus to give up the fight, and having ordered his troops to advance, renewed the unequal struggle with his concealed foe, notwithstanding Major Barnard strove to impress upon him that "it was no part of the commanding general's plan to bring on a serious engagement."

Reinforcements were now brought up, and the demonstration became a battle, which, after lasting for three hours and a half, resulted in the retirement, by the order of General McDowell, of our brave men, who so long had endured an unequal struggle with a concealed and powerful foe. The loss of the Federalists was about sixty killed, and the effect was dispiriting upon our troops, as they had been forced to retire from a contest with an enemy whose strength they had so undervalued as to suppose he would yield almost at the first blow.

The enemy were much elated at their success, which they not unnaturally exaggerated into an important victory. Their commander General Beauregard, made the engagement the subject of a most elaborate report, which, though unquestionably partial, is of such interest as to justify the following extracts.

"On the morning of the 18th, finding that the enemy was assuming a threatening attitude, in addition to the regiments whose positions have been already stated, I ordered up from Camp Pickens, as a reserve, in rear of Bonham's brigade, the effective men of six companies of Kelly's Eighth Regiment Louisiana Volunteers and Kirkland's Eleventh Regiment North Carolina Volunteers, which, having arrived the night before *en route* for Winchester, I had halted, in view of

had been called up—that is, six companies of the Twenty-fourth Regiment Virginia Volunteers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hairston, and five pieces of artillery, one rifled gun, and four six-pounder brass guns, including two six-pounder guns under Lieutenant Garnett, which had been previously sent to the rear by General Longstreet. This infantry was at once placed in position to the left of the ford, in a space unoccupied by Hays, and the artillery was unlimbered in battery to the right of the road, in a line with the two guns already in action. A scattering fire of musketry was still kept up by the enemy for a short time, but that was soon silenced.

"It was at this stage of the affair that a remarkable artillery duel was commenced and maintained on our side with a long trained professional opponent, superior in the character as well as the number of his weapons, provided with improved munitions and every artillery appliance, and at the same time occupying the commanding position. The results were marvellous and fitting precursors to the artillery achievements of the 21st of July. In the outset our fire was directed against the enemy's infantry, whose bayonets, gleaming above the tree-tops, alone indicated their presence and force. This drew the attention of a battery placed on a high commanding ridge, and the duel began in earnest. For a time the aim of the adversary was inaccurate, but this was quickly corrected, and shot fell and shell burst thick and fast in the very midst of our battery, wounding, in the course of the combat, Captain Eschelman, five privates, and the horse of Lieutenant Richardson. From the position of our pieces and the nature of the ground, their aim could only be directed at the smoke of the enemy's artillery. How skilfully and with what execution this was done can only be realized by an eye-witness. For a few moments their guns were silenced, but were soon reopened. By direction of General Longstreet, his battery was then advanced by hand out of the ranges now ascertained by the enemy, and a shower of spherical-case, shell, and round shot flew over the heads of our gunners; but one of our pieces had become *hors du combat* from an enlarged vent. From the new position our guns fired as before, with no other aim than the smoke and flash of their adversaries' pieces—renewed and urged the conflict with such signal vigor and effect that gradually the fire of the enemy slackened, the intervals between their discharges grew longer, and finally ceased, and we fired a last gun at a baffled, flying foe, whose heavy masses in the distance were plainly seen to break and scatter in wild confusion and utter rout, strewing the ground with cast-away guns, hats, blankets, and knapsacks, as our parting shell was thrown amongst them. In their retreat one of their pieces was abandoned, but from the nature of the ground it was not sent for that night, and, under cover of darkness, the enemy recovered it.

"The guns engaged in this singular

conflict, on our side, were three six-pounder rifled pieces and four ordinary six-pounders, all of Walton's battery, the Washington Artillery, of New Orleans. The officers immediately attached were Captain Eschelman, lieutenants C. W. Squires, Richardson, Garnett, and Whittington. At the same time our infantry held the bank of the stream in advance of our guns, and the missiles of the combatants flew to and fro above them, as, cool and veteran-like, for more than an hour they steadily awaited the moment and signal for the advance.

"While the conflict was at its height, before Blackburn's Ford, about four P.M., the enemy again displayed himself in force before Bonham's position. At this Colonel Kershaw, with four companies of his regiment, Second South Carolina, and one piece of Kemper's artillery, were thrown across Mitchell's Ford to the ridge which Kemper had occupied that morning. Two solid shot and three spherical case, thrown among them with a precision inaugurated by that artillerist at Vienna, effected their discomfiture and disappearance, and our troops in that quarter were again drawn within our lines, having discharged the duty assigned.

"At the close of the engagement before Blackburn's Ford, I directed General Longstreet to withdraw the First and Seventeenth regiments, which had borne the brunt of the action, to a position in reserve, leaving Colonel Early to occupy the field with his brigade and Garland's regiment.

"As a part of the history of this engagement, I desire to place on record, that on the 18th of July not one yard of intrenchments nor one rifle-pit sheltered the men at Blackburn's Ford, who, officers and men, with rare exceptions, were on that day for the first time under fire, and who, taking and maintaining every position ordered, can not be too much commended for their soldierly behavior." * * * *

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The Repulse at Blackburn's Ford — How it happened — A Demonstration turned into a Battle — Defeat inevitable.— Fortunate interposition of McDowell — Plan of Battle changed — The original plan — Why it was altered — The new plan — The Lines at Centreville — Arrivals from Washington — Spectators of the expected Battle — Throngs of Civilians, Officials, Newspaper Reporters, Members of Congress, etc. — The delay at Centreville — Order of Battle — Order in regard to Provisions — Uncertainty of Supplies — Want of Organization and System — The Day chosen for the Advance — Frank admission of McDowell — Original intention of McDowell — Not carried out unfortunately — Evil effect upon the Troops — ... the Panic at Bull Run — A hurried March — The effects of "Double Quick" — Description of Centreville — Roads to and from — Disposition of the Federal Army — The various Divisions — Where posted — McDowell's account of his plan — Delay in starting — Advance of Tyler's Division — Before the Enemy — Position of Tyler's ... — Taking their time — Advance of Hunter's Division — Circuitous Route — Arrival at Sudley's Springs — ... — Delay at the Stream — Confronting the Enemy — The Attack begins — The Second Rhode Island ... — The First Rhode Islanders to the Rescue — Death of Colonel Slocum — The New Yorkers advance — The ... follow — Colonel Porter's brigade — Its advance — In the Battle — Hunter wounded — ... the Division — Advance of Heintzelman's Division — No Road — McDowell on the Right — His account of the ... the Battle — The Rout — The Panic — Efforts of McDowell — Partial success — The Reserve brought up — Blenker's Brigade — Its conduct — The Demonstration at Blackburn's Ford — Success — ...

1861.

THE repulse of our troops at Blackburn's Ford was evidently in consequence of what was intended merely as a demonstration having been, by a false judgment of General Tyler, turned into a serious struggle. A comparatively small force of Federal troops had thus been suddenly confronted with the main body of the enemy, posted at the strongest part of their line of defence. Defeat was inevitable, when a mere reconnoitering force was brought into collision with the might of a whole army. General McDowell fortunately rode up in time to arrest the useless sacrifice, and was so persuaded of the strength of that part of the enemy's position against which our small advanced force had been, with fatal recklessness, vainly striving, that he determined to change his whole plan of battle. His original determination had been to turn the position of Manassas by his left, in the direction in which Tyler's unfortunate "demonstration" had been made. This plan, if it had been carried out, would have brought our force, by a flank movement, probably as far to the west as the little stream of Wolf Run, which empties into the Occoquan River still nearer to the Potomac than Bull Run, and of course further to our left and the enemy's right than even Blackburn's Ford. McDowell, however, having ascertained that the nature of the country to the left or southward of Manassas was unfit for the operations of a large army, and that the enemy were best prepared to defend themselves in that direction, as was evident from the result of the "demonstration" at Blackburn's Ford, suddenly changed his original plan. He

now determined to move by the right, turning the enemy's left.

In the mean time, McDowell drew back his whole army within the line of Centreville, about three miles in front of Bull Run and twenty-six in advance of Washington. Great preparations were now made for an advance. Reinforcements of artillery, trains after trains of wagons loaded with stores for a long march, ambulances supplied with all the requirements for the sick and the wounded, and vehicles of every kind were coming in hourly from Washington. Great crowds of visitors, the Secretary of War and other officials, members of Congress, newspaper reporters, foreign travellers, and curious citizens, some in carriages crowded with jovial companions and heaped up with hampers of eatables and wine, some on horseback, and many even on foot, thronged forward from the capital to the scene of the expected battle.

For two days and nights the army had remained at Centreville in excited expectation, when, finally on the third, General McDowell issued his order of battle.

July 20.

"HEADQUARTERS DEPT. ARMY EASTERN VA., CENTREVILLE, *July* 20, 1861.

"The enemy has planted a battery on the Warrenton turnpike to defend the passage of Bull Run; has seized the stone bridge, and made a heavy abattis on the right bank, to oppose our advance in that direction. The ford above the bridge is also guarded, whether with artillery or not is not positively known, but every indication favors the belief that he purposes to defend the passage of the stream.

"It is intended to turn the position, force the enemy from the road that it may be reopened, and, if possible, destroy the railroad leading from Manassas to the valley of Virginia, where the enemy has a large force. As this may be resisted by all the force of the enemy, the troops will be disposed of as follows:

"The first division, General Tyler's, with the exception of Richardson's brigade, will, at half-past two o'clock in the morning precisely, be on the Warrenton turnpike to threaten the passage of the bridge, but will not open fire until full daybreak.

"The second division (Hunter's) will move from its camp at two o'clock in the morning, precisely, and led by Captain Woodbury, of the Engineers, will, after passing Cub Run, turn to the right and pass the Bull Run stream above the ford at Sudley's Spring, and then turning down to the left, descend the stream and clear away the enemy who may be guarding the lower ford and bridge. It will then bear off to the right, and make room for the succeeding division.

"The third division (Heintzelman's) will march at half-past two o'clock in the morning, and follow the road taken by the second division, but will cross at the lower ford after it has been turned as above, and then, going to the left, take place between the stream and the second division.

"The fifth division (Miles') will take position on the Centreville Heights (Richardson's brigade will, for the time,

form part of the fifth division, and will continue in its present position). One brigade will be in the village, and one near the present station of Richardson's brigade. This division will threaten the Blackburn Ford, and remain in reserve at Centreville. The commander will open fire with artillery only, and will bear in mind that it is a demonstration only he is to make. He will cause such defensive works, abattis, earth-works, etc., to be thrown up as will strengthen his position. Lieutenant Prime, of the Engineers, will be charged with this duty.

"These movements may lead to the gravest results, and commanders of divisions and brigades should bear in mind the immense consequences involved. There must be no failure, and every effort must be made to prevent straggling.

"No one must be allowed to leave the ranks without special authority. After completing the movements ordered, the troops must be held in order of battle, as they may be attacked at any moment.

"By order of

"Brigadier-General McDowell.

"James B. Fry, Adjutant-General."

To this was added an order for each man to be supplied with provisions to the extent of the ability of the subsistence department. The fact that in this document there is an apparent uncertainty in regard to that ability, while the necessity of the soldiers' having three days' rations is declared, is an indication of the want of organization and system with which it is suspected this important military enterprise was undertaken.

"Headquarters Dept. Northeastern Va., Centreville, *July* 20, 1861.

"To the Commanders of Divisions and Brigades:

"The commanders of the divisions will give the necessary orders that an equal distribution of the subsistence stores on hand may be made immediately to the different companies in their respective commands, so that they shall be provided for the same number of days, and that the same may be cooked and put into the haversacks of the men. The subsistence stores now in the possession of each division, with the fresh beef that can be drawn from the chief commissary, must last to include the 23d inst. By command of

"Brigadier-General McDowell.

"James B. Fry, Adjutant-General."

General McDowell had chosen the next day, Sunday, the 21st of July, for his advance to attack the enemy in their position at Bull Run. He had been thus delayed by "the inability of the subordinate commanders to get earlier a true account of the state of their commands." Such is the frank admission that the commanding general makes of the loose hold he possessed of his "grand army." There could be no more striking proof of the incomplete organization of the armed mass with which he was about to take the risks of battle.

It was originally the intention of General McDowell to move the several columns out on the road a few miles in advance of Centreville during the

evening of the 20th of July, so that they might have a shorter march in the morning when the attack was to be made. He, however, unfortunately "deferred to those who had the greatest distance to go, and who preferred starting early in the morning and making but one move." We say unfortunately, believing that the undisciplined ardor with which the men, under their incompetent regimental commanders, pushed forward on the next day, was an influential cause of the panic at Bull Run. With a hurried march, mostly at "double quick," the raw soldiers became exhausted, and thus prostrated by fatigue were less proof against depressing emotions. If a part of the march had been performed, as was prudently intended by McDowell, on the night before, there would have been less distance to accomplish on the day of the attack, and consequently less fatigue of our men, urged forward by their own intemperate ardor and the unskilled leadership of their inexperienced officers.

Centreville, which had been selected as General McDowell's headquarters, and in which and its neighborhood his army was encamped, is a village of small houses built upon the western acclivity of a ridge running nearly north and south. It is about twenty-six miles from Washington and twenty from Alexandria. Through it passes the Warrenton turnpike. This road takes a westerly direction from Alexandria, on the Potomac; at the east traverses Fairfax Court House and Centreville, and crossing Bull Run about four miles from the latter village, proceeds to Warrenton beyond. The road from Centreville to Manassas Junction starts from the former place at a right angle with the Warrenton turnpike, and passing in a southerly direction crosses Bull Run at Blackburn's Ford. There is another road known as the "old Braddock road," which enters Centreville from a southeasterly direction. The various divisions of the army, previous to the advance on Bull Run, were stationed on and near these roads, ready to take up their march and assume their positions in the contemplated battle.

The first division, that of General Tyler, was on the Warrenton turnpike about a mile and a half in advance of Centreville, with the exception of that brigade commanded by Richardson which had opened the attack on the 18th. Having fallen back after that unsuccessful attempt, Richardson still occupied the road, the Centreville and Manassas, which led to Blackburn's Ford. The second division, that of General Hunter, was also on the Warrenton turnpike, though two or three miles to the rear of Tyler's division, and to the east of Centreville, while the latter was in advance to the west. The third division, commanded by General Heintzelman, was on the old Braddock road about a mile and a half in the rear of Centreville; and the fifth division, commanded by General Miles, was on the same road, but nearer to the village. The fourth division, commanded by General Runyon, had been left seven miles in the rear of Centreville, to guard the communications

by the way of Vienna and the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, with the entrenchments on the Potomac and the base of operations at Washington.

His force thus skilfully disposed, General McDowell proceeded to execute his plan of battle, which is best described in his own words:

"My personal reconnoissance," he says, "of the roads to the south had shown that it was not practicable to carry out the original plan of turning the enemy's position on their right. The affair of the 18th, at Blackburn's Ford showed that he was too strong at that point for us to force a passage there without great loss; and if we did, that it would bring us in front of his strong position at Manassas, which was not desired. Our information was that the stone bridge, over which the Warrenton road crossed Bull Run, to the west of Centreville, was defended by a battery in position, and the road on his side of the stream impeded by a heavy abattis. The alternative was, therefore, to turn the extreme left of his position. Reliable information was obtained of an undefended ford about three miles above the bridge, there being another ford between it and the bridge, which was defended. It was therefore determined to take the road to the upper ford, and after crossing, to get behind the forces guarding the lower ford and the bridge, and after occupying the Warrenton road east of the bridge, to send out a force to destroy the railroad at or near Gainesville, and thus break up the communication between the enemy's forces at Manassas and those in the valley of Virginia, before Winchester, which had been held in check by Major-General Patterson.

"Brigadier-General Tyler was directed to move with three of his brigades on the Warrenton road, and commence cannonading the enemy's batteries, while Hunter's division, moving after him, should, after passing a little stream called Cub Run, turn to the right and north and move around to the upper ford, and there turn south and get behind the enemy; Colonel Heintzelman's division was to follow Hunter's as far as the turning-off place to the lower ford, where he was to cross after the enemy should have been driven out by Hunter's division; the fifth division (Miles') to be in reserve on the Centreville ridge.

"I had felt anxious about the road from Manassas, by Blackburn's Ford, to Centreville, along this ridge, fearing that while we should be in force to the front, and endeavoring to turn the enemy's position, we ourselves should be turned by him by this road; for if he should once obtain possession of this ridge, which overlooks all the country to the west to the foot of the spurs of the Blue Ridge, we should have been irretrievably cut off and destroyed. I had, therefore, directed this point to be held in force, and sent an engineer to extemporize some field-works to strengthen the position."

The divisions were ordered to march at two o'clock in the morning, that they might avoid the sweltering heat of a July sun. There was, however, con-

July 21.

siderable delay in breaking up the encampments and getting into marching order. The movement at last began.

The division of Tyler in advance on the Warrenton turnpike was the first to move. This was composed only of Sherman's, Schenck's, and Keyes' brigades; the fourth, that of Richardson, being posted on the road leading to Blackburn's Ford, in order to act in conjunction with Miles' division, held in reserve in case the enemy should attempt to make a flank movement from this direction.

General Tyler did not succeed in getting his troops to move until half-past two o'clock, half an hour after the time ordered. Schenck's and Sherman's brigades, with Ayres' and Carlisle's batteries, were pushed on in advance, and arrived in front of the bridge where the Warrenton turnpike crosses Bull Run, at half-past six in the morning. Keyes' brigade had been halted within two miles of the stream, in order to watch the cross road which communicates at that point with the Warrenton turnpike.

Tyler, having been ordered to threaten the bridge, posted his troops accordingly. Schenck's brigade was formed into line, with its left resting in the direction of the bridge and the battery which the enemy had established to defend it, with the view of threatening both. Sherman's brigade was posted to the right of the turnpike, so as to be ready to sustain Schenck or to cross the stream of Bull Run when the progress of Hunter's division should justify the movement. The thirty-pounder gun attached to Carlisle's battery was posted in advance on the road, and Ayres' battery also, but at a considerable distance in the rear. Carlisle's battery was placed on the left of Sherman's brigade. Having thus disposed his force and fired his signal-gun, Tyler awaited the movement of the main body on his right and the enemy's left, which we now proceed to trace.

Colonel Hunter's division, the second, had followed the march of Tyler along the Warrenton turnpike until it crossed the streamlet termed Cub Run, when it turned to the right and took the by-road through the woods, which, by a circuitous course, led to an upper ford of Bull Run called Sudley's Spring, where the enemy's left was posted. This movement was in accordance with McDowell's plan of flanking Beauregard in that direction and getting in his rear, with the view of seizing and cutting off his communication by means of the Manassas Gap Railroad with Winchester, where Johnston was known to be with a considerable rebel force.

The circuitous road through the wood was found to be longer and more difficult to march than was anticipated, and accordingly Hunter's division did not reach the ford of Bull Run at Sudley's Spring until half-past nine o'clock in the morning. General Burnside's brigade was foremost. The men being greatly prostrated by the heat of the day, now considerably advanced, and their intemperate ardor in marching, could not be prevented from breaking from the ranks

to fill their canteens and slake their thirst in the stream. This caused much delay in re-forming and crossing the ford. Finally, however, order was restored, and the brigade crossed Bull Run and advanced, Colonel Slocum, of the Second Rhode Island Regiment, having thrown out skirmishers on either flank and in front.

The enemy now showed themselves, and soon the head of Burnside's brigade was confronting them. The Second Regiment of Rhode Islanders was immediately pushed forward with its battery of artillery, and the rest of the brigade was formed in a field to the right of the road. The enemy had already begun their fire, and General Hunter, who commanded the division, had been wounded and obliged to retire from the field

The Second Rhode Islanders being closely pressed, Burnside ordered up to their support the Seventy-first New York Militia and the Second New Hampshire Volunteers. As, however, they were slow in forming, the First Rhode Islanders were brought up. Their commander, Major Balch, led them gallantly to the field of action, where they "performed most effective service" in assisting their "comrades to repel the attack of the enemy's forces The Second Rhode Island Regiment of Volunteers," continues General Burnside in his official report from which we quote, "had steadily borne the enemy's attack, and had bravely stood its ground, even compelling him to give way. At this time Colonel Slocum (of the Second Rhode Island) fell, mortally wounded, and soon after Major Ballou was very severely injured by a cannon-ball that killed his horse and crushed one of his legs. The regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Wheaton, continued gallantly to hold its position. Soon after, Colonel Martin, of the Seventy-first Regiment New York State Militia, led his regiment into action, and planting the two howitzers belonging to the regiment upon the right of his line, worked them most effectively. The battery of the Second Rhode Island Regiment, on the knoll upon the extreme right, was used in silencing the heavy masked battery in front, occasionally throwing in shot and shell upon the enemy's infantry, six regiments of which were attempting to force our position. Captain Reynolds, who was in command of this battery, served it with great coolness, precision, and skill. The Second Regiment of New Hampshire Volunteers, under Colonel Marston, was now brought into the field, and rendered great service in defending the position. Colonel Marston was wounded early in the action, and Lieutenant-Colonel Fiske ably directed the advance of the regiment. Thus my whole brigade," declares Burnside with just exultation, "was brought into the engagement at the earliest possible moment, and succeeded in compelling the enemy to retire. We were wholly without support, bearing the brunt of the contest until relieved by Major Sykes, of the Third Infantry, United States Army, who formed his battalion most admirably in front of the

enemy, and pouring in a destructive fire upon his lines assisted in staggering him."

Colonel Andrew Porter, commanding a brigade in the same division, that of Hunter (the second), followed closely upon the advance of Burnside. Porter's brigade was composed of Griffin's battery, with a detachment of marines to support it, of the Twenty-seventh New York Volunteer Regiment, Colonel Slocum; of the Fourteenth New York State Militia, Colonel Wood; of the Eighth New York State Militia, Colonel Lyons; of a battalion of regulars, Major Sykes; of the first company of Second Dragoons and four companies of cavalry, Major Palmer—with a total strength of 3,700 men.

Porter following closely upon the advance of Burnside's brigade, as soon as he reached the scene of action turned the head of his brigade slightly to the right, in order to gain time and room for deployment in that direction. Griffin's battery pushed through the woods to the fields beyond, followed promptly by the supporting corps of marines and the Fourteenth New York State Militia, at considerable distance behind, while the Twenty-seventh advanced at the same time, but more to the left. All went spiritedly forward and at a "double quick."

"The enemy," says Porter in his report, "appeared drawn up in a long line, extending along the Warrenton turnpike, from a house and haystack upon our extreme right to a house beyond the left of the division. Behind that house there was a heavy masked battery, which, with three others along his line on the heights beyond, covered the ground upon which we were advancing with all sorts of projectiles. A grove in front of his right wing afforded it shelter and protection, while the shrubbery along the road in the fences screened somewhat his left wing.

"Griffin advanced to within one thousand yards, and opened a deadly and unerring fire upon his batteries, which were soon silenced or driven away.

"Our right was rapidly developed by the marines, Twenty-seventh, Fourteenth, and Eighth, with the cavalry in rear of the right; the enemy retreating in more precipitation than order as our line advanced. The second brigade (Burnside's) was at this time attacking the enemy's right with perhaps too hasty vigor.

"The enemy clung to the protecting wood with great tenacity, and the Rhode Island battery became so much endangered as to impel the commander of the second brigade to call for the assistance of the battalion of regulars.'

At this moment Colonel Porter learned that Hunter had been wounded, and that the command of the division devolved upon him. He therefore detached at once the battalion of regulars to the support of the hard-pressed brigade of Burnside in advance.

In the mean time, the third division, under Heintzelman, had followed the road taken by the second (Hunter's), with the view, however, of stopping at an intermediate ford before reaching

that of Sudley's Spring, covered by the latter. "Between two and three miles beyond Centreville," reports General Heintzelman, "we left the Warrenton turnpike, turning into a country road on the right. Captain Wright accompanied the head of Colonel Hunter's column, with directions to stop at a road which turned in to the left to a ford across Bull Run, about half way between the point where we turned off from the turnpike and Sudley's Spring, at which latter point Colonel Hunter's division was to cross. No such road* was found to exist, and about eleven o'clock we found ourselves at Sudley's Spring, about ten miles from Centreville, with one brigade of Colonel Hunter's division still on our side of the Run. Before reaching this point the battle had commenced."

General McDowell himself had hastened to his right to direct the movement in person at that point where the main battle was, in accordance with his plan, being fought. His own statement of the progress of the action, therefore, based upon his personal experience, is the most interesting, while its frankness and modesty guarantee its truthfulness:

"On reaching the ford at Sudley's Spring," reports the General, "I found part of the leading brigade of Hunter's division (Burnside's) had crossed, but the men were slow in getting over, stopping to drink. As at this time the clouds of dust from the direction of Manassas indicated the immediate approach of a large force, and fearing it might come down on the head of the column before the division could all get over and sustain it, orders were sent back to the heads of regiments to break from the column and come forward separately as fast as possible. Orders were sent by an officer to the reserve brigade of Heintzelman's division to come by a nearer road across the fields, and an aide-de-camp was sent to Brigadier-General Tyler to direct him to press forward his attack, as large bodies of the enemy were passing in front of him to attack the division which had crossed over. The ground between the stream and the road leading from Sudley's Spring south, and over which Burnside's brigade marched, was for about a mile from the ford thickly wooded, while on the right of the road for about the same distance, the country was divided between fields and woods. About a mile from the road the country on both sides of the road is open, and for nearly a mile farther large rolling fields extend down to the Warrenton turnpike, which crosses what became the field of battle through the valley of a small watercourse, a tributary of Bull Run.

"Shortly after the leading regiment of the first brigade reached this open space, and while others and the second brigade were crossing to the front and right, the enemy opened his fire, beginning with artillery, and followed it up with infantry. The leading brigade (Burnside's) had to sustain this shock for a short time without support, and

* Another striking proof of the recklessness with which our army was being led to battle against a concealed foe in an unknown country.

did it well. The battalion of regular infantry was sent to sustain it, and shortly afterward the other corps of Porter's brigade—a regiment detached from Heintzelman's division to the left—forced the enemy back far enough to allow Sherman's and Keyes' brigades of Tyler's division to cross from their position to the Warrenton road. These drove the right of the enemy—understood to have been commanded by Beauregard—from the front of the field, and out of the detached woods, and down to the road, and across it up the slopes on the other side. While this was going on, Heintzelman's division was moving down the field to the stream and up the road beyond. Beyond the Warrenton road, and to the left of the road down which our troops had marched from Sudley's Spring, is a hill with a farmhouse on it. Behind this hill the enemy had, early in the day, some of his most annoying batteries planted. Across the road from this hill was another hill, or, rather, elevated ridge, or table-land. The hottest part of the contest was for the possession of the hill with a house on it. The force engaged here was Heintzelman's division, Wilcox's and Howard's brigades on the right, supported by part of Porter's brigade and the cavalry under Palmer, and Franklin's brigade of Heintzelman's division, Sherman's brigade of Tyler's division in the centre and up the road, while Keyes' brigade of Tyler's division was on the left, attacking the batteries near the stone bridge. The Rhode Island battery of Burnside's brigade also participated in this attack by its fire from the north of the turnpike. The enemy was understood to have been commanded by J. E. Johnston. Ricketts' battery, which did such effective service, and played so brilliant a part in the contest, was, together with Griffin's battery, on the side of the hill, and became the object of the special attention of the enemy, who succeeded—our officers mistaking one of his regiments for one of our own, and allowing it to approach without firing upon it—in disabling the battery, and then attempted to take it. Three times was he repulsed by different corps in succession and driven back, and the guns taken by hand, the horses being killed and pulled away. The third time it was supposed by us all that the repulse was final, for he was driven entirely from the hill, and so far beyond it as not to be in sight, and all were certain the day was ours. He had before this been driven nearly a mile and a half, and was beyond the Warrenton road, which was entirely in our possession from the stone bridge westward, and our engineers were just completing the removal of the abattis across the road, to allow our reinforcement (Schenck's brigade and Ayres' battery) to join us.

"The enemy was evidently disheartened and broken. But we had been fighting since half-past ten o'clock in the morning, and it was after three o'clock in the afternoon. The men had been up since two o'clock in the morning, and had made what, to those unused to such things, seemed a long march before coming into action, though

the longest distance gone over was not more than nine and a half miles; and though they had three days' provisions served out to them the day before, many no doubt did not eat them, or threw them away on the march or during the battle, and were therefore without food. They had done much severe fighting; some of the regiments which had been driven from the hill in the first two attempts of the enemy to keep possession of it had become shaken, were unsteady, and had many men out of the ranks.

"It was at this time that the enemy's reinforcements came to his aid from the railway train, understood to have just arrived from the valley with the residue of Johnston's army. They threw themselves into the woods on our right, and opened a fire of musketry on our men, which caused them to break and retire down the hillside. This soon degenerated into disorder, for which there was no remedy. Every effort was made to rally them, even beyond the reach of the enemy's fire, but in vain. The battalion of regular infantry alone moved up the hill opposite to the one with the house upon it, and there maintained itself until our men could get down to and across the Warrenton turnpike, on the way back to the position we occupied in the morning. The plain was covered with retreating troops, and they seemed to infect those with whom they came in contact. The retreat soon became a rout, and this soon degenerated still further into a panic."

McDowell, now seeing that all was lost, did his utmost to save his panic-stricken army from the consequences of a disorderly retreat. He gave the necessary orders to restrain and cover the flight of his defeated troops. He begged the men to form in line and offer the appearance at least of organization. He so far succeeded for the moment as to cover their retreat with a force of regulars, until they had recrossed Bull Run. On reaching the road, however, by the various fords, in detached parties, often without their officers, or with such as were as incapable of self-command as the men, and, therefore, unfit to govern others, the panic increased by mutual infection. "They became intermingled," says General McDowell, "and all organization was lost."

Orders were sent to Miles' division for a force to move forward and protect the retreat of the main body. Blenker's brigade was accordingly dispatched for this purpose, and how it acted, and what it effected may be learned from this report of the commander. "It was about four o'clock, P.M.," says Colonel Blenker, "when I received orders to advance upon the road from Centreville to Warrenton. This order was executed with great difficulty, as the road was nearly choked up by retreating baggage wagons of several divisions, and by the vast number of flying soldiers belonging to various regiments. Nevertheless, owing to the coolness of the commanding officers and the good discipline of the men, the passage through the village was successfully executed, and the further advance



made with the utmost precision; and I was thus enabled to take a position which would prevent the advance of the enemy and protect the retreat of the army. The Eighth Regiment took position a mile and a half south of Centreville, on both sides of the road leading to Bull Run. The Twenty-ninth Regiment stood half a mile behind the Eighth, enchiquier by companies. The Garibaldi Guard stood in reserve in line behind the Twenty-ninth Regiment. The retreat of great numbers of flying soldiers continued until nine o'clock in the evening, the great majority in wild confusion, and but few in collected bodies. Soon afterward, several squadrons of the enemy's cavalry advanced along the road, and appeared before the outposts. They were challenged, 'Who comes here?' and, remaining without any answer, I, being just present at the outpost, called 'Union forever!' whereupon the officer of the enemy's cavalry commanded, '*En avant! en avant!* knock him down!' Now the skirmishers fired, when the enemy turned around, leaving several killed and wounded on the spot. About nine prisoners who were already in their hands were liberated by this action. Afterward, we were several times molested from various sides by the enemy's cavalry. At about midnight the command to leave the position and march to Washington was given by General McDowell. The brigade retired in perfect order, and ready to repel any attack on the road from Centreville to Fairfax Court House, Annandale, to Washington. Besides the six guns which were mounted by our men and thereby preserved to our army, the Eighth Regiment brought in in safety two Union colors left behind by soldiers on the field of battle. The officers and men did their duty admirably, and the undersigned commander deems it his duty to express herewith officially his entire satisfaction with the conduct of his brigade."

To complete the account of the action at Bull Run, it is only necessary to note that the demonstration in front of the enemy at Blackburn's Ford was effectively carried out by the brigades of Colonels Richardson and Davies, aided by the well-served field battery of Major Hunter and other artillery, consisting of rifled ten and twenty pounders. In the course of the morning the enemy in this direction were driven back several times and kept in effectual check, until the panic occurred on our right, and the general rout began.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Senseless Panic of the Federal Troops at Bull Run.—The shock to the Enemy.—An incomplete Pursuit.—Confusion in the Federal Ranks.—Havoc.—Loss of Artillery.—A graphic description.—General McDowell's efforts to Rally.—Covering the Retreat.—The Federal Force at Centreville.—Falling back.—Reasons for it.—Increased disorder.—The flight to Washington.—Intense selfishness.—Scattered Troops.—Desertions.—Demoralization.—Non-pursuit by the Enemy a tribute to the spirit of the Federal Troops.—The force of the two Antagonists at Bull Run.—Losses.—Contradictory reports.—Synopsis of Beauregard's report.—Discussion therefrom.—An apt illustration from Plutarch.—A letter from Beauregard.—The causes of the defeat at Bull Run.—Failure of Patterson.—His own justification.—Superseded in command.—Delay in the advance of the Federal Army.—McDowell's explanations of the delay.—Why the advance was not postponed.—The penalty of ill-success.—McDowell superseded by General McClellan.—A gracious concession.—A patriotic sacrifice.

1861. THE senseless panic which seized our army after it had driven the enemy from the ground held by their left, and at a moment when a Federal victory seemed assured, became entirely uncontrollable. The secessionists had been, however, so paralyzed by the spirited onset of our troops, that they were unable to take full advantage of the rout and confusion which ensued. They followed in the first instance only the retreating columns of our right across the ford and along the Warrenton turnpike to Cub Run, about a mile and a half from Bull Run and half way to Centreville. Here the fugitives were arrested by the thronging baggage wagons, artillery, ambulances, carriages, and horses which blocked up the road, and the confusion became greater and the panic more intense. A disorderly mass of soldiers, horsemen, and pedestrians obstructing each other, and maddened by the difficulty of escape, was thus at the mercy of their pursuers, whose artillery did more havoc at this moment than during the whole engagement on the battle-field. Such was the disorder, that our troops could not be again formed, but giving themselves up to their fears, sought safety only in flight. The horses were cut from gun-carriages and caissons, and cannon which had been gallantly served and spiritedly saved from the grasp of the enemy on the battle-field, were now left ingloriously upon the road to fall into their hands without an effort to defend them.

An eye-witness* describes the scene with much graphic power. "I got my horse," he says, "up into the field out of the road, and went on rapidly toward the front. Soon I met soldiers, who were coming through the corn, mostly without arms; and presently I saw firelocks, cooking-tins, knapsacks, and great-coats on the ground, and observed that the confusion and speed of the baggage carts became greater, and that many of them were crowded with men, or were followed by others who clung to them.

* Mr. Russell, of the London *Times*.

The ambulances were crowded with soldiers, but it did not look as if there were many wounded. Negro servants on led horses dashed frantically past; men in uniform, whom it were a disgrace to the profession of arms to call 'soldiers,' swarmed by on mules, chargers, and even draught horses, which had been cut out of carts or wagons, and went on with harness clinging to their heels, as frightened as their riders. Men literally screamed with rage and fright when their way was blocked up. On I rode, asking all, 'What is all this about?' and now and then, but rarely, receiving the answer, 'We're whipped;' or, 'We're repulsed.' Faces black and dusty, tongues out in the heat, eyes staring—it was a most wonderful sight. On they came, like him,

'Who, having once turned round, goes on,
And turns no more his head,
For he knoweth that a fearful fiend
Doth close behind him tread.'

But where was the fiend? I looked in vain. There was, indeed, some cannonading in front of me and in their rear, but still the firing was comparatively distant, and the runaways were far out of range. As I advanced, the number of carts diminished, but the mounted men increased, and the column of fugitives became denser. A few buggies and light wagons filled with men, whose faces would have made up 'a great Leporello' in the ghost scene, tried to pierce the rear of the mass of carts, which were now solidified and moving on like a glacier. I crossed a small ditch by the roadside, got out on the road to escape some snake fences, and, looking before me, saw there was still a crowd of men in uniforms coming along. The road was strewn with articles of clothing—firelocks, waist-belts, cartouch-boxes, caps, great-coats, mess-tins, musical instruments, cartridges, bayonets and sheaths, swords and pistols—even biscuits, water-bottles, and pieces of meat."

General McDowell still continued his efforts to check this reckless and dangerous flight. After directing Porter and Blenker with their brigades to cover the retreat of his right and the main body, he rode toward Blackburn's Ford, where Colonel Richardson had been posted. He found this officer already retreating, in accordance with the orders of the commander of his division. He immediately ordered him to halt his brigade and take up the most practicable line of defence; and ordering up the First and Second New Jersey regiments, and the De Kalb, belonging to Runyon's division, placed a reserve behind Centreville to sustain him, and took the command himself. Having made the best disposition of this force to check the enemy, McDowell succeeded in calming somewhat the panic of the fugitives, and "the retreating current passed slowly through Centreville to the rear."

The enemy in the mean time had, on the retirement of Colonel Richardson's brigade, taken possession of Blackburn's Ford, and threatened to turn the right of our army as it fell back. About sundown the whole of McDowell's force was within Centreville. It now became a question whether an effort should be made to hold this place. The General's

final decision and the reasons for it are best given in his own words:

"The condition of our artillery and its ammunition, and the want of food for the men, who had generally abandoned or thrown away all that had been issued the day before, and the utter disorganization and consequent demoralization of the mass of the army, seemed to all who were near enough to be consulted—division and brigade, commanders and staff—to admit of no alternative but to fall back; the more so as the position at Blackburn's Ford was then in the possession of the enemy, and he was already turning our left. On sending the officers of the staff to the different camps, they found, as they reported to me, that our decision had been anticipated by the troops, most of those who had come in from the front being already on the road to the rear, the panic with which they came in still continuing and hurrying them along."

Indeed, however desirable it might have been to hold Centreville, the total demoralization of the Federal troops rendered it impracticable. Carried away by an irrational panic that affected our raw recruits like an attack of insanity, they hurried impetuously toward Washington. Officers and men losing all self-control and self-respect, and alike reckless of the duties of command and obedience, abandoned themselves to the mere desire of personal safety. There was no longer any pretence on the part of most of the soldiers and many of the commanders to the least regard for military discipline. Some seized the ambulances, and heedless of comrades left wounded or dying on the field, rejoiced in their own effective means of escape. Others cut away the artillery horses, and rode hastily away, without a thought of the prize so ingloriously abandoned to the enemy. Some despoiled the stables of the country people, whose houses they had failed to protect, and rode off in boastful triumph; or even stole the horses from which their riders had just dismounted to relieve a wounded or console a dying comrade. Surgeons, while lingering on the battle-field in the performance of their holy duties—to which but few of them, to their eternal honor, were recreant—were thus deprived of the means of escape by men who, reckless of all obligations, cared only for their own safety.

The panic-stricken army continued its flight all the afternoon and night of Sunday and the following day. Even after the reserve under Blenker reached the capital on Monday afternoon, **July 22.** stragglers continued to come in. Many of the fugitives, not well assured of safety even there, or disinclined to further military service, did not stop in Washington, but hurried to their distant homes in New York, Pennsylvania, and New England. So complete and long-continued was the demoralization of the "grand army" of the Potomac, that it was said, and apparently not with much exaggeration, that a squadron of the enemy's cavalry might have captured the capital on the day after the battle of Bull Run. For weeks afterward there was a constant and not unfounded fear,

that if Beauregard should advance, Washington would be at his mercy.

That the enemy did not pursue was a tribute to the spirit of our troops, and a proof of the victory they might have gained had they shown as much persistency in the continuance of the struggle as they had gallantry in the opening.

The whole number of the Federal force which crossed Bull Run and engaged in the battle was 18,000 men. The strength of the enemy was variously computed at from 50,000 to 100,000 men. Beauregard himself declared, that on the 21st of August, the day of the battle, he had but 27,800 effective men, including the 6,200 brought by General Johnston during the struggle from Winchester, and 1,700 by General Holmes from Fredericksburg.

Our loss was estimated at 481 killed, 1,011 wounded, and 1,216 missing, making a total of 2,708. The loss in artillery and equipments is officially stated as follows:

In Artillery—Company D, Second Artillery, Captain Arnold, six rifled pieces. Company I, First Artillery, Captain Ricketts, six rifled Parrott ten-pounders. Company E, Second Artillery, Captain Carlisle, two rifled pieces and two howitzers. This company had six pieces in the action. Company —, Fifth Artillery, Captain Griffin, one rifled piece, four smooth bored—six pieces in the action. Company G, First Artillery, one thirty-pounder Parrott gun—one thirty-pounder and two twenty-pounder Parrott guns in action. Rhode Island battery, five rifled pieces—six in action. Total, seventeen rifled and eight smooth-bore guns.

In Small-Arms etc.—One hundred and fifty boxes small-arm cartridges. Eighty-seven boxes rifled cannon ammunition. Thirty boxes of old firearms. Thirteen wagons loaded with provisions, and three thousand bushels of oats. It is estimated, in addition, that 2,500 muskets and 8,000 knapsacks and blankets were lost.

The enemy estimated our loss at the apparently exaggerated number of 4,500 exclusive of the missing, and their own at the proportionately diminished amount of 393 killed and 1,200 wounded.*

* General J. E. Johnston's Report of the Battle of Bull Run.—"I assumed command at Harper's Ferry on the 23d of May. The force at that point then consisted of nine regiments and two battalions of infantry, four companies of artillery with sixteen pieces without caissons, harness, or horses, and about 300 cavalry. They were of course undisciplined, several regiments without accoutrements and with an entirely inadequate supply of ammunition.

"I lost no time in making a complete reconnoissance of the place and its environs, in which the chief engineer, Major (now Brigadier-General) Whiting, ably assisted. The results confirmed my preconceived ideas.

"The position is untenable by any force not strong enough to take the field against an invading army, and to hold both sides of the Potomac. It is a triangle, two sides being formed by the Potomac and the Shenandoah, and the third by Furnace Ridge. The plateau thus inclosed, and the end of Furnace Ridge itself, the only defensible position, which, however, required for its adequate occupation double our numbers, was exposed to enfilade and reverse fires of artillery from heights on the Maryland side of the river. Within that line the ground was more favorable to an attacking than to a defending force. The Potomac can be easily crossed at many points above and below, so that it is easily turned. It is twenty miles from the great route into the valley of Virginia from Pennsylvania and Maryland, by which General Patterson's approach was expected. Its garrison was thus out of position to defend that valley, or to prevent General McClellan's junction with General Patterson. These were the obvious and important objects to be kept in view. Besides being in position for them, it was necessary to be able, on emergency, to join General Beauregard.

"The occupation of Harper's Ferry by our army perfectly suited the enemy's views. We were bound to a

The chief cause of the defeat of the Federal troops at Bull Run was the junction of General Johnston's force with that of Beauregard. General McDowell said in his report:

"It is known that in estimating the

fixed point. His movements were unrestricted. These views were submitted to the military authorities. The continued occupation of the place was, however, deemed by them indispensable. I determined to hold it until the great objects of the government required its abandonment.

"The practicable roads from the west and northwest, as well as from Manassas, meet the route from Pennsylvania and Maryland at Winchester. That point was, therefore, in my opinion, our best position.

"The distinguished commander of the army of the Potomac was convinced, like myself, of our dependence upon each other, and promised to co-operate with me in case of need. To guard against surprise, and to impose upon the enemy, Major Whiting was directed to mount a few heavy guns upon Furnace Ridge, and otherwise strengthen the position.

"I was employed, until the 13th of June, in continuing what had been begun by my predecessor, Colonel (now Major-General) Jackson, the organization, instruction, and equipment of the troops, and providing means of transportation and artillery horses. The river was observed from the Point of Rocks to the western part of the county of Berkeley -the most distant portions by the indefatigable Stuart with his cavalry. General Patterson's troops were within a few hours of Williamsport, and General McClellan's in Western Virginia, were supposed to be approaching to effect a junction with Patterson, whose force was reported, by well-informed persons, to be 18,000 men.

"On the morning of the 13th of June, information was received from Winchester that Romney was occupied by 2,000 Federal troops, supposed to be the vanguard of the army.

"Colonel A. P. Hill, with his own (Thirteenth) and Colonel Gibbon's (Tenth) Virginia regiments were dispatched by railway to Winchester. He was directed to move thence toward Romney to take the best position and best measures to check the advance of the enemy. He was to add to his command the Third Tennessee Regiment, which had just arrived at Winchester.

"During that day and the next the heavy baggage and remaining public property were sent to Winchester by the railway, and the bridges on the Potomac destroyed. On the morning of the 15th, the army left Harper's Ferry for Winchester (the force had been increased by these regiments since the 1st of June) and bivouacked four miles beyond Charlestown. On the morning of the 16th, intelligence was received that General Patterson's army had crossed the Potomac at Williamsport, also that the United States force at Romney had fallen back. A courier from Richmond brought a dispatch authorizing me to evacuate Harper's Ferry at my discretion.

"The army was ordered to gain the Martinsburg turnpike by a flank movement to Bunker's Hill in order to place itself between Winchester and the expected advance of Patterson. On hearing of this, the enemy re-crossed the river precipitately. Resuming my first direction and plan, I proceeded to Winchester. There the army was in position to oppose either McClellan from the west, or Patterson from the northeast, and to form a junction with General Beauregard when necessary.

"Lieutenant-Colonel George Stewart, with his Maryland battalion, was sent to Harper's Ferry to bring off some public property said to have been left. As McClellan was moving southeastward from Grafton, Colonel Hill's command was withdrawn from Romney. The defence of that region of the country was intrusted to Colonel McDonald's regiment of cavalry. Intelligence from Maryland indicating another movement by Patterson, Colonel Jackson, with his brigade, was sent to the neighborhood of Martinsburg to support Colonel Stuart. The latter officer had been placed in observation on the line of the Potomac with his cavalry. His increasing vigilance and activity were relied on to repress small incursions of the enemy, to give intelligence of invasion by them, and to watch, harass, and circumscribe their every movement. Colonel Jackson was instructed to destroy such of the rolling stock of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad as could not be brought off, and to have so much of it as could be made available to our service, brought to Winchester.

"Major Whiting was ordered to plan defensive works, and to have some heavy guns on navy carriages mounted. About 2,500 militia, under Brigadier-General Carson, were called out from Frederick and the neighboring counties to man them.

"On the 2d of July, General Patterson again crossed the Potomac. Colonel Jackson, pursuant to instructions, fell back before him. In retiring, he gave him a severe lesson in the affair at Falling Waters. With a battalion of the Fifth Virginia Regiment (Harper's) and Pendleton's battery of field artillery, he engaged the enemy's advance. Skilfully taking a position where the smallness of his force was concealed, he engaged them for a considerable time, inflicted a heavy loss, and retired when about to be outflanked, scarcely losing a man, but bringing off forty-five prisoners.

"Upon this intelligence, the army, strengthened by the arrival of General Bee and Colonel Elzey, and the Ninth Georgia Regiment, was ordered forward to the support of Jackson. It met him at Darksville, six miles from Martinsburg, where it took up a position for action, as General Patterson, it was supposed, was closely following Colonel Jackson. We waited for him in this position four days, hoping to be attacked by an adversary at least double our number, but unwilling to attack him in a town so de-

force to go against Manassas, I engaged not to have to do with the enemy's forces under Johnston, then kept in check in the valley by Major-General Patterson, or those kept engaged by Major-General Butler, and I know

fensible as Martinsburg, with its solid buildings and inclosures of masonry. Convinced at length that he would not approach us, I returned to Winchester, much to the disappointment of our troops, who were eager for battle with the invaders. Colonel Stuart, with his cavalry, as usual, remained near the enemy.

"Before the 15th of July, the enemy's force, according to the best intelligence to be obtained, amounted to about 32,000. Ours had been increased by eight Southern regiments. On the 15th of July, Colonel Stuart reported the advance of General Patterson from Martinsburg. He halted, however, at Bunker's Hill, nine miles from Winchester, where he remained on the 16th. On the 17th he moved to his left to Smithfield. This created the impression that he intended to attack us on the south, or was merely holding us in check, while General Beauregard should be attacked at Manassas by General Scott.

"About one o'clock on the morning of July 18th, I received from the government a telegraph dispatch, informing me that the Northern army was advancing upon Manassas, then held by General Beauregard, and directing me, if practicable, to go to that officer's assistance, sending my sick to Culpepper Court House.

"In the exercise of the discretion conferred by the terms of the order, I at once determined to march to join General Beauregard. The best service which the army of the Shenandoah could render was to prevent the defeat of that of the Potomac. To be able to do this, it was necessary, in the first instance, to defeat General Patterson or to elude him. The latter course was the most speedy and certain, and was therefore adopted. Our sick, nearly 1,700 in number, were provided for in Winchester. For the defence of that place the militia of Generals Carson and Meem seemed ample; for I thought it certain that General Patterson would follow my movement as soon as he discerned it. Evading him by the disposition made of the advance guard under Colonel Stuart, the army moved through Ashby's Gap to Piedmont, a station of the Manassas Gap Railroad. Hence the infantry were to be transported by the railway, while the cavalry and artillery were ordered to continue their march. I reached Manassas about noon on the 20th, preceded by the Seventh and Eighth Georgia regiments, and by Jackson's brigade, consisting of the Second, Fourth, Fifth, Twenty-seventh, and Thirty-third Virginia regiments. I was accompanied by General Bee, with the Fourth Alabama, the Second and two companies of the Eleventh Mississippi. The president of the railroad company had assured me that the remaining troops should arrive during the day.

"I found General Beauregard's position too extensive, and the ground too densely wooded and intricate to be learned in the brief time at my disposal, and therefore determined to rely on his knowledge of it and of the enemy's positions. This I did readily, from full confidence in his capacity.

"His troops were divided into eight brigades, occupying the defensive line of Bull Run. Brigadier-General Ewell's was posted at the Union Mills Ford; Brigadier-General D. R. Jones' at McLean's ford; Brigadier-General Longstreet's at Blackburn's Ford; Brigadier-General Bonham's at Mitchell's Ford; Colonel Cocke's at Ball's Ford, some three miles above, and Colonel Evans, with a regiment and a battalion, formed the extreme left at the stone bridge. The brigades of Brigadier-General Holmes and Colonel Early were in reserve, in rear of the right. I regarded the arrival of the remainder of the army of the Shenandoah, during the night, as certain, and Patterson's with the grand army, on the 22d, as probable. During the evening it was determined, instead of remaining in the defensive positions then occupied, to assume the offensive, and attack the enemy before such a junction.

"General Beauregard proposed a plan of battle, which I approved without hesitation. He drew up the necessary order during the night, which was approved formally by me at half-past four o'clock on the morning of the 21st. The early movements of the enemy on that morning, and the non-arrival of the expected troops, prevented its execution. General Beauregard afterward proposed a modification of the abandoned plan—to attack with our right, while the left stood on the defensive. This, too, became impracticable, and a battle ensued, different in place and circumstance from any previous plan on our side.

"Soon after sunrise, on the morning of the 21st, a light cannonade was opened on Colonel Evans' position; a similar demonstration was made against the centre soon after, and strong forces were observed in front of it and of the right. About eight o'clock General Beauregard and I placed ourselves on a commanding hill in the rear of General Bonham's left; near nine o'clock the signal officer, Captain Alexander, reported that a large body of troops was crossing the valley of Bull Run, some two miles above the bridge. General Bee, who had been placed near Colonel Cocke's position, Colonel Hampton, with his legion, and Colonel Jackson, from a point near Bonham's left, were ordered to hasten to the left flank.

"The signal officer soon called our attention to a heavy cloud of dust to the northwest, and about ten miles off, such as the march of an army would raise. This excited apprehensions of General Patterson's approach.

"The enemy, under cover of a strong demonstration on our right, made a long detour through the woods on his right, crossed Bull Run two miles above our left, and threw himself upon the flank and rear of our position. This movement was fortunately discovered in time for us to

every effort was made by the General-in-chief that this should be done, and that even if Johnston joined Beauregard, it would not be because he could be followed by General Patterson, but from causes not necessary for me to refer

check its progress, and ultimately to form a new line of battle nearly at right angles with the defensive line of Bull Run.

"On discovering that the enemy had crossed the stream above him, Colonel Evans moved to his left with eleven companies and two field-pieces, to oppose his advance, and disposed his little force under cover of the woods near the intersection of the Warrenton turnpike and the Sudley road. Here he was attacked by the enemy in immensely superior numbers, against which he maintained himself with skill and unshrinking courage. General Bee, moving toward the enemy, guided by the firing, had, with a soldier's eye, selected the position near the Henry House, and formed his troops upon it. They were the Seventh and Eighth Georgia, Fourth Alabama, Second Mississippi, and two companies of the Eleventh Mississippi Regiment, with Imboden's battery. Being compelled, however, to sustain Colonel Evans, he crossed the valley and formed on the right and somewhat in advance of his position. Here the joint force, little exceeding five regiments, with six field-pieces, held the ground against about 15,000 United States troops for an hour, until, finding themselves outflanked by the continually arriving troops of the enemy, they fell back to General Bee's first position, upon the line of which Jackson, just arriving, formed his brigade and Standard's battery. Colonel Hampton, who had by this time advanced with his legion as far as the turnpike, rendered efficient service in maintaining the orderly character of the retreat from that point, and here fell the gallant Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson, his second in command.

"In the mean time, I awaited, with General Beauregard, near the centre, the full development of the enemy's designs. About eleven o'clock the violence of the firing on the left indicated a battle, and the march of a large body from the enemy's centre toward the conflict was shown by clouds of dust. I was thus convinced that his great effort was to be made with his right. I stated that conviction to General Beauregard, and the absolute necessity of immediately strengthening our left as much as possible. Orders were accordingly at once sent to General Holmes and Colonel Early to move with all speed to the sound of the firing, and to General Bonham to send up two of his regiments and a battery. General Beauregard and I then hurried at a rapid gallop to the scene of action, about four miles off. On the way I directed my chief of artillery, Colonel Pendleton, to follow with his own and Alburtis' batteries. We came not a moment too soon. The long contest against five-fold odds and heavy losses, especially of field officers, had greatly discouraged the troops of General Bee and Colonel Evans. Our presence with them under fire, and some example, had the happiest effect on the spirit of the troops. Order was soon restored and the battle re-established, to which the firmness of Jackson's brigade greatly contributed. Then, in a brief and rapid conference, General Beauregard was assigned to the command of the left, which, as the younger officer, he claimed, while I returned to that of the whole field. The aspect of affairs was critical; but I had full confidence in the skill and indomitable courage of General Beauregard, the high soldierly qualities of Generals Bee and Jackson and Colonel Evans, and the devoted patriotism of their troops. Orders were first dispatched to hasten the march of General Holmes', Colonel Early's, and General Bonham's regiments. General Ewell was also directed to follow with all speed. Many of the broken troops, fragments of companies, and individual stragglers were re-formed and brought into action, with the aid of my staff and a portion of General Beauregard's.

"Colonel (Governor) Smith, with his battalion, and Colonel Hampton, with his regiment, were ordered up to reinforce the right. I have since learned that General Beauregard had previously ordered them into the battle. They belonged to his corps. Colonel Smith's cheerful courage had a fine influence, not only on the spirit of his own men, but upon the stragglers from the troops engaged. The largest body of these, equal to about four companies, having no competent field-officer, I placed them under command of one of my staff, Colonel F. J. Thomas, who fell while gallantly leading it against the enemy. These reinforcements were all sent to the right to re-establish more perfectly that part of our line. Having attended to these pressing duties at the immediate scene of conflict, my eye was next directed to Colonel Cocke's brigade, the nearest at hand. Hastening to his position, I desired him to lead his troops into action. He informed me, however, that a large body of the enemy's troops, beyond the stream and below the bridge, threatened us from that quarter. He was, therefore, left in his position.

"My headquarters were now established near the Lewis house. From this commanding elevation my view embraced the position of the enemy beyond the stream and the approaches to the stone bridge, a point of especial importance. I could also see the advances of our troops far down the valley, in the direction of Manassas, and observe the progress of the action and the manœuvres of the enemy.

"We had now sixteen guns and two hundred and sixty cavalry, and a little above nine regiments of the army of the Shenandoah, and six guns and less than the strength of three regiments of that of the Potomac, engaged with about 35,000 United States troops, among whom were full 3,000 men of the old regular army. Yet this admirable artillery and brave infantry and cavalry lost no foot of

to—you knew them all. This was not done, and the enemy was free to assemble from every direction in numbers only limited by the amount of his railroad rolling-stock and his supply of provisions. To the forces, therefore, we

ground. For nearly three hours they maintained their position, repelling five successive assaults by the heavy masses of the enemy, whose numbers enabled him continually to bring up fresh troops as their preceding columns were driven back.

"Colonel Stuart contributed to one of these repulses by a well-timed and vigorous charge on the enemy's right flank with two companies of his cavalry The efficiency of our infantry and cavalry might have been expected from a patriotic people, accustomed, like ours, to the management of arms and horses, but that of the artillery was little less than wonderful. They were opposed to batteries far superior in the number, range, and equipment of their guns, with educated officers and thoroughly instructed soldiers. We had but one educated artillerist (Colonel Pendleton), that model of a Christian soldier, yet they exhibited as much superiority to the enemy in skill as in courage. Their fire was superior both in rapidity and precision.

"About two o'clock, an officer of General Beauregard's adjutant-general's office galloped from Manassas to report to me that a United States army had reached the line of Manassas Gap Railroad, was marching toward us, and then but three or four miles from our left flank."

[This "army" turned out to be a part of General Johnston's own army of "the Shenandoah," the opportune arrival of which decided the day against us]

"The expected reinforcements appeared soon after. Colonel Cocke was then desired to lead his brigade into action to support the right of the troops engaged, which he did with alacrity and effect. Within a half hour the two regiments of General Bonham's brigade (Cash's and Kershaw's) came up, and were directed against the enemy's right, which he seemed to be strengthening. Fisher's North Carolina Regiment was soon after sent in the same direction. About three o'clock, while the enemy seemed to be striving to outflank and drive back our left, and thus separate us from Manassas, General E. K. Smith arrived with three regiments of Elzey's brigade. He was instructed to attack the right flank of the enemy now exposed to us. Before the movement was completed he fell severely wounded. Colonel Elzey, at once taking command, executed it with great promptitude and vigor. General Beauregard rapidly seized the opportunity thus afforded him, and threw forward his whole line. The enemy was driven back from the long-contested hill, and victory was no longer doubtful. He made yet another attempt to retrieve the day. He again extended his right with a still wider sweep to turn our left. Just as he reformed to renew the battle, Colonel Early's three regiments came upon the field. The enemy's new formation exposed his right flank more even than the previous one. Colonel Early was, therefore, ordered to throw himself directly upon it; supported by Colonel Stuart's cavalry and Beckham's battery, he executed this attack bravely and well, while a simultaneous charge was made by General Beauregard in front.

"The enemy was broken by this combined attack. He lost all the artillery which he had advanced to the scene of the conflict. He had no more fresh troops to rally on, and a general rout ensued.

"Instructions were instantly sent to General Bonham to march by the quickest route to the turnpike, to intercept the fugitives; and to General Longstreet to follow as closely as possible upon the right. Their progress was checked by the enemy's reserve, and by night, at Centreville.

"Schenck's brigade made a slight demonstration toward Lewis's Ford, which was quickly checked by Holmes's brigade, which had just arrived from the right. His artillery, under Captain Walker, was used with great skill.

"Colonel Stuart pressed the pursuit of the enemy's principal line of retreat, the Sudley Road. Four companies of cavalry, under Colonel Bradford and Lieutenant-Colonel Munford, which I had held in reserve, were ordered to cross the stream at Ball's Ford, to reach the turnpike, the line of retreat of the enemy's left. Our cavalry found the roads encumbered with dead and wounded (many of whom seemed to have been thrown from wagons), arms, accoutrements, and clothing.

"A report came to me from the right that a strong body of United States troops was advancing upon Manassas. General Holmes, who had just reached the field, and General Ewell on his way to it, were ordered to meet the expected attack. They found no foe, however.

"Our victory was as complete as one gained by infantry and artillery can be. An adequate force of cavalry would have made it decisive.

"It is due, under Almighty God, to the skill and resolution of General Beauregard, the admirable conduct of Generals Bee, E. K. Smith, and Jackson, and of Colonels (commanding brigades) Evans, Cocke, Early, and Elzey, and the unyielding firmness of our patriotic volunteers. The admirable character of our troops is incontestably proved by the result of this battle; especially when it is remembered that little more than 6,000 men of the army of the Shenandoah, with sixteen guns, and less than 2,000 of that of the Potomac, with six guns, for full five hours successfully resisted 35,000 United States troops, with a powerful artillery and a superior force of regular cavalry. Our forces engaged, gradually increasing during the contest, amounted to but ——— men at the close of the battle. The brunt of this hard-fought engagement fell upon the troops who held their ground so long with such heroic res-

drove in from Fairfax Court House, Fairfax Station, Germantown, and Centreville, and those under Beauregard at Manassas, must be added those under Johnston from Winchester, and those brought up by Davis from Richmond, and other places at the South, to which is to be added the levy *en masse* ordered by the Richmond authorities, which was ordered to assemble at Manassas. What all this amounted to, I cannot say—certainly much more than we attacked them with."

Why General Patterson failed to check Johnston at Winchester, either by an attack or the semblance of one,

olution. The unfading honor which they won was dearly bought with the blood of our best and bravest. Their loss was far heavier, in proportion, than those coming later into action.

"Every regiment and battery engaged performed its part well. The commanders of brigades have been already mentioned. I refer you to General Beauregard's report for the names of the officers of the army of the Potomac who distinguished themselves most. I cannot enumerate all of the army of the Shenandoah who deserve distinction, and will confine myself to those of high rank. Colonels Bartow and Fisher (killed), Jones (mortally wounded), Harper, J. F. Preston, Cummings, Faulkner, Gartrell, and Vaughan; J. E. B. Stuart, of the cavalry, and Pendleton, of the artillery, Lieutenant-Colonels Echols, Lightfoot, Lackland, G. H. Stewart, and Gardner. The last-named gallant officer was severely wounded.

"The loss of the army of the Potomac was 108 killed, 510 wounded, 12 missing. That of the army of the Shenandoah was 270 killed, 979 wounded, 18 missing.

Total killed	378
Total wounded	1,489
Total missing	30

"That of the enemy could not be ascertained. It must have been between 4,000 and 5,000. Twenty-eight pieces of artillery, about 5,000 muskets, and nearly 500,000 cartridges, a garrison flag, and ten colors were captured on the field or in the pursuit. Besides these, we captured sixty-four artillery horses, with their harness, twenty-six wagons, and much camp equipage, clothing, and other property abandoned in their flight.

"The officers of my staff deserve high commendation for their efficient and gallant services during the day and the campaign, and I beg leave to call the attention of the government to their merits. Major W. H. C. Whiting, Chief Engineer, was invaluable to me for his signal ability in his profession, and for his indefatigable activity before and in the battle. Major McClean, Chief Quartermaster, and Major Kearsley, Chief Commissary, conducted their respective departments with skill and energy. Major Rhett, A. A. General, who joined me only the day before, was of great service. I left him at Manassas, and to his experience and energy I intrusted the care of ordering my troops to the field of battle as they should arrive, and forwarding ammunition for the artillery during the action. Captains C. M. Fauntleroy, C. S. Navy, T. L. Preston, A. A. General, and Lieutenant J. B. Washington, A. D. C., conveyed my orders bravely and well on their first field, as did several gallant gentlemen who volunteered their services—Colonel Cole, of Florida; Major Deas, of Alabama; Colonel Duncan, of Kentucky; Lieutenant Beverly Randolph, C. S. Navy, aided Colonel F. J. Thomas in the command of the body of troops he led into action, and fought with gallantry. With these was my gallant friend, Captain Barlow Mason, who was mortally wounded. I have already mentioned the brave death of ordnance officer Colonel F. J. Thomas. I was much indebted, also, to Colonels J. J. Preston, Manning, Miles, and Chisholm, and Captain Stevens, of the engineers corps, members of General Beauregard's staff, who kindly proffered their services, and rendered efficient and valuable aid at different times during the day. Colonel G. W. Lay, of General Bonham's staff, delivered my instructions to the troops sent in pursuit and to intercept the enemy, with much intelligence and courage.

"It will be remarked that the three brigadier-generals of the army of the Shenandoah were all wounded. I have already mentioned the wound of General Smith. General Jackson though painfully wounded early in the day, commanded his brigade to the close of the action. General Bee, after great exposure at the commencement of the engagement, was mortally wounded just as our reinforcements were coming up.

"The apparent firmness of the United States troops at Centreville, who had not been engaged, which checked our pursuit, the strong forces occupying the works near Georgetown, Arlington, and Alexandria, the certainty, too, that General Patterson, if needed, would reach Washington with his army of 30,000 men sooner than we could, and the condition and inadequate means of the army in ammunition, provisions, and transportation, prevented any serious thoughts of advancing against the capital. It is certain that the fresh troops within the works were, in number, quite sufficient for their defence; if not, General Patterson's army would certainly reinforce them soon enough.

"This report will be presented to you by my aide-de-camp, Lieutenant J. B. Washington, by whom, and by General Beauregard's aid, Lieutenant Ferguson, the captured colors are transmitted to the War Department."

is a question which can only be justly answered in the future, when time shall have allayed mutual suspicion and sobered the general judgment. Public opinion emphatically censured General Patterson, and the Federal Government superseded him in his command, for having failed in his duty. He requested a court of inquiry, but this was not conceded ; the General, however, at a public dinner in Philadelphia, sought the opportunity of justifying his conduct, in a speech of which the following is the newspaper report :

"I would here," said General Patterson, "state a few facts. On the 3d of June I took command at Chambersburg. On the 4th I was informed by the General-in-chief that he considered the addition to his force of a battery of artillery and some regular infantry indispensable. On the 8th of June a letter of instructions was sent me, in which I was told that there must be no reverse ; a check or a drawn battle would be a victory to the enemy, filling his heart with joy, his ranks with men, and his magazines with voluntary contributions, and, therefore, to take my measures circumspectly, and attempt nothing without a clear prospect of success. This was good instruction and most sensible advice. Good or bad, I was to obey ; and I did.

"On Friday, the 13th, I was informed that, on the supposition that I would cross the river on the next Monday or Tuesday, General McDowell would be instructed to make a demonstration on Manassas Junction. I was surprised at the order, but promptly obeyed. On the 15th I reached Hagerstown, and on the 16th two-thirds of my forces had crossed the Potomac. The promised demonstration by General McDowell, in the direction of Manassas Junction, was not made, and on the 16th, just three days after I had been told I was expected to cross, I was telegraphed by the General-in-chief to send him 'at once all the regular troops, horse and foot, and the Rhode Island regiment and battery,' and told that I was strong enough without the regulars, and to keep within limits until I could satisfy myself that I ought to go beyond them. On the 17th I was again telegraphed: 'We are pressed here. Send the troops I have twice called for without delay.' This was imperative, and the troops were sent, leaving me without a single piece of artillery, and, for the time, a single troop of cavalry. It was a gloomy night, but they were all brought over the river again without loss.

"On the 20th of June I was asked by the General-in-chief to propose, without delay, a plan of operations. On the 21st I submitted to the General-in-chief my plan, which was to abandon the present line of operations, move all supplies to Frederick, occupy Maryland Heights with Major Doubleday's heavy guns, and a brigade of infantry to support them, and with everything else—horse, foot, and artillery—to cross the Potomac at Point of Rocks, and unite with Colonel Stone's force at Leesburg, from which point I could operate as

circumstances should demand and the General's orders should require. No reply was received; but on the 27th the General telegraphed me that he supposed I was that day crossing the river in pursuit of the enemy.

"On that day the enemy was in condition to cross the river to pursue me. He had over 15,000 men and from twenty to twenty-four guns, while I had but about 10,000 men and six guns—the latter immovable for want of harness. On the 28th I informed the General of the strength of the enemy and of my own force; that I would not, on my own responsibility, attack without artillery, but would do so cheerfully and promptly if he would give me an explicit order to that effect. No order was given. On the 24th I received the harness for my single battery of six smooth-bore guns, and on the 30th gave the order to cross. On the 2d of July I crossed, met the enemy, and whipped them.

"On the 9th of July a council was held, at which all the commanders of divisions and brigades and chiefs of staff were present. Colonel Stone, the junior line officer, spoke twice and decidedly against an advance, advocating a direct movement to Shephardstown and Charlestown. All who spoke opposed an advance, and all voted against one. On the same day I informed the General-in-chief of the condition of affairs in the valley, and proposed that I should go to Charlestown and occupy Harper's Ferry, and asked to be informed when he would attack Manassas. On the 12th I was directed to go where I had proposed, and informed that Manassas would be attacked on Tuesday, the 16th. On the 13th I was telegraphed: 'If not strong enough to beat the enemy early next week, make demonstrations so as to detain him in the valley of Winchester.' I made the demonstrations, and on the 16th, the day General Scott said he would attack Manassas, I drove the enemy's pickets into his intrenchments at Winchester, and on the 17th marched to Charlestown.

"On the 13th I telegraphed the General-in-chief that Johnston was in a position to have his strength doubled just as I could reach him, and that I would rather lose the chance of accomplishing something brilliant than by hazarding my column destroy the fruits of the campaign by defeat, closing my dispatch thus: 'If wrong, let me be instructed.' But no instructions came. This was eight days before the battle of Manassas. On the 17th General Scott telegraphed: 'McDowell's first day's work has driven the enemy beyond Fairfax Court House. To-morrow, probably, the Junction will be carried.' With this information I was happy. Johnston had been detained the appointed time, and the work of my column had been done.

"On the 18th, at half-past one in the morning, I telegraphed General Scott the condition of the enemy's force and of my own, referring to my letter of the 16th for full information, and closed the dispatch by asking. 'Shall I attack?' This was plain English and could not be misunderstood, but I received no reply.

I expected to be attacked where I was, and if Manassas was not to be attacked on that day, as stated in General Scott's dispatch of the day previous, I ought to have been ordered down forthwith to join in the battle, and the attack delayed until I came. I could have been there on the day that the battle was fought, and my assistance might have produced a different result.

"On the 20th I heard that Johnston had marched, with 35,000 Confederate troops and a large artillery force, in a southeasterly direction. I immediately telegraphed the information to General Scott, and know that he received it the same day.

"In accordance with instructions I came to Harper's Ferry on the 21st, which place I held until relieved."

The delay which ensued in the advance of our army against the enemy was another cause of the defeat at Bull Run. If the attack had been made at an earlier day, Beauregard would have been caught at a time when the aid of Johnston must have failed him. The causes which compelled McDowell's delay are best stated in his own words. He says:

"When I submitted to the General-in-chief, in compliance with his verbal instructions, the plan of operations and estimate of force required, the time I was to proceed to carry it into effect was fixed for the 8th of July, Monday. Every facility possible was given me by the General-in-chief and the heads of the administrative departments in making the necessary preparations. But the regiments, owing, I was told, to a want of transportation, came over slowly. Many of them did not come across till eight or nine days after the time fixed upon, and went forward without my even seeing them, and without having been together before in a brigade. The sending reinforcements to General Patterson, by drawing off the wagons, was a further and unavoidable cause of delay. Notwithstanding the Herculean efforts of the Quartermaster-General, and his favoring me in every way, the wagons for ammunition, subsistence, etc., and the horses for the trains and the artillery, did not arrive for more than a week after the time appointed to move. I was not even prepared as late as the 15th ultimo, and the desire I should move became great, and it was wished I should not, if possible, delay longer than Tuesday, the 16th ultimo. When I did set out, on the 16th, I was still deficient in wagons for subsistence. But I went forward, trusting to their being procured in time to follow me. The trains thus hurriedly gathered together, with horses, wagons, drivers, and wagon managers, all new and unused to each other, moved with difficulty and disorder, and was the cause of a day's delay in getting the provisions forward, making it necessary to make on Sunday the attack we should have made on Saturday. I could not, with every exertion, get forward with the troops earlier than we did. I wished to go to Centreville the second day, which would have taken us there on the 17th, and enabled us, so far as they were concerned, to go into action on the 19th, instead of the 21st;

but when I went forward from Fairfax Court House, beyond Germantown, to urge them forward, I was told it was impossible for the men to march farther. They had only come from Vienna, about six miles, and it was not more than six and a half miles farther to Centreville—in all a march of twelve and a half miles; but the men were foot weary; not so much, I was told, by the distance marched, as by the time they had been on foot, caused by the obstructions in the road, and the slow pace we had to move to avoid ambuscades. The men were, moreover, unaccustomed to marching, their bodies not in condition for that kind of work, and not used to carrying even the load of light marching order."

Why, on the other hand, having been compelled to delay so long, it was impracticable to secure safety by a longer arrest of movement, is a question for the answer to which it is best again to refer to the frank statement of McDowell, who says:

"I could not, as I have said, more early push on faster, nor could I delay. A large and the best part of my forces were three months volunteers, whose term of service was about to expire, but who were sent forward as having long enough to serve for the purpose of the expedition. On the eve of the battle the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment of Volunteers, and the battery of volunteer artillery of the New York Eighth Militia, whose term of service expired, insisted on their discharge. I wrote to the regiment, expressing a request for them to remain a short time, and the Hon. Secretary of War, who was at the time on the ground, tried to induce the battery to remain at least five days. But in vain. They insisted on their discharge that night. It was granted, and the next morning, when the army moved forward into battle, these troops moved to the rear to the sound of the enemy's cannon.

"In the next few days, day by day, I should have lost 10,000 of the best armed, drilled, officered, and disciplined troops in the army. In other words, every day which added to the strength of the enemy made us weaker."

McDowell, thus unfavored by fortune, lost the battle of Bull Run, and paid the penalty of his ill-success by being compelled to yield the chief command to a younger, and, as yet, more fortunate officer. General McClellan superseded him as the commander of the forces on the Potomac. McDowell, with the modesty of true worth, graciously yielded his place, and, without a word of complaint, assumed a subordinate position under the younger superior, with whom he acted in perfect accord, ready to serve his country and make every personal sacrifice consistent with the preservation of personal honor.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The popular call for Fremont.—His popularity explained.—The favorite of the Republican Party.—Appointed a Major-General.—Return of Fremont from France.—Command in the West.—His popularity there.—Life of Fremont.—His Parentage.—Marriage of his Father.—Youth.—Collegiate Education.—Dismissal from College.—An early love passage.—Teacher of Mathematics.—A Cruise at Sea.—Professor of Mathematics in the Navy.—A Civil Engineer.—Explorer.—A Lieutenant in the Army.—In love with Jessie Benton.—A Runaway Match.—Explorations.—Conquest of California.—Dismissed from the Army.—A Pardon refused.—Fresh Explorations.—A Landowner.—Visit to Europe.—Fremont's return to the United States.—His Command in the Army.—Lingering on his way to St. Louis.—Important events in Missouri.—Lyon's Exploits.—Colonel Sigel.—His Life and Career.—His Command in Missouri.—His Advance to the Southwest.—His Force.—Moves against the Enemy.—The Battle of Carthage.—Position of the Enemy.—A graphic account of the Engagement by an eye-witness.—The Enemy's account.—General Lyon's Advance.—His Force.—How diminished.—The reported strength of the Enemy.—The Rendezvous.—Crane Creek.—A severe March in pursuit of the Enemy.—Dug Springs.—A brilliant Skirmish.—Return to Springfield.—An urgent demand for Reinforcements.—No Answer.—A Mission.—A bootless Errand.—The great Explorer on his Dignity.—A repulsed Official.—Lyon's Resolve.—Apologies for Fremont.—Partial Judgments.—Difficulty of Decision.

1861. FROM the commencement of the civil struggle there was a popular call, especially among the "Republicans," for the services of Fremont. It was not only his pre-eminence in the Republican party, of which he had been a candidate for President, but the spirit and capacity which he had exhibited in his adventurous explorations through the pathless regions of the West and in the conquest of California, which marked him out, in popular estimation, as a proper leader in the war. The President of the United States, Mr. Lincoln, with a ready response to the universal acclamation of his party, and in graceful concession to the claims of one who had been its chosen chief, at once appointed Fremont a major-general, and gave him the command of the Western Department. (July 9.) At the time of his appointment Fremont was in France, whence, after exercising his characteristic energy in supplying the immediate needs of the Federal Government with arms, he hastened back to the United States. After lingering awhile in Washington, in consultation with the President and cabinet upon the plans of the campaign, he proceeded to St. Louis, where he was to establish his headquarters. There was a general concurrence in the fitness of his appointment and great expectations of his success. In the West, with which his career as an explorer had identified him, and where his adventurous character was in sympathy with the pioneer life of the people, he was especially popular. Though military formalists may have doubted the policy of appointing a man with so little skill and experience in the art of

war to lead a great army, most believed that one who had proved himself, in danger and difficulty, so capable of controlling his fellows, would be equal to all the trials of his new position.

John Charles Fremont was born in Savannah, Georgia, on the 21st of January, 1813. His father, a Frenchman by birth, had emigrated to Norfolk, Va., where he taught his native language. Here he fell in love with a Mrs. Pryor, the divorced wife of Major Pryor, forty-five years her senior, and whom, through the influence of her friends, she had been persuaded to marry while a girl of seventeen. The marriage was naturally an unhappy one, and recourse was had, by the consent of both parties, to a bill of divorce. The Major subsequently married his housekeeper, and Mrs. Pryor became the wife of Fremont's father. Her maiden name was Anne Beverly Whiting, and she claimed to be connected by marriage with the family of Washington.

Fremont's father having died in 1818, his widow removed to Charleston with her three children. John Charles, her son, was sent, at the age of fifteen, to Charleston College, where he entered the Junior class. He was making good progress in his studies, when he was suddenly distracted from his academic duties by a youthful love passage. This led to irregularities and inattention, which caused his expulsion from college. He now sought and obtained employment as a private teacher of his favorite pursuit, the mathematics. In 1833 he was appointed schoolmaster on board of the United States sloop-of-war Natchez, and sailed on a cruise to the coast of South America.

On his return to Charleston, after an absence of two years, he was honored by the college from which he had been expelled, with the degrees of bachelor and master of arts. Soon after, having passed a rigorous examination, he was appointed professor of mathematics in the navy, and ordered to the frigate Independence. He, however, now determined to give up the sea, and betaking himself to civil engineering on land, was employed for awhile on the railroads of South Carolina and Tennessee. In 1837 he was, with Captain Williams, engaged in a military reconnoissance of the mountainous regions of Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, made in anticipation of a campaign against the Cherokee Indians. In 1838–9 he accompanied M. Nicollet, appointed by the Government to explore the country between the Missouri and the British line. While thus engaged, he received, from President Van Buren, the commission of second lieutenant in the corps of Topographical Engineers. In 1840, while occupied at the capital in preparing the reports of his expedition, he fell in love with Miss Jessie Benton, the daughter of Colonel Thomas H. Benton, a United States senator from Missouri. His suit was accepted by the maid, but refused by her parents on the score of her extreme youth, she being only fifteen years of age. Fremont soon after received, at the instigation probably of Colonel Benton, a peremptory





order from the War Department to proceed on a survey to the river Desmoines. This mission was rapidly accomplished by the impatient suitor, who, soon after his return, on the 19th of October, 1841, secretly married Miss Benton.

On May 2, 1842, Fremont set out from Washington on an exploration of the Rocky Mountains, and particularly the South Pass, which had been suggested to the Government by himself. The report of his first expedition, which was concluded in October, 1842, attracted great attention. In May, 1843, Lieutenant Fremont started on a second expedition, much more comprehensive in its design than the first, extending through the valleys of the Columbia River. While on this expedition he crossed the mountains on the Pacific coast, reaching Sutter's Fort, on the Sacramento, early in March, 1844, after forty days of great trial and suffering. The preparation of the report of this expedition occupied the remainder of that year, and in the spring of 1845, having been brevetted captain, he started on a third expedition, to explore the great basin and maritime region of Oregon and California. This expedition was full of stirring incident. The Mexican war having, in the mean time, broken out, Fremont was diverted from the scientific object of his exploration by a call to arms. He defended himself bravely and skilfully against the Mexican General Castro, who threatened to attack him with an overwhelming force. Subsequently, under Fremont's leadership, the Californians succeeded in expelling Castro from the northern part of the territory, and on July 4 the American settlers elected Fremont governor. About this time he was promoted to a lieutenant-colonelcy, and on January 13, 1847, he concluded with the Mexicans articles of capitulation which terminated the war in California, and left that country in possession of the United States.

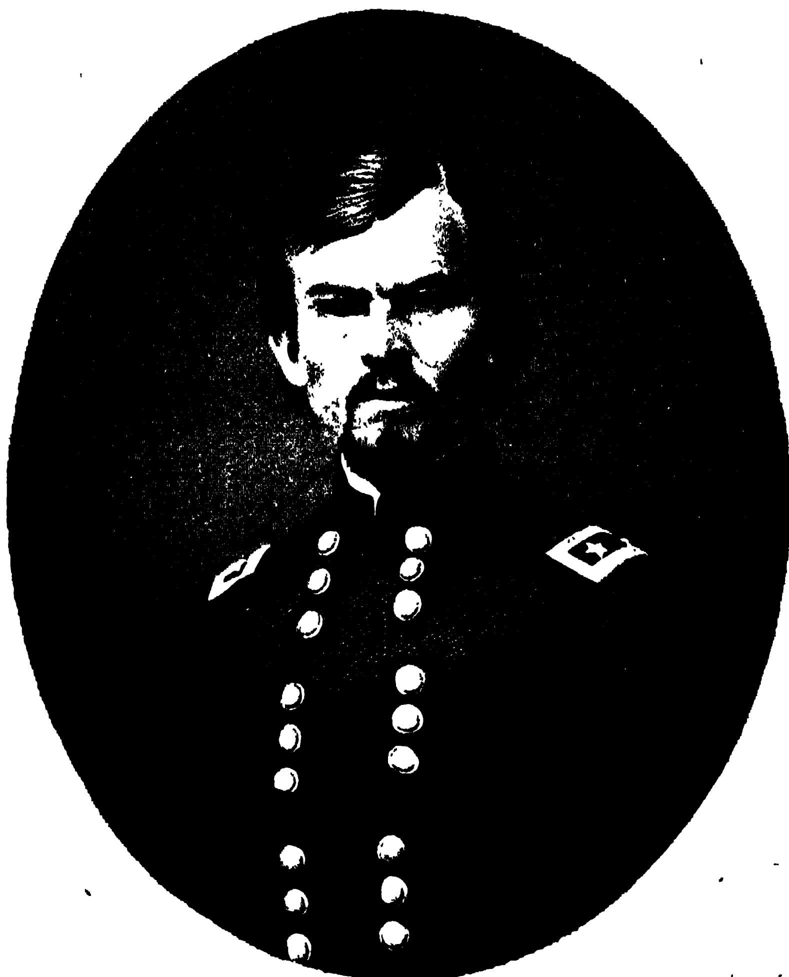
Having quarrelled with General Kearney, his superior in command, Fremont was refused permission to join the army in Mexico, and ultimately was court-martialed and sentenced to be dismissed from the service. President Polk remitted the penalty, but Fremont refused to avail himself of the favor, declaring that he was not conscious of having done anything to merit the finding of the court. In October, 1848, he started on a fourth exploring expedition, along the waters of the Upper Rio Grande and through the country of the Apaches, Camanches, etc., hoping to find a practicable route to California. This expedition also proved one of great trial and suffering. Having purchased a vast tract of land in California, known as the Mariposa estate, Fremont has the prospect of great wealth, though for the present embarrassed by lawsuits and heavy mortgages. In 1849 he was elected one of the United States senators from California, drawing the short term and serving but three weeks. In 1852 he visited Europe, where he was received with every mark of respect by eminent men of letters and of science. In 1853 he made a fifth and highly successful exploring expedition, between the Mis-

sissippi Valley and the Pacific, and in 1856 was nominated by the Republicans as their candidate for the Presidency. He received 114 electoral votes, and was defeated by Mr. Buchanan, who had 174. Returning to California in 1858, he devoted himself to the care of his vast estates until February, 1861, when he departed for Europe, whence he was summoned, as we have seen, to bear an important part in the present war.

While Fremont was still lingering on his route to St. Louis, important events were occurring in Missouri. The energetic movements of General Lyon, his expedition up the Missouri River, his seizure of Jefferson City, the capital, his expulsion of the secession bands at Booneville, his possession of that town, and his march to the southwestern part of the State, where the enemy were mustering in force, have been already recorded. General Lyon was spiritedly seconded in his efforts to establish the Federal authority by his subaltern, Colonel Sigel.

Franz Sigel was born in the Duchy of Baden, in Germany. During the revolution of 1848 he sided with the liberals, and under the provisional government was appointed to command the republican forces of the Grand Duchy of Baden. He proved himself a skilful general; but when the revolutionary government was overturned, and its army obliged to yield to the reactionary movement in Germany aided by the armed force of Prussia, Sigel, like Hecker and other German patriots, made his escape to the United States. Making St. Louis his home, he raised in that city, on the commencement of the civil war, a regiment of Germans, who appointed him their colonel. So great was the trust of his fellow-countryman, Hecker, in his skill as a military leader, that he left his home in Illinois, to which he had retired, and entered the ranks of Sigel's regiment as a private, together with his son, whom he had brought with him. Soon after Hecker was summoned back to Illinois to assume the command of a regiment of Germans formed in that State. He at first refused, declaring that he had no higher ambition than to serve as a private under his old friend Sigel, but finally yielded to the persevering demands of his fellow-citizens in Illinois, and returned there to take command of a regiment of Jagers. Sigel was urged by the Germans of New York to become the general of a brigade, but refused, declaring that Missouri presented a wider field of usefulness, and that he did not care to desert the loyal Germans of his own adopted State. Though still a young man, Sigel's foreign experience as a military leader had made him one of the most accomplished officers, and he gave proof on various occasions during the fierce conflict in Missouri, that he not only was versed in the military art, but possessed that rare aptitude for command which comes only from nature.

Sigel had pushed on in advance of Lyon, and had penetrated, after various encounters with the secession bands of Missouri, to the extreme southwest of the State. While encamped at Neosho, on the river of that name, in the





F. Sigel

southwestern corner of Missouri, near the frontier of what is called the Indian territory, he discovered that the enemy were in considerable force some miles north of Carthage, on the borders of Kansas.

Colonel Sigel determined to advance and give them battle. He accordingly marched with a force consisting of eight companies of his own regiment (the Third), under Lieutenant-Colonel Hasendenbel; seven companies of the Fifth Regiment, Colonel Solomon; and two batteries of artillery with four field-pieces, each commanded by Major Backhoff. His total strength in men was about 1,800. That of the enemy was computed to be 5,500 in all, of whom 3,000 were mounted; their artillery consisted of a battery of four six-pounders and one twelve-pounder. Generals Price and Rains commanded this force in person.

Sigel found the enemy advantageously posted on the prairie about ten miles north of Carthage. He, however, did not hesitate even with his inferior force to give them immediate battle. He
July opened fire at ten o'clock in the
5. morning from his artillery, aimed at the enemy's centre.

"The aim was so effective," says an eye-witness, "that in less than one hour the enemy's twelve-pounder was dismounted, and by noon the whole battery of the State troops was silenced. Repeatedly the columns of the enemy gave way under the heavy fire, but rallied again, until our infantry, which had heretofore remained in security behind the batteries, were ordered to advance, when the centre of the enemy at once was broken. To remedy this disaster, about 1,700 of the enemy's cavalry were ordered to fall back, and by a side movement try to get possession of Colonel Sigel's baggage train, which had been left some three miles behind on the road, and thus encircle and cut him off from retreat. But this manœuvre did not succeed. The moment that Colonel Sigel saw what was intended, he ordered his men to retreat, which was done in the greatest order, at the same time giving word to the baggage train to advance. Before the enemy's designs could be carried out, Colonel Sigel had his baggage train in safety. The wagons were placed in the centre of his column, protected in the front by Major Backhoff's artillery and Colonel Solomon's battalion, and in the rear by Colonel Sigel's eight companies.

"By this time it was four o'clock P. M. Our troops had suffered a loss of only about twenty killed and forty wounded, while the enemy's loss was stated, by some of their officers who had been taken prisoners, to amount at least to two or three hundred. The difference in the list of killed is mainly due to the efficient use of our artillery, which mowed down the enemy, while our troops were scarcely hurt by the fire from the miserable battery on the other side.

"Having thus placed his baggage train in a secure position, Colonel Sigel followed the enemy, who had now taken position on the south side of a creek, cutting through the only road leading to Car-

thage. Here General Price thought his State troops could cut off all further advance of Colonel Sigel's forces, and at the first show of a retreat fall in their rear and cut them to pieces. To Colonel Sigel it was absolutely necessary to pass the creek and clear the road to Carthage, as he could not run the risk of being surrounded by an army of such numerical superiority by remaining where he was or by retreating. To dupe the enemy, he ordered his artillery to oblique, two pieces to the right and two to the left, following the movement with part of his force.

"The enemy supposing it to be Sigel's intention to escape them by cutting a road at their extreme sides, immediately left the road leading over the bluffs, south of the creek, to Carthage, and advanced to the right and left, to prevent Sigel's force from crossing their line. But scarcely had they advanced within 400 yards of our troops, when our artillery suddenly wheeled around and poured a most terrific volley of canister on the rebel cavalry from both sides. Simultaneously our infantry was ordered to advance at double-quick step across the bridge, and in a few moments the whole body of State troops was flying in all directions. Not a show of resistance was made. Eighty-one horses, sixty-five double shot-guns, and some revolvers fell into the hands of our troops. Some fifty prisoners were taken, and from them the number of killed and wounded was ascertained to amount to nearly 300. Very few on our side were lost.

"After this splendid achievement Colonel Sigel proceeded to move toward Carthage, the road to which place was now open. But all along the road, squads of the State troops kept at the side of our forces, though not daring to attack, and occasionally saluted by a discharge from the rifles of our infantry. Arriving at Carthage, Colonel Sigel found it in possession of the enemy; a secession flag waving from the top of the court-house was quickly shot down by our troops.

"Colonel Sigel now found it necessary to retire to Sarcoxie, eight miles southwest of Carthage, as his ammunition was beginning to give out, and it was necessary to connect again with the balance of our Southwestern army, concentrated at Mount Vernon and Springfield. The road to Sarcoxie passes around Carthage, and is covered with heavy woods, which it was Colonel Sigel's object to gain, since the State troops at Carthage, almost altogether cavalry, could not follow him there.

"Fully aware of this, the enemy had taken his position on the road leading into the woods, prepared to dispute Colonel Sigel's advance to the last. The most desperate conflict now commenced; the infantry on both sides engaging for the first time. Our troops fought splendidly, and for the first time the rebel troops screwed up some courage. But their arms were very inefficient, and their cavalry could be of little use. The battle raged for over two hours, from a quarter past six to half-past eight o'clock, and was altogether the most

hotly contested encounter of the day. Over two hundred rebels bit the dust; our loss was eight killed and about twenty wounded. One officer, Captain Strodmann, was wounded. Our cannon fired ninety-five rounds. When the enemy retreated to Carthage, about a mile from the place of engagement, Colonel Sigel had got his troops into the wood, where they were secure from any further attack."

Although exhausted by ten hours' severe fighting in the heat, and suffering intensely from thirst, Colonel Sigel ordered his forces to press on toward Sarcoxie. Thence the retreat was continued to Mount Vernon, Lawrence County, and finally a junction was formed with General Lyon at Springfield, whose movements will be soon related.

The following is the enemy's account of the affair at Carthage, as given by one of their officers, Colonel Hughes, in a letter to the editor of the Liberty (Mo.) *Tribune:*

"Camp near Carthage, on the Spring River, *Saturday, July* 6, 1861.

"On the 4th of July our army effected a junction with Jackson's and General Parsons' division at Rupe's Creek, which had fallen back from Booneville. Our forces being thus augmented, we took up the line of march southward on the morning of the 5th. The day was bright—the march was upon a high prairie plain. We met the enemy at eleven o'clock A. M., advancing upon us. We immediately drew up our lines of battle. The cannonading commenced vigorously on both sides at the same time, at a distance of 300 yards or more. The enemy were 2,500 strong. We had in action perhaps about the same number. We were poorly armed compared to the National troops.

"After one hour of severe cannonading, the enemy fell back about one mile to a better position across a branch of the Spring River. Here the action was renewed, and a brisk fight ensued, in which the small-arms took part. The National troops were also dislodged from this position, after a severe conflict. The enemy then fell back in good order to another position on the next creek, two miles distant. Here another sharp conflict ensued, in which there was loss on both sides, the National troops retreating all the while, and the infantry on our part vigorously pursuing them in front, and the cavalry endeavoring to flank and annoy them in the rear. I cannot now give the particulars of these several engagements. The loss on both sides was considerable.

"The National troops now retreated and crossed the Spring River (the handsomest stream I ever beheld) and took position at Carthage. Here they made the strongest stand. We surrounded the town with our infantry, the cavalry still flanking to the right and left. After an obstinate resistance the enemy were dislodged and driven out of town, and took his last position on a hill south of the town one mile. Here the cannonading was spiritedly renewed on both sides. About sundown he was forced from his last stronghold and pursued in the di-

rection of Sarcoxie. The chase on our part and the retreat on the part of the enemy became general, and a running fire for several miles was vigorously kept up, in which the National troops suffered severely.

"Our infantry did most of the fighting, and the cavalry was raw and rather poorly equipped. At dark the chase was abandoned, and we returned to Carthage, and encamped. It is just to observe that at this point of time the cavalry had effected their passage through the heavy timber skirting the Spring River, and advanced to the attack; and after the infantry had ceased firing, and the men drawn off from exhaustion, the cavalry annoyed the enemy for an hour, by galling them in the rear and flanks, killing several and capturing a portion of their trains.

"In all this running fight, of six or seven hours, our infantry advanced steadily upon the enemy, and stood the fire like veterans. The artillery under Colonel Weightman, and the infantry in general, stood the brunt of the battle, and bore themselves gallantly. My own regiment, 800 strong, had the post of danger all the day. Our loss was more severe than that of any other part of the army. We had the front position in every attack made. We have lost some of our best men. In the several actions had in the 'running battle of Carthage,' we had fifteen killed and some forty wounded—and these our very best and most gallant men. Some seven or eight of the wounded must die.

"We have lost some two or three captains killed, and my sergeant-major, Hyde, I fear is mortally wounded. He was one of the bravest and best officers in the army. He is at Carthage, in charge of the physicians. Captain Stone, of Utica, and Captain McKenzie, were both killed, gallantly fighting at the head of their companies. The loss of the enemy was 130 killed and some 300 wounded, and some 20 prisoners, and one piece of cannon, and several baggage-wagons, and a lot of horses. A vigorous concerted effort of the infantry and cavalry would have captured the entire army. They retreated to Springfield. My own regiment suffered more than any other in the engagement, and were among the last to quit the pursuit.

"The extra battalion from Clay, and Pratte, Major C. C. Thornton, Captains McCarty, Thompson, and Stewart, rendered me effectual and valuable service, and fought gallantly. Many others deserve special mention, and will no doubt receive merited applause in General Slack's official report to the General-in-chief.

"On yesterday we were reinforced by General Sterling Price, and General Benjamin McCullough, and General Pierce, of Texas and Arkansas. They brought 5,000 troops, and 4,000 more in the rear. The State Government of Missouri must be re-established and the liberties of the people restored. When we return, this is our motto: 'We come to deliver you.'"

General Lyon started upon his campaign to the southwest of Missouri with only 2,000 men. His force, July 8.

however, increased on the march by the junction of various detachments, so that [July 20.] on reaching Springfield it counted about 10,000; but many of his troops being volunteers for three months, and their time having expired, Lyon's army was reduced by the 1st of August to 6,000.

The enemy were reported by the Federal scouts to be 30,000 strong, who were about marching to meet General Lyon, in two columns from Cassville and Sarcoxie, under the command of Gen. McCulloch, the noted Texan ranger.

Lyon determined to advance and encounter the enemy in spite of their reputed strength. [Aug. 1.] Leaving a small guard at Springfield, he ordered the various detachments of the rest of his little army to rendezvous at Crane Creek, ten miles south of that place. Early next morning (the 2d of August) the combined force began its march from Crane Creek. The route was along the ridge which divides the waters which fall into the Missouri and White rivers. The midsummer day was excessively hot, and as the men marched under a glaring sun, amid clouds of dust raised by the moving column, they were fevered with heat and thirst, for which there was but little relief in a country parched at that season to extreme dryness. Of the usual streams there were no traces but in their dry beds of rock. The few wells and springs were either dried up by the drought of the summer, or exhausted by those thirsty soldiers who happened to be the first to reach them. Upon the ridges and sides of the limestone hills, over which the road lay, there were trees, but these were only stunted oak saplings, which afforded but little shade for man or beast.

The troops, though greatly fatigued, kept up a manful spirit, which was encouraged by the prospect of soon meeting the enemy, whom the loyal countrymen on the road reported to be but a few miles distant.

At about eleven o'clock in the morning the skirmishers discovered several mounted men of the enemy. A six-pounder being brought to the front and a shell fired, they immediately dispersed. The march was now continued with greater caution, and the woods and thickets on either side of the road carefully beaten to provide against the chances of surprise and ambuscades.

On reaching Dug Springs, about nineteen miles south of Springfield, great clouds of dust were seen rising along the base and sides of the hills which bordered the valley in the distance. As our troops advanced, large bodies of men, both mounted and on foot, could be distinctly discerned, and soon were heard the sharp reports of the rifle, showing that the Federal advanced guard had already arrived within shot of the enemy.

A spirited fire was begun by our skirmishers, when the enemy strove to cut them off. Captain Stanley, however, with his company of cavalry, made a dashing charge and drove them back. As the enemy strove to regain their lost ground, Captain Totten dispersed them with a fire of shells from guns he had

planted on a commanding hill. In this preliminary skirmish the Federals had 4 killed and 5 wounded, but the enemy's loss was supposed to be much greater.

It was thought that this would have led to a general engagement, but the enemy retired, and Lyon followed in pursuit. He thus proceeded day after day, having an occasional skirmish with detached rebel troops, and pursuing a difficult march, which was testing the strength and perseverance of his men to the utmost, until finding that the enemy were in overpowering numbers, and threatening to cut off his communications, he determined to return toward Springfield.

On reaching this place, General Lyon telegraphed to General Fremont at Washington, urgently asking for reinforcements. Receiving no answer, and Fremont having in the mean time arrived at St. Louis, he sent three or four special messengers to him there, to state his needs and urgently solicit the required aid. Lyon not only wanted more men, but supplies for those he had, who had been for some time on half rations of bread. His messengers were commended by the impressive sanction of high position, one being a former Secretary of State and the other a member of Congress, and by thorough acquaintance with the perilous position of the Southwest, of which both were residents. They failed, however, to obtain a hearing after having forced their way through the imposing throng of guards and favored suitors who hedged in the great explorer, like the parasites and Janizaries of some Eastern monarch. The chief officer of the State, Governor Gamble, presuming upon his official dignity, strove to make an impression upon the exclusive Fremont. He, too, though urgently appealing to the Commander-in-chief to send aid to General Lyon, met with no favorable response.

The spirited Lyon, notwithstanding, was resolutely determined to meet the enemy. His daring spirit and devoted patriotism, or an excessive confidence in his superior—which led him to hope that the succor he demanded would still be conceded—may have carried him beyond the bounds of prudence. It must not be forgotten, in fairness to General Fremont, that he himself was surrounded with difficulty. Embarrassed with the overwhelming labors of organizing and equipping an army, and distracted by the diversified claims upon a military leadership, for the duties of which he was ill-prepared by previous study and experience, it was not surprising that Fremont should have erred, if error there was, in not responding to the urgent demand of Lyon. Though of undoubted patriotism, eminent as an explorer, and prominent as a former candidate for the Presidency, that he was yet unfit to be intrusted with important command became evident finally; and he must be classed among those commanders who, prominent when the war began, were almost forgotten at its close.

CHAPTER XL.

The Enemy in pursuit of Lyon.—Ben McCulloch in command of the Secessionists.—Life and Career of McCulloch.—Birth.—Parentage.—A young Huntsman.—Success with the Bears.—A Trapper of the West.—In Texas.—At the Battle of San Jacinto.—Commands the Rangers in the Mexican War.—Good services of McCulloch.—Marshal in Texas.—The Texan Ranger a Peace Commissioner.—His Qualifications.—In Washington.—A Plot to seize the Capital.—Sent to the West.—His Character.—Raises a Regiment.—Sterling Price, his Life, Career, and Character.—Services in Mexico.—His capacity.—Movement of the Secessionists.—Determined to strike.—Anticipated by Lyon.—Plans of Lyon.—Divisions of his Force.—The Battle of Wilson's Creek.—Official Report of Major Sturgis.—Official Report of Colonel Sigel.—The comparative strength of the two Antagonists.—Contradictory Reports.—Embarrassment of the Historian.—The Death of Lyon.—His Characteristics.—His devotion to his Country.—The greatness of his Loss.—Something more than a Man of Art.—A presentiment of Evil.—His sadness.—Ominous Talk.—Exposure to Danger.—"I am satisfied."—Wounds.—Disregard of Lyon.—The Day lost.—A last and fatal Charge.—Lyon in the van.—A fatal shot.—A fall.—Last Words.—Death.—A Memorial of disinterested Patriotism.

1861. Aug. 4. On the return of General Lyon to Springfield, the enemy turned back and followed in pursuit of him. The secessionists concentrated their forces at Crane Creek, where General Price yielded the command of the army to the noted Ben McCulloch.

This famous partisan chief was born in Rutherford County, Tennessee, in the year 1814. His father had acquired considerable military fame in border warfare, having served as aide-de-camp to General Coffee, and under General Jackson in the Indian campaigns of the West, and at the battle of New Orleans. His son Ben, while yet a youth, showed great fondness for adventure, and at the age of fourteen was foremost among a band of juvenile bear-hunters. Such was his success in this career, that he was known to have killed eighty bears in a single season.

At the age of twenty-one, young McCulloch set out for St. Louis, to join a company of trappers in an expedition to the Rocky Mountains. Arriving too late, he offered his services to a party of Santa Fé traders, but for some reason or other was again disappointed. He now sought in the wilds of Texas, then belonging to Mexico, and inhabited only by adventurers, Indians, and half-breeds—among whom he made his home—scope for the free exercise of his untamed spirit of adventure. When General Houston rallied about him the settlers from the United States and struck a blow for the independence of Texas, McCulloch was among the first to offer his services. At the battle of San Jacinto he commanded a gun, and gallantly bore his part in winning that decisive victory, which wrested Texas from Mexican rule. On the breaking out of the Mexican war, in consequence of the recognition and annexation of Texas by the United States, McCulloch raised a band of mounted

Texans, called Rangers, and was chosen their chief. Practiced in guerrilla warfare against the Mexicans and Indians, whom he had often met in border forays, he was peculiarly fit for the service of scouring the country, of which he knew every mile, and following the traces of an artful enemy. His band was accordingly employed by General Taylor, at the commencement of the campaign against Mexico, as scouts, and did effective service. After serving with General Taylor at Resaca de la Palma, Palo Alto, and Buena Vista, McCulloch joined General Scott's army, and entered with it the capital of Mexico. After peace was declared he returned to Texas, where he was appointed by President Pierce to the lucrative office of United States marshal. When President Buchanan put forth his authority to suppress the rebellion in Utah, he selected, with his characteristic sense of official fitness, Ben McCulloch, the wild bear-hunter and dashing Texan ranger, as one of the peace commissioners! "A post," says a contemporary writer, "he was about as well qualified to fill as Mr. Elihu Burritt, the learned blacksmith, would be to command an army."

At the beginning of our civil troubles McCulloch made his appearance in Virginia, and even ventured to show himself in Washington, where he was suspected to be laying a plan for taking, in conjunction with his fellow-conspirators, the capital by a *coup de main*. The Confederate Government, however, distrusting his discretion, sent him to Missouri, where his peculiar and irregular mode of warfare could be practiced to greater advantage. His fame for boldness of spirit, fertility of expedient, and indifference to the formality of law attracted to his standard all the daring and unscrupulous adventurers of the West, and he was enabled to raise a large and effective force of men. His regiment, which he termed the Texan Rangers, was soon swollen to an army. On forming a junction with the secession forces of Missouri, the general command was, for the moment, as has been already stated, transferred to the Texan chief, by General Price, who now claims notice.

Sterling Price was born in Virginia, but emigrated to Missouri, where he became a leading man. He was a representative in Congress from 1845 to 1847. When war was declared against Mexico, he raised a regiment of Missouri volunteers, and was chosen their colonel. He did gallant service in the campaign, and was rewarded by promotion to the rank of brigadier-general. In the battle of Canada, New Mexico, where he was the chief in command, he was wounded. At the battle of Santa Cruz de Rosales he also commanded, and proved himself a gallant leader. At the close of the war he resigned his commission and retired to private life in Missouri. His birth as a Virginian naturally associated him with the advocates of slavery, and on the commencement of the civil troubles he openly declared for secession. A close friend of Governor Jackson, he joined him in every movement to wrest the State of Missouri from its loyalty to the Union. Energetic, politic, and devoted

to the interests of slave-owners, he is one of the shrewdest, most active, and determined of the adherents to the Southern cause. He has, moreover, shown, notwithstanding his want of a military education, that he is not unskilled in the conduct of a war like that in Missouri, where the formalities of art are often compelled to yield to the force of circumstances.

The combined army of the secessionists started from Crane Creek in eager pursuit of General Lyon, whom they expected to overtake before he should reach Springfield; but after a forced march of seventeen miles, the men were so prostrated by the heat and dust that they were obliged to encamp at Moody's Spring. Early next morning the enemy

Aug. 5. resumed their march and moved to Wilson's Creek, ten miles south-west of Springfield. Here they posted themselves and awaited an attack from General Lyon. After a delay of several days, McCulloch determined again to advance, and his men were kept under arms all night, ready to march at break

Aug. 10. of day. In the mean time, it was discovered that General Lyon himself was approaching, to give battle. The enemy made rapid preparations to meet the attack.

Lyon having determined not to await the coming of the secessionists, who he did not doubt could with their large numbers readily surround him at Springfield, boldly decided to strike a blow against them in their own camp. He made his plans accordingly, and marched with his whole force at the break of day. His army moved in two columns, the first under his own immediate command, and the second under Colonel Sigel. Aug. 10. General Lyon's plan was to attack simultaneously the two extremities of the camp of the enemy which extended for three miles along Wilson's Creek. Against one end he was to lead the division commanded by himself; against the other, Sigel was directed to advance with his force. This separated the lines of march.

Major Sturgis, upon whom devolved the duty of making the report of Lyon's movement, thus describes the march and the subsequent engagement of the first column.

"General Lyon," he says, "marched from Springfield at five o'clock P.M., on the 9th, making a *détour* to the right—at one o'clock in the morning arriving in view of the enemy's guard-fires. Here the column halted, and lay on their arms until the dawn of day, when it again moved forward. Captain Gilbert's company, which had formed the advance during the night, still remained in advance, and the column moved in the same order in which it had halted.

"A south-easterly direction was now taken, with a view to strike the extreme northern point of the enemy's camp. At daylight a line of battle was formed, closely followed by Totten's battery, supported by a strong reserve. In this order we advanced, with skirmishers in front, until the first out-post of the rebels was encountered and driven in, when the column was halted, and the following dispositions made, viz., Captain

Plummer's battalion, with the Home Guard on his left, were to cross Wilson's Creek and move toward the front, keeping pace with the advance on the left opposite bank, for the purpose of protecting our left flank against any attempt of the enemy to turn it. After crossing a ravine and ascending a high ridge, we came in full view of a considerable force of the enemy's skirmishers. Major Osterhaus' battalion was at once deployed to the right, and two companies of the First Missouri Volunteers, under Captains Yates and Cavender, were deployed to the left, all as skirmishers. The firing now became very severe, and it was evident we were approaching the enemy's stronghold, where they intended giving battle. A few shells from Totten's battery assisted our skirmishers in clearing the ground in front.

"The First Missouri and First Kansas moved to the front, supported by Totten's battery, and the First Iowa Regiment, Dubois' battery, Steele's battalion, and the Second Kansas were held in reserve. The First Missouri now took its position in the front, upon the crest of a small elevated plateau. The First Kansas was posted on the left of the First Missouri, and separated from it some sixty yards on account of a ravine. The First Iowa took its position on the left of the First Kansas, while Totten's battery was placed opposite the interval between the First Kansas and First Missouri. Major Osterhaus' battalion occupied the extreme right, with his right resting on a ravine which turned abruptly to our right and rear. Dubois' battery, supported by Steele's battalion, was placed some eighty yards to the left and rear of Totten's guns, so as to bear upon a powerful battery of the enemy, posted to our left and front, on the opposite side of Wilson's Creek, to sweep the entire plateau upon which our troops were formed.

"The enemy now rallied in large force near the foot of the slope, and under considerable cover, opposite our left wing, and along the slope in front and on our right toward the crest of the main ridge running parallel to the creek. During this time, Captain Plummer, with his four companies of infantry, had moved down a ridge about 500 yards to our left, and separated from us by a deep ravine, and reached its abrupt terminus, where he found its further progress arrested by a large force of infantry occupying a cornfield in the valley in his front. At this moment an artillery fire was opened from a high point about two miles distant, and nearly in our front, from which Colonel Sigel was to have commenced his attack. This fire was answered from the opposite side of the valley, and at a little greater distance from us, the line of fire of the two batteries being nearly perpendicular to our own. After about ten or twelve shots on either side, the firing ceased, and we neither heard nor saw anything more of General Sigel's brigade until about half-past eight o'clock, when a brisk cannonading was heard for a few minutes, about a mile to the right of that heard before, and from two to three miles distant.

"Our whole line now advanced with much energy upon the enemy's position, the firing, which had been spirited for the last half hour, now increasing to a continuous roar. During this time Captain Totten's battery came into action by section and by piece, as the nature of the ground would permit (it being wooded, with much undergrowth), and played upon the enemy's lines with great effect. After a fierce engagement, lasting perhaps half an hour, and in which our troops retired two or three times in more or less disorder, but never more than a few yards, again to rally and press forward with increased vigor, the enemy at length gave way in the utmost confusion, and left us in possession of the position.

"Meanwhile, Captain Plummer was ordered to move forward on our left, but meeting with overpowering resistance from the large mass of infantry in the cornfield in his front, and in the woods beyond, was compelled to fall back: but at this moment Lieutenant Dubois' battery, which had taken position on our left flank, supported by Captain Steele's battalion, opened upon the enemy in the cornfield a fire of shells, with such marked effect as to drive him with great slaughter from the field.

"There was now a momentary cessation of fire along nearly the whole line, except the extreme right, where the First Missouri was still engaged with a superior force of the enemy, attempting to turn our right. The General having been informed of this movement, sent the Second Kansas to the support of the First Missouri. It came up in time to prevent the Missourians from being destroyed by the overwhelming force against which they were unflinchingly holding their position

"The battalion of regular infantry under Captain Steele, which had been detailed to the support of Lieutenant Dubois' battery, was during this time brought forward to the support of Captain Totten's battery. Scarcely had these dispositions been made, when the enemy again appeared in very large force along our entire front, and moving toward each flank. The engagement at once became general, and almost inconceivably fierce, along the entire line, the enemy appearing in front often in three or four ranks, lying down, kneeling and standing, the lines often approaching to within thirty or forty yards of each other, as the enemy would charge upon Captain Totten's battery and be driven back

"Early in the engagement, the First Iowa came to the support of the First Kansas and First Missouri, both of which had stood like veteran troops, exposed to a galling fire of the enemy.

"Every available battalion was now brought into action, and the battle raged with unabated fury for more than an hour, the scales seeming all the time nearly equally balanced, our troops sometimes gaining a little ground, and then giving way a few yards to rally again. Early in this engagement, while General Lyon was leading his horse along the line on the left of Captain Totten's battery, and endeavoring to

rally our troops, which were at this time in considerable disorder, his horse was killed, and he received a wound in the leg and one in the head. He walked slowly a few paces to the rear and said, 'I fear the day is lost.' I then dismounted one of my orderlies and tendered the horse to the General, who at first declined, saying it was not necessary. The horse, however, was left with him, and I moved off to rally a portion of the Iowa Regiment, which was beginning to break in considerable numbers.

"In the mean time the General mounted, and, swinging his hat in the air, called to the troops nearest him to follow. The Second Kansas gallantly rallied around him, headed by the brave Colonel Mitchell. In a few moments the Colonel fell severely wounded; about the same time a fatal ball was lodged in the General's breast, and he was carried from the field a corpse. Thus gloriously fell as brave a soldier as ever drew a sword—a man whose honesty of purpose was proverbial—a noble patriot, and one who held his life as nothing when his country demanded it of him.

"Of this dire calamity I was not informed until perhaps half an hour after its occurrence. In the mean time our disordered line on the left was again rallied, and pressed the enemy with great vigor and coolness, particularly the First Iowa Regiment, which fought like veterans. This hot encounter lasted perhaps half an hour.

"After the death of General Lyon, when the enemy fled and left the field clear, so far as we could see, an almost total silence reigned for a space of twenty minutes. Major Schofield now informed me of the death of General Lyon, and reported for orders. The responsibility which now rested upon me was duly felt and appreciated. Our brave little army was scattered and broken; over 20,000 men were still in our front, and our men had had no water since five o'clock the evening before, and could hope for none short of Springfield, twelve miles distant, if we should go forward. Our own success would prove our certain defeat in the end; if we retreated, disaster stared us in the face; our ammunition was well nigh exhausted, and should the enemy make this discovery through a slackening of our fire, total annihilation was all we could expect. The great question in my mind was, 'Where is Sigel?' If I could still hope for a vigorous attack by him on the enemy's right flank or rear, then we could go forward with some hope of success. If he had retreated, there was nothing left for us also. In this perplexing condition of affairs I summoned the principal officers for consultation. The great question with most of them was, 'Is retreat possible?' The consultation was brought to a close by the advance of a heavy column of infantry from the hill where Sigel's guns had been heard before. Thinking they were Sigel's men, a line was formed for an advance, with the hope of forming a junction with him. These troops wore a dress much resembling that of Sigel's brigade, and carried the American flag. They were there-



fore permitted to move down the hill within easy range of Dubois' battery, until they had reached the covered position at the foot of the ridge on which we were posted, and from which we had been fiercely assailed before, when suddenly a battery was planted on the hill in our front, and began to pour upon us shrapnel and cannister—a species of shot not before fired by the enemy. At this moment the enemy showed his true colors, and at once commenced along our entire lines the fiercest and most bloody engagement of the day. Lieutenant Dubois' battery on our left, gallantly supported by Major Osterhaus' battalion and the rallied fragments of the Missouri First, soon silenced the enemy's battery on the hill and repulsed the right wing of his infantry. Captain Totten's battery in the centre, supported by the Iowas and regulars, was the main point of attack. The enemy could frequently be seen within twenty feet of Totten's guns, and the smoke of the opposing lines was often so confounded as to seem but one. Now, for the first time during the day, our entire line maintained its position with perfect firmness. Not the slightest disposition to give way was manifested at any point, and while Captain Steele's battalion, which was some yards in front of the line, together with the troops on the right and left, were in imminent danger of being overwhelmed by superior numbers, the contending lines being almost muzzle to muzzle, Captain Granger rushed to the rear and brought up the supports of Dubois' battery, consisting of two or three companies of the First Missouri, three companies of the First Kansas, and two companies of the First Iowa, in quick time, and fell upon the enemy's right flank, and poured into it a murderous volley, killing or wounding nearly every man within sixty or seventy yards. From this moment a perfect rout took place throughout the rebel front, while ours on the right flank continued to pour a galling fire into their disorganized masses.

"It was then evident that Totten's battery and Steele's little battalion were safe. Among the officers conspicuous in leading this assault were Adjutant Hezcock, Captains Burke, Miller, Maunter, Maurice, and Richardson, and Lieutenant Howard, all of the First Missouri. There were others of the First Kansas and First Iowa who participated, and whose names I do not remember. The enemy then fled from the field. A few moments before the close of the engagement, the Second Kansas, which had firmly maintained its position, on the extreme right, from the time it was first sent there, found its ammunition exhausted, and I directed it to withdraw slowly and in good order from the field, which it did, bringing off its wounded, which left our right flank exposed, and the enemy renewed the attack at that point, after it had ceased along the whole line; but it was gallantly met by Captain Steele's battalion of regulars, which had just driven the enemy from the right of the centre, and, after a sharp engagement, drove him precipitately from the field. Thus closed—at about

half-past eleven o'clock—an almost uninterrupted conflict of six hours. The order to retreat was given soon after the enemy gave way from our front and centre, Lieutenant Dubois' battery having been previously sent to occupy, with its supports, the hill in our rear. Captain Totten's battery, as soon as his disabled horses could be replaced, retired slowly with the main body of the infantry, while Captain Steele was meeting the demonstrations upon our right flank. This having been repulsed, and no enemy being in sight, the whole column moved slowly to the high open prairie, about two miles from the battle-ground; meanwhile our ambulances passed to and fro, carrying off our wounded. After making a short halt on the prairie, we continued our march to Springfield.

"It should be here remembered that, just after the order to retire was given, and while it was undecided whether the retreat should be continued, or whether we should occupy the more favorable position of our rear, and await tidings of Colonel Sigel, one of his non-commissioned officers arrived, and reported that the Colonel's brigade had been totally routed, and all his artillery captured, Colonel Sigel himself having been either killed or made prisoner. Most of our men had fired away all their ammunition, and all that could be obtained from the boxes of the killed and wounded. Nothing, therefore, was left to do but to return to Springfield, where 250 Home Guards, with two pieces of artillery, had been left to take care of the train. On reaching the Little York road, we met Lieutenant Ferrand, with his company of dragoons, and a considerable portion of Colonel Sigel's command, with one piece of artillery. At five o'clock P. M. we reached Springfield."

General Sigel thus reports the events of the march and engagement of his own division, the second column.

"I left," he says, "Camp Fremont, on the south side of Springfield, at half-past six o'clock on the evening of the 9th, and arrived at daybreak within a mile of the enemy's camp. I advanced slowly toward the camp, and after taking forward the two cavalry companies from the right and left, I cut off about forty men of the enemy's troops, who were coming from the camp in little squads to get water and provisions. This was done in such a manner that no news of our advance could be brought into the camp.

"In sight of the enemy's tents, which spread out on our front and right, I planted four pieces of artillery on a little hill, while the infantry advanced toward the point where the Fayetteville road crosses Wilson's Creek, and the two cavalry companies extended to the right and left to guard our flanks. It was half-past five o'clock, when some musket firing was heard from the northwest. I therefore ordered the artillery to begin their fire against the camp of the enemy (Missourians), which was so destructive that the enemy were seen leaving their tents and retiring in haste toward the northeast of the valley. Meanwhile, the Third and Fifth had quickly advanced, passed the creek, and traversing

the camp, formed almost in the centre of it. As the enemy made his rally in large numbers before us, about 3,000 strong, consisting of infantry and cavalry, I ordered the artillery to be brought forward from the hill and formed there in battery across the valley, with the Third and Fifth to the left and the cavalry to the right. After an effectual fire of half an hour, the enemy retired in some confusion into the woods and up the adjoining hills. The firing toward the northwest was now more distinct, and increased, until it was evident that the main corps of General Lyon had engaged the enemy along the whole line. To give the greatest possible assistance to him, I left position in the camp and advanced toward the northwest, to attack the enemy's line of battle in the rear.

"Marching forward, we struck the Fayetteville road, making our way through a large number of cattle and horses, until we arrived at an eminence used as a slaughtering place, and known as Sharp's farm. On our route we had taken about 100 prisoners, who were scattered over the camp. At Sharp's place we met numbers of the enemy's soldiers, who were evidently retiring in this direction; and as I suspected that the enemy, on his retreat, would follow in the same direction, I formed the troops across the road by planting the artillery on the plateau, and two infantry regiments on the right and left, across the road, while the cavalry companies extended on our flanks. At this time, and after some skirmishing in front of our line, the firing in the direction of the northwest, which was during an hour's time roaring in succession, had almost entirely ceased. I thereupon presumed that the attack of General Lyon had been successful, and that his troops were in pursuit of the enemy, who moved in large numbers toward the south, along the ridge of a hill, about 700 yards opposite our right.

"This was the state of affairs at half-past eight o'clock in the morning, when it was reported to me by Dr. Melchior and some of our skirmishers, that 'Lyon's men were coming up the road.' Lieutenant Albert, of the Third, and Colonel Salamon, of the Fifth, notified their regiments not to fire on troops coming in this direction, while I cautioned the artillery in the same manner. Our troops in this moment expected with anxiety the approach of our friends, and were waving the flag, raised as a signal to their comrades, when at once two batteries opened their fire against us—one in front, placed on the Fayetteville road, and the other upon the hill upon which we had supposed Lyon's forces were in pursuit of the enemy, while a strong column of infantry, supposed to be the 'Iowa Regiment,' advanced from the Fayetteville road and attacked our right.

"It is impossible for me to describe the consternation and frightful confusion which was occasioned by this important event. The cry, 'They [Lyon's troops] are firing against us,' spread like wildfire through our ranks. The artillerymen, ordered to fire, and directed by myself, could hardly be brought forward

to serve their pieces; the infantry would not level their arms until it was too late. The enemy arrived within ten paces of the muzzles of our cannon, killed the horses, turned the flanks of the infantry, and forced them to fly. The troops were throwing themselves into the bushes and by-roads, retreating as well as they could, followed and attacked incessantly by large bodies of Arkansas and Texas cavalry."

The force of the Federalists in this unequal struggle at Wilson's Creek amounted only to 3,700 men and that of the enemy to the overwhelming number of 23,000 This, however, is the computation of the Federalists themselves. The secessionists, on the other hand, declared that their army numbered nearly 10,000 men, and that that of the Unionists was of the same strength The total loss in killed wounded, and missing on their side was estimated by the Federalists at 1,285, and on that of the enemy at 3,000 The secessionists themselves confess to have had 265 killed, 800 wounded, and 30 missing while they asserted that our loss was 800 killed, 1,000 wounded, and 300 taken prisoners. It is impossible to reconcile such discordant statements, and the reader must be content to remain, like the historian, embarrassed by the conflicting testimony of partial witnesses, until truth, no longer, as now, crushed by interested falsehood, shall rise once more and assert its independence.

Forced to retire from the field, the Federalists left behind them six pieces of artillery and several hundred stand of arms, which were captured by the enemy. The great loss was the death of General Lyon, who was mourned by the whole nation. There may be men of greater military skill, but none more devoted to the cause of the Union. He possessed, what seems wanting in many of our leaders, an intense sympathy with the motive of the contest. A thoughtful observer of the encroachments of the pro-slavery politicians, he had long watched their progress with anxious solicitude, and had uttered his protests, as a writer, against their fatal theories before he had drawn his sword, as a soldier, to strike them down in the commission of their disloyal acts. Profoundly convinced, from study and reflection, of the evil designs of the advocates of the extension of slavery, he believed no sacrifice too great in thwarting their purposes. When, therefore, they boldly defied the authority of the Government, and sought to settle the question between it and themselves by the arbitrament of the sword, Lyon obeyed the summons to arms with the enthusiasm of a crusader about to fight for a sacred cause. Naturally impulsive, he may not have always acted with the discretion of the judicious officer; but an ardent defender of the cause of his country, he never sacrificed its interests to the fastidiousness of the military formalist. If the leaders of our armies had more of the sentiment of Lyon, the country might dispense with much of their elaborate military acquirement. It must not be inferred, however, that he was deficient in the art he professed, for he had, in

common with the most accomplished of our generals, a thorough military education, but he possessed what so many of them seem to want, a heart to feel, as well as a head to understand. He did not believe that the contest was to be settled by the conventional rules of Vauban and Jomini, but by the eternal principles of justice and liberty.

Lyon seemed to be so saddened by the position in which he had been left by the neglect to send him reinforcements, that his melancholy took the form of a presentiment of the evil which awaited him. "For two or three days before the battle," says one* who was often at his side, "General Lyon changed much in appearance. Since it became apparent to him that he must abandon the Southwest, or have his army cut to pieces, he had lost much of his former energy and decision. To one of his staff he remarked, the evening before the battle, 'I am a man believing in presentiments, and ever since this night surprise was planned, I have had a feeling I cannot get rid of, that it would result disastrously. Through the refusal of Government properly to reinforce me, I am obliged to abandon the country. If I leave it without engaging the enemy, the public will call me a coward. If I engage him, I may be defeated and my command cut to pieces. I am too weak to hold Springfield, and yet the people will demand that I bring about a battle with the very enemy I cannot keep a town against. How can this result otherwise than against us?'

* Correspondent of the New York *Herald*.

"On the way to the field I frequently rode near him. He seemed like one bewildered, and often when addressed failed to give any recognition, and seemed totally unaware that he was spoken to. On the battle-field he gave his orders promptly, and seemed solicitous for the welfare of his men, but utterly regardless of his own safety. While he was standing where bullets flew thickest, just after his favorite horse was shot from under him, some of his officers interposed and begged that he would retire from the spot and seek one less exposed. Scarcely raising his eyes from the enemy, he said:

"'It is well enough that I stand here. I am satisfied.'"

Lyon had been wounded in the early part of the engagement. He had been struck by three shots: one in the heel, a second in the fleshy part of his thigh, and a third in the back of his head, which had cut it open to the skull. His surgeon begged him to retire to the rear and have his wounds dressed. "No—these are nothing" was the General's reply, and thus wounded and streaming with blood, he led the Kansas and Iowa regiments to the fatal charge, saying, as he mounted his horse, "I fear that the day is lost; if Colonel Sigel had been successful, he would have joined us before this. I think I will lead this charge. He then cried: "Forward, men! I will lead you!"

His horse had hardly sprung forward, when a Minié ball struck Lyon in the breast, and passing out at the back severed in its course the aorta, the prin-

cipal blood-vessel of the heart. He fell into the arms of his body-servant, saying, "Lehman, I am killed; take care of my body," and instantly expired.

General Lyon left behind him an impressive memorial of his ardent and disinterested patriotism in a legacy by will of his whole property, amounting to $30,000, to the United States Government.

CHAPTER XLI.

Return of Federal Troops to Springfield. General Sigel in command.—Arrival of Federal Force at Rolla.—General Fremont at St. Louis. Flocking to his Standard.—Unfavorable rumors.—The Military capacity of Fremont questioned.—Justification by his Friends. His reason for not reinforcing Lyon.—A failure.—Another Military Fault.—Description of Lexington. Garrison at Lexington.—Reinforcement.—Colonel Mulligan's March. His arrival at Lexington.—Fortifies the place.—Description of Fortifications.—The Siege and its results.—Importance of Lexington.—Causes of its Fall.—Comparative strength of the Antagonists.—Losses. Regrets. Release of Mulligan.—Hailed as a Hero.—His account of the fall of Lexington.—General Price's report of the capture of Lexington.

1861. AFTER the defeat at Wilson's Creek, the Federal troops returned to Springfield. General Sigel having temporarily succeeded to the command, made immediate preparations for falling still farther back, before the superior numbers of the enemy, who were pushing forward with the purpose of cutting off his retreat. On the next morning after the battle, the Federal army had commenced its movement to the east. By a judicious turn in the march, General Sigel succeeded in eluding the manœuvres of Price and McCulloch, and reaching Rolla in safety, where the Federal forces now encamped, with their communications with St. Louis secured beyond peradventure.

July 25. General Fremont having, in the mean time, assumed command in Missouri, was at St. Louis, where his popularity attracted to his standard the spirited volunteers of the West in large numbers. While organizing and equipping an army, and preparing for an expedition down the Mississippi, rumors began to circulate unfavorable to his conduct. His disregard of the call of Lyon for reinforcements, and the consequent defeat and fall of that gallant officer at Wilson's Creek, was imputed to Fremont as a fault, and gave rise to suspicions of his military incapacity. His friends were ready to justify him, on the score of the embarrassments in which the Federal authorities had involved him, by their inordinate demands for troops to proceed elsewhere—by which his force at St. Louis had been weakened—and their remissness in supplying him with adequate means for equipping and transporting those he

had. In answer to this it was urged, that he was able, within one week after his arrival in St. Louis, to march with 5,000 men to Bird's Point, on the Mississippi, and send a reinforcement to Pilot Knob. This force, it was contended, should have been sent to Springfield. Fremont, however, declared that as General Pillow, at New Madrid, and General Hardee, at Greenfield, were threatening these points, it was there where aid was most wanted. It was suggested to him that the threatened movements against Pilot Knob and Bird's Point were mere feints to distract his attention from the more serious manœuvres of Price and McCulloch in the southwest, which was the natural route for Governor Jackson to return to the State and try to recover the capital; and that if the rebels could *force Lyon to retreat on St. Louis*, they might expect large reinforcements to meet them on the Osage, and thus insure the re-establishment of the rebel government at Jefferson City.

Fremont was not convinced, and Lyon was left to struggle against an overwhelming force, with the fatal result just narrated, while his commanding general grandly marched out, and marched back again after an absence only of three days, giving, by the failure of his expedition, a striking condemnation of his own judgment, and a triumphant vindication of the opinions of his opponents.

The suspicion of Fremont's military incapacity was further strengthened by another defeat in Missouri, which is attributed to his neglect to reinforce a small garrison beleaguered by a numerous enemy at Lexington, the fall of which will now be recorded.

Lexington, in Lafayette County, Missouri, is situated on the southern bank of the river Missouri, in the northwestern part of the State. There are two settlements, called Old and New Lexington. The former is lower down and farther from the river, and separated from the latter by a hill, although between, along the river bank or bluff, there are some scattered houses.

A small force, consisting of several hundred Home Guards, a few Kansas troops, a portion of the Missouri Eighth Regiment, and 700 of the First Regiment Illinois cavalry, under the command of Colonel Peabody, had occupied Lexington for about a week, when Colonel Mulligan with his Irish brigade was ordered from Jefferson City to reinforce the place. Sep. 1.

On reaching Lexington, Colonel Mulligan, as senior officer, assumed chief command of the whole force, which with the accession of his brigade amounted to about 2,500 men. Sep. 9. General Price at the moment was rapidly approaching with his secession army, which was augmenting daily on the march. Generals Lane and Montgomery, of Kansas, had striven ineffectually to check his progress, and had been compelled to retire from the State. Mulligan found that there was no time to lose, and began industriously to prepare for the coming of the enemy. He set his men to work at once in raising intrenchments to defend the position he had

selected, about midway between Old and New Lexington, which are nearly a mile apart.

"Midway," says a writer in the Chicago *Tribune*, whose account is here quoted, "stands a solid brick edifice, built for a college, and about this a small breast-work had already been begun.

"By Colonel Mulligan's orders this was extended, and the troops set about the construction of an earth-work, ten feet in height, with a ditch eight feet in width, inclosing an area capable of containing a force of 10,000 men. The army train, consisting of numerous mule teams, six mules to a team, was brought within this. The supply of intrenching tools being inadequate, a thorough search was made through both towns, and every description of suitable or available implements appropriated. The work was pushed with great vigor—the heavy muscle of the brigade telling well as the brave fellows toiled in the trenches. This went on for three days, or until Thursday, the 12th, at which time the portion assigned to the Irish brigade was well advanced, that of the Home Guard being still weak on the west, or New Lexington side.

"Of Lexington it should be said in advance, that it has been considered a most important point by the Confederate forces, and their preparations for its capture and occupancy abundantly declare this. Among other proofs that it was a coveted prize, was the fact that Claiborne Jackson and his legislature had been in session there as late as only the week previous to the arrival of Colonel Mulligan, holding their session in the court-house, whence Claiborne fulminated a proclamation counter to that of General Fremont. When this worthy body prudently retired before the Federal troops, they did so in such haste that $800,000 in gold coin, and the State seals left in the vault of the bank, fell into the hands of Colonel Peabody.

"The college building within the fortification became Colonel Mulligan's head-quarters. The magazine and treasure were stored in the cellar and suitably protected. The hospital of our troops was located just outside the intrenchments, in a northwesterly direction. The river at that point is about half a mile wide, and about half a mile distant from the fortifications. The bluff there is high and abrupt, the steamboat landing being at New Lexington.

"After three several days of anxious watching and unremitting toil by the little force, on the afternoon of Thursday, the 12th instant, scouts and advanced pickets driven in reported the near approach of the rebels. At this time Colonel Mulligan had a portion of his small artillery in readiness. He had only six brass pieces and two howitzers, but having no shell, the latter were useless. Two pieces belonged to the Kansas City Company, and were worked by them splendidly. The cavalry company had only their side-arms and pistols, and having no carbines or rifles, could do nothing at long range.

"Several mines were laid in front of the intrenchments by our men. The attack on Thursday, the 12th, was led by

General Rains in person, with a battery of nine pieces of artillery on the angle least prepared to resist assault. The enemy were repulsed with heavy loss. In the fight, Companies I, Captain Fitzgerald, K, Captain John Quirk, and G, Captain Phillips, did gallant service.

"As stated, the hospital had been located on the bank below the new town, and contained about twenty-four patients. The attacking party did not spare or respect this building. They were met by the Montgomery Guards, Captain Gleason, who made a brave resistance, but were driven back with the loss of twenty-five of their men killed and wounded. Captain Gleason was shot through the jaw and badly wounded. The gallant Montgomery made many of the Texans bite the dust. The fight was very fierce. Some of the sick were actually bayoneted or sabred in their cots. Rev. Father Butler, an esteemed Catholic clergyman of this city, and the chaplain of the Irish Brigade, was wounded in the forehead by a ball which passed across it, laying open the skin. He was taken prisoner, as also was Dr. Winer, surgeon of the brigade, thus depriving the regiment of the valuable services of both during the dark and trying days that followed, preceding the surrender.

"The issue of the 12th warned the enemy that they had a task before them which was no easy one, and they commenced on Friday morning a new system of approaches. They scoured the entire region for its staple, hemp in bales. These were thoroughly wetted as a safeguard against red-hot shot, and then were skilfully used to mask the batteries of the rebels, and rolled forward as they made their advance.

"The fight went on thus for several days, the enemy bringing more of their artillery into action. Following the skirmish of the 19th, Mulligan ordered a portion of the old town on the east to be burned, to prevent the rebels from gaining therefrom the advantage of shelter. Meanwhile, the little garrison, already worn by labor on the intrenchments, began to look eagerly for the coming of reinforcements.

"On the 10th, Colonel Mulligan had sent Lieutenant Rains, of Company K of the brigade, with a squad of twelve men, on the steamer Sunshine, to Jefferson City, 160 miles distant, pressing the necessity for reinforcements. Forty miles below, the Sunshine was captured, and Rains and his men brought back to New Lexington and lodged as prisoners in the old Fair Ground. Other messengers were sent off to guard against the failure of any one.

"The enemy were in sufficient force to throw out parties to intercept the Federal troops *en route* for the relief of Colonel Mulligan. Thus, a detachment of 5,000 strong met and turned back 1,500 Iowa troops from Richmond, sixteen miles from the river, they retreating, it is said, to St. Joseph.

"The situation of the Federal troops grew more desperate as day after day passed. Within their lines were picketed about the wagons and trains a large number of horses and mules, nearly 3,000 in all, now a serious cause of care

and anxiety, for as shot and shell plunged among them, many of the animals were killed and wounded, and from the struggle of these latter the danger of a general stampede was imminent. The havoc in the centre of the intrenchments was immense. Wagons were knocked to pieces, stores scattered and destroyed, and the ground strewn with dead horses and mules.

"On Wednesday, the 17th, an evil, from the first apprehended, fell upon Colonel Mulligan's command. They were cut off from the river, and their water gave out. Fortunately a heavy rain, at intervals, came greatly to their relief. But to show how severe were the straits of the men, the fact may be stated of instances occurring where soldiers held their blankets spread out until thoroughly wet, and then wrung them into their camp dishes, carefully saving the priceless fluid thus obtained. Rations, also, began to grow short. The fighting at this time, from the 16th to the 21st, knew little cessation. The nights were brilliant moonlight, and all night long the roar of the guns continued, with an occasional sharp sortie and skirmish without the works.

"From the first but one spirit pervaded our troops, and that was no thought or word of surrender, except among some of the Home Guards, who had done the least share of the work and the fighting. The cavalry behaved nobly, and could the full details be written up, some of their sharp, brave charges on the enemy's guns would shine with any battle-exploits on record.

"General Price sent Colonel Mulligan a summons to surrender, to which the gallant commander sent a refusal saying, 'If you want us, you must take us.' But the defection and disheartenment of the Home Guards intensified daily, and on Friday the 21st, while Colonel Mulligan was giving his attention to some matters in another portion of the camp, the white flag was raised, at his own instance, by Major Becker of the Home Guards, from the portion of the intrenchment assigned to him.

"Captain Simpson, of the Earl Rifles, called Colonel Mulligan's attention to Major Becker's action instantly, and the Jackson Guard, Captain McDermott, of Detroit, were sent to take down that flag, which was done. The heaviest part of the fight of the day followed in a charge upon the nearest battery of the enemy, the Illinois cavalry suffering severely.

"The Home Guards then left the outer work and retreated within the line of the inner intrenchments, about the college building, refusing to fight longer, and here again raised the white flag, this time from the centre of the fortifications, when the fire of the enemy slackened and ceased. Under this state of affairs, Colonel Mulligan, calling his officers into council, decided to capitulate, and Captain McDermott went out to the enemy's lines with a handkerchief tied to a ramrod, and a parley took place. Major Moore, of the brigade, was sent to General Price's headquarters at New Lexington to know the terms of capitulation. These were made unconditional,

the officers to be retained as prisoners of war, the men to be allowed to depart with their personal property, surrendering their arms and accoutrements."

In this severe siege of Lexington, the small Federal force held out with great spirit, and an endurance in conformity with the importance of the post and the order which had been given to hold it at any price. The position was of the utmost consequence, as it controlled the chief route of communication by the river Missouri, between St. Louis and Kansas. Colonel Mulligan, however, with his meagre garrison and incomplete intrenchments—only adequate for a temporary resistance until reinforcements should be sent to his aid—was so completely surrounded by the enemy, that it would have been impossible, disappointed as he was of the expected succor, to make a successful resistance. Such, however, was the persistency of the gallant Colonel and his devoted Irish brigade, that it would seem both were prepared to give up their lives rather than surrender. The Missouri Home Guards were of a less resolute spirit, and to their want of endurance has been attributed the concession that was finally made.

The force of the Federalists was estimated by themselves at only 2,500, and that of the secessionists at 28,000, with 13 pieces of artillery. The enemy claimed that by the capture of Lexington they had made 3,500 prisoners, and obtained over 3,000 stand of infantry arms, five pieces of artillery and two mortars, a large number of sabres, about 750 horses, many sets of cavalry equipments, wagons, teams, ammunition, and stores amounting in value to $100,000. In addition, they became possessed of $900,000 in money, of the great seal of the State, and of the public records. Their whole loss as given by themselves amounted only to twenty-five killed and seventy-two wounded, while it was computed by the Federalists to have been several thousand. The latter estimated their own loss at 500 killed and wounded.

At the capitulation, Colonel Mulligan and many of his men are said to have shed tears of regret that they had not secured the victory their heroism would seem to have deserved. Most of the prisoners were soon after released on giving their parole, and the gallant Mulligan was exchanged. On his release he was hailed by popular acclamation one of the heroes of the war. In the large cities, crowds thronged about him and listened with eager interest to the story of the siege of Lexington, as told by its gallant defender. It is here given in his own words.

"Just as we were turning in," says the Colonel—taking his point of departure from Jefferson City, the capital—"an order came for us to report ourselves to our superior officer, which was accordingly done, and we were ordered to go to Lexington the next morning, and hold it at any price, which order we endeavored to carry out to the death. We had before us a march of a hundred and fifty miles, but met with no obstructions. Immediately after

arriving at Lexington we camped. Colonel Marshall, who was then in command, had taken $800,000 from the bank of Lexington for safe keeping. He then received an order to advance, but sent a reply that we had but 2,700 men and a limited quantity of ammunition, but that we would hold out to the last. The next night 10,000 men were brought against us, but found us so well prepared that the enemy fell back. * * * The next day by daybreak the earth-works were completed, and we soon heard that the enemy were crossing the bridge. The Missouri troops were sent out against them, and completely routed them, destroying the bridge. A large body of Missourians met the foe in the grave-yard and forced them to retire. The enemy then fired into them from a battery of six guns, and the result was a scene of the greatest confusion. At length every gun, both cannon and musketry, was ordered to cease firing until the cannoniers of the enemy were picked off. Considerable damage was done the enemy; one of their cannon was dismounted and an ammunition wagon blown up. That night the 10,000 retreated before our 2,700. The next day the enemy sent a request to bury the dead, their commander stating that when General Lyon had fallen, they had allowed the Union party to take possession of his body without interruption. The Irish brigade then collected all the provisions they could, and planted their pieces of artillery so as to command the city. Being short of shot, they moulded several in an adjacent foundry. Thus some days passed, the pickets nearly overlapping each other; the Irish brigade waiting patiently till the 10,000 of the enemy should again make their appearance. Some part of Sunday they were singing and praying, and then engaged themselves in casting shot and stealing provisions. The Union men had their spies out, and from information received it became apparent that on the 17th the death struggle was to take place in the morning. The programme of the enemy was to encircle us. On the 18th we, at an early hour, heard their drums and saw advancing one immense black mass of men, 28,000 strong, with thirteen pieces of artillery. Their own officers said there were 31,000. The marching column of that force was fifteen miles long. The Rev. Mr. Butler then went around among the men and gave them his blessing, after which they cocked their muskets. The conflict then commenced and raged till noon. For three days and three nights the fight continued. Tom, one of the gunners, stood by his piece nearly all the time, and whenever he discharged the cannon he invariably broke the dense masses of the enemy. At noon news came that the hospital had been taken. We never dreamed that it was necessary to guard a sick man's house; but the enemy actually charged and took it, with one hundred and twenty dead and wounded lying in it. The brigade found it would never do to allow the enemy to keep the hospital, and the Missouri regiments (Thirteenth and Fourteenth) were ordered to

dislodge the enemy, but only proceeded as far as the sallyport. The Irish brigade was then ordered to attack; charged it at a double-quick, poured one volley into the enemy, passed the embrasure—on—on they went with the cold steel, and better than that, the iron will, till they met the enemy, grappled—then foot to foot and teeth to teeth, till they drove them from the building. They drove them from room to room, and their bayonets were dripping with blood. Unfortunately they were unable to remove the sick and dying. Toward night the battle was reopened and kept up till the sun went down. At nine o'clock, the brigade again attacked the enemy surprising some of Colonel Harris' men at supper, and captured their colors On the 19th, we found that our water was exhausted, and we suffered the most excruciating agony from thirst. One man, at the risk of his life, left the camp for some water, and returned with a canteen full. The surgeons had been taken prisoners, and the wounded could not be attended to, and were obliged to lie in agony on the field as they were. Captain Moriarty, of Company F, who was by profession a surgeon, was ordered to the hospital, and for forty hours was engaged in amputating limbs, with nothing but a razor. The morning of the 20th broke, and the battle was resumed, the Irish brigade being still without provisions and water. They dug pits, and constructed a circle of mines for the benefit of the enemy, when they should attack them, which, when they did, caused great loss to them. The enemy tried to counteract this by rolling hemp bales in their direction, constantly advancing and firing all the time. The foe advanced to about 170 feet with two field-pieces, and we fought desperately with our two six-pounders against them for three hours. Ultimately the enemy cleared the intrenchments, and then a desperate hand-to-hand fight ensued. They captured our guns and earth-works, but several companies being ordered up, the enemy were repulsed. The brigade was nearly out of ammunition, and but two guns out of the five could be used, and orders were given to fire as slowly and effectively as possible. Both sides then ceased firing, and I received a note from General Price asking me what the matter was, to which I replied in writing, 'General, upon my honor I don't know, unless you have surrendered' Information then ran through the lines that no more cartridges were to be had, and great consternation followed. On this the men were ordered to go back to their trenches without a single charge in their boxes and without complaint or murmur they gallantly did so. We sent this intelligence to General Price, and the place was delivered up. Then the foe galloped in upon us with four six-pounders, the commander exclaiming, 'Load them up with grape!' They then shouted, 'Down with your flags;' but not a man stirred. The green flag of Ireland, which floated on the earthworks, five feet broad and eight feet long, was pulled down by the enemy, but in an instant it was replanted in the sand by the men. They then marched us off, and

some in authority said, 'Colonel, you must give us your word you won't run away;' and I replied, 'We have not done that for a good while.' They desired us to take the oath that we would not fight against the Confederate States in future, which we declined to do."

The enemy had naturally in their commander a more partial historian of their deeds, and, as may be expected, the following report by General Price, of the siege of Lexington, will be found, if less true, as flattering to his own men as Colonel Mulligan's record is to ours. Price, after describing the first skirmish with the Federalists, says, "This threatened to become general. Being unwilling, however, to risk a doubtful engagement, when a short delay would make success certain, I fell back two or three miles and awaited the arrival of my infantry and artillery. These having come up, we advanced upon the town, driving in the enemy's pickets until we came within a short distance of the city itself. Here the enemy attempted to make a stand, but they were speedily driven from every position and forced to take shelter within their intrenchments. We then took our position within easy range of the college, which building they had strongly fortified, and opened upon them a brisk fire from Bledsoe's battery (which, in the absence of Captain Bledsoe, who had been wounded at Big Dry-Wood, was gallantly commanded by Captain Emmett McDonald), and by Parson's battery, under the skilful command of Captain Guibor.

"Finding after sunset that our ammunition, the most of which had been left behind on the march from Springfield, was nearly exhausted, and that my men, thousands of whom had not eaten a particle in thirty-six hours, required rest and food, I withdrew to the Fair Ground and encamped there. My ammunition wagons having been at last brought up, and large reinforcements having been received, I again moved into the town on Wednesday, the 18th instant, and began the final attack on the enemy's works.

"Brigadier-General Rains' division occupied a strong position on the east and north-east of the fortifications, from which an effective cannonading was kept up on the enemy by Bledsoe's battery, under command, except on the last day, of Captain Emmett McDonald, and another battery commanded by Captain Churchill Clark, of St. Louis. * * *

"General Parsons took a position south-west of the works, whence his battery, under command of Captain Guibor, poured a steady fire into the enemy. Skirmishers and sharpshooters were also sent forth from both of these divisions to harass and fatigue the enemy, and to cut them off from the water on the north, east, and south of the college, and did inestimable service in the accomplishment of these purposes.

"Colonel Congreve Jackson's division and a part of General Steen's were posted near General Rains and General Parsons as a reserve, but no occasion occurred to call them into action. They were, however, at all times vigilant, and ready to rush upon the enemy.

"Shortly after entering the city on the 18th, Colonel Rives, who commanded the Fourth Division in the absence of General Slack, led his regiment and Colonel Hughes' along the river bank, to a point immediately beneath and west of the fortifications, General McBride's command and a portion of General Harris' having been ordered to reinforce him. Colonel Rives, in order to cut off the enemy's means of escape, proceeded down the bank of the river to capture a steamboat which was lying just under their guns. Just at this moment a heavy fire was opened upon him from Colonel Anderson's large dwelling-house, on the summit of the bluffs, which the enemy were occupying as a hospital, and upon which a white flag was flying. Several companies of General Harris' command and the gallant soldiers of the Fourth Division, who have won upon so many battle-fields the proud distinction of always being among the bravest of the brave, immediately rushed upon and took the place.

"The important position thus secured was within 125 yards of the enemy's intrenchments. A company from Colonel Hughes' regiment then took possession of the boats, one of which was richly freighted with valuable stores. General McBride's and General Harris' divisions meanwhile gallantly stormed and occupied the bluffs immediately north of Anderson's house. The possession of these heights enabled our men to harass the enemy so greatly that, resolving to regain them, they made upon the house a successful assault, and one which would have been honorable to them had it not been accompanied by an act of savage barbarity—the cold-blooded and cowardly murder of three defenceless men who had laid down their arms and surrendered themselves as prisoners. The position thus retaken by the enemy was soon regained by the brave men who had been driven from it, and was thenceforward held by them to the very end of the contest.

"The heights to the left of Anderson's house, which had been taken, as before stated, by Generals McBride and Harris, and by part of General Steen's command, under Colonel Boyd and Major Winston, were rudely fortified by our soldiers, who threw up breast-works as well as they could with their slender means. On the morning of the 20th instant, I caused a number of hemp bales to be transported to the river heights, where movable breast-works were speedily constructed out of them by Generals Harris and McBride, Colonel Rives and Major Winston, and their respective commands. Captain Kelly's battery (attached to General Steen's division) was ordered at the same time to the position occupied by General Harris' force, and quickly opened a very effective fire, under the direction of its gallant captain, upon the enemy. These demonstrations, and particularly the continued advance of the hempen breast-works, which were as efficient as the cotton bales at New Orleans, quickly attracted the attention and excited the alarm of the enemy, who made many daring attempts to drive us back. They were,

however, repulsed in every instance by the unflinching courage and fixed determination of our men.

"In these desperate encounters, the veterans of McBride's and Slack's divisions fully sustained their proud reputation, while Colonel Martin Green and his command, and Colonel Boyd and Major Winston and their commands, proved themselves worthy to fight by the side of the men who had by their courage and valor won imperishable honor in the bloody battle of Springfield.

"About two o'clock in the afternoon of the 20th [Sept.], and after fifty-two hours of continuous firing, a white flag was displayed by the enemy on that part of their works nearest to Colonel Green's position, and shortly afterward another was displayed opposite to Colonel Rives. I immediately ordered a cessation of all firing on our part, and sent forward one of my staff officers to ascertain the object of the flag, and to open negotiations with the enemy, if such should be their desire. It was finally, after some delay, agreed by Colonel Marshall and the officers associated with him for that purpose by Colonel Mulligan, that the United States forces should lay down their arms and surrender themselves as prisoners of war to this army. These terms having been made known to, were ratified by, me and immediately carried into effect."

CHAPTER XLII.

Effect of the Fall of Lexington, in Missouri.—Increased Censure of Fremont.—Fremont conscious of the Misfortunes of his Campaign.—Resolution to redeem himself.—Dispatch to the United States Government.—Sensibility of Fremont.—Increased Denunciations by his Opponents.—Exaggerations.—The Apology of Fremont's Friends.—Impossibility of forming a just Judgment of Fremont.—The famous Proclamation of Fremont.—How received.—Letter of President Lincoln.—Effect in Kentucky.—Holt's Letter.—President's Response.—Admiration of Fremont at the North.—Charges against Fremont.—Maladministration.—Personal Improprieties.—Profuse Expenditure of Public Money.—Contracts.—Surrounded by Californians.—Their character.—Personal state and bearing.—A Western Satrap.—Grand Retinue.—March of Fremont.—Arrival at Warsaw.—Bridge building.—Crossing the Osage.—Movement of the Enemy.—Plan of Fremont's Campaign.—Grand Project.—Fremont's Army.—Disposition of the Forces.—Brilliant actions of the Advance.—Major White's Expedition.—Recapture of Lexington.—Retreat from Lexington.—March of White.—Major Clark Wright's Expedition.—Fight at Lebanon.—An artless Report.—Capture of Linn Creek.—A native account.—Expedition of Fremont's Body-guard.—Capture of Springfield by Major Zagonyi.—Elation of Fremont.—An exulting Report.

1861. THE fall of Lexington was a heavy blow, and for a time caused great discouragement to the Unionists of Missouri, and loyal men throughout the United States. Its effect in regard to General Fremont was to add to the suspicion of his military incapacity excited by his failure to rescue the spirited Lyon, sacrificed by the sad disaster at Springfield. Fremont himself now seemed conscious that he was arraigned before the whole country as the cause of

these misfortunes, and was stimulated to unusual effort to redeem his good name, which, if not lost by his own conduct, had been singularly imperilled by ill fortune.

The losses of Springfield and Lexington were disasters of such magnitude, and had succeeded so rapidly after the appointment of Fremont, that he became conscious that however he might hope in the future to exonerate himself, by arguments submitted to the reason of the country, his only hope of securing public favor for the present was by triumphant action. His position, he knew, depended upon immediate success, and this he now made a desperate effort to accomplish. He no sooner heard of the disaster at Lexington than he determined to march out against the enemy. This was his brief notification to the Government of his resolution:

"HEADQUARTERS WESTERN DEPT.,
ST. LOUIS, *Sept.* 23, 1861.

"COL. E. D. TOWNSEND, ADJUTANT GENERAL:

"I have a telegram from Brookfield that Lexington has fallen into Price's hands, he having cut off Mulligan's supply of water. Reinforcements 4,000 strong, under Sturgis, by the capture of the ferry-boats, had no means of crossing the river in time. Lane's forces from the southwest, and Davis' from the southeast, upward of 11,000 in all, could also not get there in time. I am taking the field myself, and hope to destroy the enemy either before or after the junction of the forces under McCulloch. Please notify the President immediately. "J. C. FREMONT,
"Major-General Commanding."

The attempt in this rapid dispatch to excuse the disaster of Lexington, and the emphatic expression of his resolution to take the field in person, prove the sensibility of Fremont to the peril which threatened his fair fame, and his firm resolve to do his utmost to save it.

This second misfortune at Lexington gave additional force to the denunciations of his opponents. It is impossible at this period to decide the questions which have arisen between those who oppose and those who favor Fremont. The censure of the former and the applause of the latter have been both carried beyond the limits of impartiality, and envy and malignity may have on the one side perverted truth, as friendship and flattery have undoubtedly on the other. Fremont's action in regard to the fatal question of slavery, it is contended by his friends, has been the cause of the readiness with which he has been condemned for military incapacity. His enemies, it is declared, had gladly seized upon the opportunity of the disasters of his administration as a general, and turned it against his policy as a statesman. In a contemporary history, like the present, it would not be desirable, even if it were practicable, so to investigate the acts and motives of living men as to pronounce decidedly upon their conduct. This must be left to future historians. The duty of the present annalist is merely to record facts.

One of the earliest acts of General Fremont, on his arrival at St. Louis, was to issue this, his famous proclamation:

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE WESTERN DEPT.,
ST. LOUIS, *August* 31, 1861.

"Circumstances, in my judgment of sufficient urgency, render it necessary that the Commanding General of this Department should assume the administrative powers of the State. Its disorganized condition, the helplessness of the civil authority, the total insecurity of life, and the devastation of property by bands of murderers and marauders, who infest nearly every county in the State, and avail themselves of the public misfortunes and the vicinity of a hostile force to gratify private and neighborhood vengeance, and who find an enemy wherever they find plunder, finally demand the severest measures to repress the daily increasing crimes and outrages which are driving off the inhabitants and ruining the State. In this condition the public safety and the success of our arms require unity of purpose, without let or hindrance, to the prompt administration of affairs.

"In order, therefore, to suppress disorders, to maintain as far as now practicable the public peace, and to give security and protection to the persons and property of loyal citizens, I do hereby extend, and declare established, martial law throughout the State of Missouri. The lines of the army of occupation in this State are for the present declared to extend from Leavenworth by way of the posts of Jefferson City, Rolla, and Ironton, to Cape Girardeau, on the Mississippi River.

"All persons who shall be taken with arms in their hands within these lines shall be tried by court-martial, and, if found guilty, will be shot. The property, real and personal, of all persons in the State of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States, and who shall be directly proven to have taken active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use; and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free.

"All persons who shall be proven to have destroyed, after the publication of this order, railroad tracks, bridges, or telegraphs, shall suffer the extreme penalty of the law.

"All persons engaged in treasonable correspondence, in giving or procuring aid to the enemies of the United States, in disturbing the public tranquillity by creating and circulating false reports or incendiary documents, are in their own interest warned that they are exposing themselves.

"All persons who have been led away from their allegiance are required to return to their homes forthwith; any such absence without sufficient cause will be held to be presumptive evidence against them.

"The object of this declaration is to place in the hands of the military authorities the power to give instantaneous effect to existing laws, and to supply such deficiencies as the conditions of war demand. But it is not intended to suspend the ordinary tribunals of the country, where the law will be administered by the civil officers in the usual manner and with their customary authority, while the same can be peaceably exercised.

"The Commanding General will labor vigilantly for the public welfare, and in his efforts for their safety, hopes to obtain not only the acquiescence, but the active support of the people of the country. J. C. FREMONT,

"Major-General Commanding."

This proclamation was welcomed with enthusiasm, not only by those who had been always abolitionists, but by many who had become so only since the war, and now believed that the most effectual means of conquering the enemy was by emancipating their slaves. At the same time, however, Fremont's manifesto caused great inquietude to the Union men of the border slave States, and all others who were striving to conciliate them. President Lincoln, scrupulous in the exercise of his constitutional power, was known to be doubtful of the right, even in war, of interfering with the slaves. He was, moreover, especially anxious to confirm the loyalty of Kentucky, which seemed to be wavering, in consequence of the doubts of its citizens in regard to the action of the Federal Government on the subject.

President Lincoln accordingly took exception to Fremont's proclamation, which led to a correspondence, the purport and result of which are shown by this letter.

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *Sept.* 11, 1861.

"MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN C. FREMONT:

"SIR: Yours of the 8th, in answer to mine of the 2d instant, is just received. Assured that you, upon the ground, could judge better of the necessities of your position than I could at this distance, on seeing your proclamation of August 30th, I perceived no general objection to it; the particular clause, however, in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves appeared to me to be objectionable in its non-conformity to the act of Congress passed the 6th of August upon the same subjects, and hence I wrote you expressing my wish that that clause should be modified accordingly. Your answer just received expresses the preference on your part that I should make an open order for the modification, which I very cheerfully do. It is therefore ordered that the said clause of said proclamation be so modified, held, and construed as to conform with and not to transcend the provisions on the same subject contained in the act of Congress entitled 'An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes,' approved August 6, 1861, and that said act be published at length with this order. Your obedient servant,

"A. LINCOLN."

The effect upon Kentucky may be inferred from the letter addressed by the patriotic Holt to the President, who, it will be seen by his answer, had already anticipated the sensitiveness of the border slave States, and had guarded against wounding it, by his directions to Fremont.

"WASHINGTON, *Sept.* 12, 1861.

"HIS EXCELLENCY, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

"DEAR SIR: The late act of Congress providing for the confiscation of the estates of persons in open rebellion

against the Government, was as a necessary war measure accepted and finally approved by the loyal men of the country. It limited the penalty of confiscation to property actually employed in the service of the rebellion with the knowledge and consent of its owners, and instead of emancipating slaves thus employed, left their status to be determined by the courts of the United States or by subsequent legislation. The proclamation, however, of General Fremont, under date of 30th of August, transcends, and of course violates, the law in both these particulars, and declares that the property of rebels, whether used in support of the rebellion or not, shall be confiscated, and if consisting in slaves, that they shall be at once manumitted. The act of Congress referred to was believed to embody the conservative policy of your administration upon this delicate and perplexing question, and hence the loyal men of the border slave States have felt relieved of all fears of any attempt on the part of the Government of the United States to liberate suddenly in their midst a population unprepared for freedom, and whose presence could not fail to prove a painful apprehension, if not a terror, to the homes and families of all. You may therefore well judge of the alarm and condemnation with which the Union-loving citizens of Kentucky—the State with whose popular sentiment I am best acquainted—have read this proclamation.

"The hope is earnestly indulged in by them as it is by myself, that this paper was issued under the pressure of a military necessity which General Fremont believed justified the step, but that in the particulars specified it has not your approbation and will not be enforced in derogation of law. The magnitude of the interest at stake, and my extreme desire that by no misapprehension of your sentiments or purposes shall the power and fervor of the loyalty of Kentucky be at this moment abated or chilled, must be my apology for the frankness with which I have addressed you, and for the request I venture to make of an expression of your views upon the points of General Fremont's proclamation, on which I have commented.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"J. HOLT."

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, *Sept.* 12, 1861.

"THE HON. JOSEPH HOLT:

"DEAR SIR: Yours of this day, in relation to the late proclamation of General Fremont, is received. Yesterday I addressed a letter to him by mail on the same subject, and which is to be made public when he receives it. I herewith send you a copy of that letter, which, perhaps, shows my position as distinctly as any new one I could write. I will thank you not to make it public until General Fremont shall have had time to receive the original.

"Your obedient servant,

"A. LINCOLN."

Fremont's action in regard to slavery had thus placed him in antagonism to the policy which ruled at Washington.

There was, however, among his numerous partisans, so strong an approval of his conduct, that his political enemies would have hardly ventured to press his removal on the score of the proclamation. But they found other charges by which a plausible case could be made out against him. In addition to the disasters attributed to his want of generalship, and his anti-slavery proclamation denounced as unconstitutional and impolitic, there were various evidences of maladministration and personal improprieties which offered ready points of attack to those who sought them. Fremont, with a naturally generous nature, had evidently spent the public money with too profuse a hand. Contracts had been indiscreetly made, and enormous sums paid for army supplies. Fortifications of questionable utility had been erected about the city of St. Louis at the cost of millions. The contracts for these works and others had been given to personal friends, it was asserted, who were making rapid fortunes at the expense of the Government. None ventured to suspect Fremont himself of any complicity for his own pecuniary advantage in these transactions, but he was naturally held responsible for those who benefited by them. He had unfortunately surrounded himself by a throng of people from California, who had acquired in that golden State habits of expenditure little favorable to public economy.

To these faults of administration were added weaknesses of a personal character, which were elaborately detailed and magnified to Fremont's disadvantage. He was charged with affecting a state hardly reconcilable with notions of republican equality. Grandly installed in one of the finest houses of St. Louis, for which, as the public was carefully reminded by his opponents, he paid an exorbitant rent to a member of his own family, he assumed the air of a monarch. His portals were jealously watched, and all but the favorites of the great man carefully excluded.

"I have known," says one witness, "colonels of regiments spend three, four, and five days in St Louis, seeking an interview with the General, to tender regiments for the public service. Some of them gave up the case as hopeless, and went home 'without the sight.' When perseverance was crowned with success and regiments were accepted, I have known them wait for necessary orders two or three days. This last delay may have been the fault of his staff, but if so, the General should provide against such delays in his own office. Among the colonels referred to as offering troops, but delayed, I will name Colonel Turner, Colonel Tindell, Colonel Glover, Colonel Foster, Colonel Hays, and Colonel John S. Phelps.

"Governors, Congressmen, and leading men of the West have failed to obtain interviews with the General when calling on business of importance to the public service. If this statement is doubted by your readers, let them inquire of Governor Gamble, Governor Yates, Ex-Governor Wood, Senator

Browning, and others who have tried the experiment."

Fremont was described as having assumed all the airs and importance of a vulgar satrap, shut up when at home with his favorites, and when abroad riding in a carriage with four horses, followed by his foreign guards and piped to by his bands of music. Such were the charges elaborately gathered and loudly pronounced against the once popular favorite. Fremont now hoped to redeem his character, thus rudely assailed, by a brilliant effort at arms. He accordingly set out on an expedition against the enemy, in the interior of Missouri.

On the 27th of September, Fremont began his march from St. Louis, arrived at Jefferson City on the next day, and on the 17th of October, after a tedious march, delayed by the ill condition of the roads and his deficient means of transport, reached Warsaw, on the river Osage. Four days the troops were at work building a bridge. There was no saw-mill or lumber, and it was necessary to cut down the trees of the forest and fashion them into a bridge with such rude tools and skill as the army could supply. A firm passage was finally secured, and Fremont crossed the Osage on the 22d of October. As he thus was pressing forward, the enemy retired, and although at times threatening to give him battle, it soon became apparent that they wished to avoid an engagement. Fremont moved on deliberately over the rolling fields of Missouri, here encamping by a stream of water, and there on the borders of the occasional forests which divide the expanse of prairie land. The plan of his campaign was finally determined by the movements of his enemy, and is thus set forth by one* who was on his staff. "Our campaign," he says, "has been in some measure decided by the movements of the rebels. The sudden appearance of Price in the West, gathering to his standard many thousands of the disaffected, has made it necessary for the General to check his bold and successful progress. Carthage, Wilson's Creek, and Lexington have given to Price a prestige which it is essential to destroy. The gun-boats can not be finished for two months or more, and we cannot go down the Mississippi until the flotilla is ready; and from the character of the country upon each side of the river, it will be difficult to operate there with a large body of men. In southwestern Missouri we are sure of fine weather till the last of November. the prairies are high and dry, and there are no natural obstacles except such as it will excite the enthusiasm of the troops to overcome. Therefore the General has determined to pursue Price until he catches him. He can march faster than we can now, but we shall soon be able to move faster than it is possible for him to do. The rebels have no base of operations from which to draw supplies; they depend entirely upon foraging; and for this reason Price has to make long halts wherever he finds mills and grind the flour. He is

* *Atlantic Magazine.*

so deficient in equipage, also, that it will be impossible for him to carry his troops over great distances. But we can safely calculate that Price and Rains will not leave the State; their followers are enlisted for six months, and are already becoming discontented at their continued retreat, and will not go with them beyond the borders. This is the uniform testimony of deserters and scouts. Price disposed of, either by a defeat or by the dispersal of his army, we are to proceed to Bird's Point, or into Arkansas, according to circumstances. A blow at Little Rock seems now the wisest, as it is the boldest plan. We can reach that place by the middle of November, and if we obtain possession of it, the position of the enemy upon the Mississippi will be completely turned. The communications of Pillow, Hardee, and Thompson, who draw their supplies through Arkansas, will be cut off, they will be compelled to retreat, and our flotilla and the reinforcements can descend the river to assist in the operations against Memphis and the attack upon New Orleans."

Fremont's army was composed of five divisions, under the several commands of Generals Hunter, Pope, Sigel, McKinstry, and Asboth, and numbered about 30,000 men, of whom 5,000 were cavalry. Eighty-six pieces of artillery, many of which were rifled, were the effective force in cannon. Most of the infantry soldiers were supplied with good arms, but there was a great want of sabres for the cavalry, many of whom were armed only with revolvers and pikes.

Lane and Sturgis were ordered to form a junction with Fremont on the Osage, and the force at Rolla was expected to meet him at the south of that river. The commanders at Paducah, Cairo, Bird's Point, Cape Girardeau, and Ironton were directed to engage the enemy from these points as soon as Fremont should have either beaten Price or dispersed his force. By this combined plan, Fremont hoped to drive the enemy from Missouri and the banks of the Mississippi, until the route should be clear for a triumphant advance upon New Orleans. The feasibility of this grand design, it will be seen, was never destined to be put to the proof.

While Fremont was thus moving forward with his main body, hoping to accomplish great things in the future, some of his advance were already anticipating the brilliant prospect by a foretaste of the expected glory.

In the course of the march, General Fremont sent out a cavalry squadron, consisting of about 120 men, under the command of Major Frank J. White, to scout. The force left Jefferson City, the capital of Missouri, on the 5th of October, and after a severe tramp reached Georgetown on the afternoon of the 8th. The horses in the mean time had lost their shoes, and were unfit for further travel. The energetic commander of the squadron, however, was prepared for every emergency. He accordingly ordered all the old horseshoes and iron that could be found to be collected, summoned from his ranks any that happened to be blacksmiths, or

could with American readiness turn their hands to the work, and took possession of two deserted blacksmith shops in the village. Thus, in the course of five days, all the horses and mules, numbering together 232, were duly shod. The ammunition, too, which the men carried, had been destroyed by the pelting rains on the march, and it became necessary to obtain a fresh supply. Fortunately lead and powder were found in the place, and an old carpenter's shop being extemporized into an arsenal, 3,000 cartridges were manufactured for the revolvers carried by the cavalry troop.

On the 15th of October the Federal commander at Georgetown received a dispatch from Lexington, stating that a valuable baggage train had left that neighborhood for the army of the enemy. To this was added the ominous intelligence, that the Federal prisoners left at Lexington by Price, on his retreat to the southwest with his army, would be assassinated by the "rebel marauders infesting that place," if they were not relieved in twenty-four hours. Major Frank White and his command at once volunteered to go to the rescue of their comrades at Lexington Colonel Harvey, then at Georgetown, was under marching orders, and not being able to perform the required service, did not hesitate to accept the offer of Major White. This gallant officer accordingly set out with his squadron of cavalry, strengthened by seventy men of the regiment of Colonel Eads, who accompanied the expedition.

It was late at night when the expedition set out, and it arrived at Lexington early the next morning, having made a forced march of sixty miles in eight or nine hours. The enemy's picket guards were driven in at once, and Major White pushed forward into the town and took possession without resistance from the "rebels, who fled in every direction." Sixty or seventy were taken prisoners, and sixty stand of arms, twenty-five horses, two ferry-boats, a quantity of flour and provisions, a large rebel flag, the private ambulance of General Price, Colonel Mulligan's saddle, and other articles were captured. The steamer Sioux, also, arriving the next day at Lexington, was seized. Oct. 6.

The first care of Major White was to rescue his fellow-soldiers who had been captured at Lexington, and were in daily fear of massacre. These consisted of Colonels White and Grover, and some dozen others. The prisoners taken from the enemy were released after taking the oath of allegiance to the Federal Government.

After Major White had held Lexington thirty-six hours, he found that the enemy were recovering from their alarm and beginning to surround his little force in great numbers. He accordingly evacuated the place, leaving a deserted camp to the enemy, which they "attacked with great energy." White then proceeded to Warrenburg, making a few captures by the way. At this place there was a slight resistance, which, however, soon ceased, and the

inhabitants were kept in discreet awe by a threat to burn the town if they persisted in acts of hostility. Major White thence moved on to Warsaw to form a junction with the main body under Fremont. In the whole course of this spirited and successful raid, the Federalists did not lose a man. Their gallant commander declared, "I have no casualties to report, and my men are all in good health and anxious for further service."

Other small cavalry forces detached from the main body of Fremont's army had been equally successful. Major Clark Wright had fallen in with the enemy near Lebanon, and after a spirited attack put them completely to the rout. The artless account of the affair by the Major is so graphic, that it needs no rhetorical varnish.

"HEADQUARTERS, CAMP ——, *Oct* 13, 1861.

"GENERAL: At seven o'clock A.M., morning 13th, my command struck tents at Camp Conant, on Tavern Creek, and formed into column in rear of the train. I immediately passed along the line, and requested the officers to keep the men well closed up, and allow none to leave their places, but to keep everything ready for service at a moment's notice. The reports from the scouts during the night induced me to believe that the enemy might attack us during the day. I also went forward and suggested to the quartermaster of the 13th that the train be well closed up and kept so; after which nothing of importance occurred until I arrived at Justice Bennington's, where I learned that Second Lieutenant Laughlin, of rebel Johnston's command, had come in home, and lived one mile north of said Bennington's, and had a lot of McClurg's goods in his house. I at once detached Captain Crockett and his company to bring in the Lieutenant and search his place. The Captain had not been gone more than five minutes before I saw a courier coming from the front. I at once called Captain Crockett back. The courier arrived from Major Bowen, stating that he had been attacked and needed assistance. I at once ordered Captains Montgomery and Switzler forward at full speed to the relief of Major Bowen. I ordered the train corralled, and Captain Crockett to remain with his company and guard it until relieved by the infantry. I then dispatched a courier to you for men to guard the train and support your cavalry, after which I went forward to the scene of action. I found Major Bowen some two miles forward and one half mile south of Mr Lewis', on the Lebanon road. I immediately had a conference with Major Bowen, and we mutually agreed to the disposition of our forces and plan of attack. The rebels, at that time, occupied a high ridge immediately in our front one half mile south of us. The presumption was that we would have no immediate relief from the infantry in time to secure the rebels, and an immediate attack was resolved on. The disposition was as follows: Captain Montgomery's company were already on the right, and I ordered Captain Switzler to join him, flank the enemy, and engage them at any hazard.

"Major Bowen, with two companies of his command, went to the left. I took charge of one company of Major Bowen's cavalry (at his request), and took position in the centre, as you found us on arrival. I observed at that time that the enemy was moving to the right. I ordered Captain Crockett forward to support them, knowing that they outnumbered us. I then went to the right myself, found that Captains Switzler and Montgomery had formed a junction, and succeeded in flanking the enemy, and held them at bay. The enemy was commanded by Captains Lorrels, Wright, Thurman, Bell, Pain, and Hawthorn, and were drawn up in line of battle. My two companies threw themselves into line, and were ordered to receive their fire, return it steadily, and then charge with their sabres, and never allow the enemy time to reload their pieces, all of which order was carried out to the letter with a coolness and determination that evinced true bravery in both officers and men, and struck terror along the whole line. They could not stand such a charge, so prompt, so uniform, and so determined, that the result was a general rout, and in a short time a running fight commenced, which extended one mile and a half, with the following result as near as we could ascertain, without occupying too much time to hunt through the bush: of the rebels there were twenty-seven* killed, four mortally wounded, five severely wounded, three slightly wounded, and thirty-six prisoners. We also got two horses, eighty-one guns, most of which, however, were broken around trees on the field—they were mostly old rifles and double-barrelled shot-guns. Officers and men all agree that there were many more killed and wounded, but we did not hunt them up. Our loss was one man killed and two horses slightly wounded.

"I cannot call your special attention to every one of the officers or men in those two brave companies. They are each one of them as true as steel, and in this charge, with six to one against them, they exhibited a coolness and determination that those of more experience might proudly imitate. Yet I feel that I would do injustice not to speak of the tenacity with which Captain Switzler adhered to the order of 'charge,' and the promptness and the energy of Captain Montgomery in carrying it out.

"I cannot omit naming Lieutenants Montgomery, Paynter, and Stocksdale. Not a nerve quivered in those brave men; nothing left undone that coolness and energy could do in carrying out orders, encouraging the men, and dealing death-blows to rebels. One incident I must be permitted to mention. Lieutenant Montgomery, after exhausting his revolver and doubling up his sabre, in a hand-to-hand fight, so that it was rendered useless, not satisfied with the half dozen he had already dispatched, charged on yet another, and with one blow of his fist made him bite the dust. All of which is respectfully submitted.

* The Major afterward reported that sixty-two, and not twenty-seven, was the number of the enemy killed.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"CLARK WRIGHT,

"Maj. Command'g Fremont Battalion."

Major Clark Wright's next success was in capturing Linn Creek. After surrounding the town, he demanded a surrender, but the secessionists without responding strove to escape. The result is best told in the words of the Federal commander, who relates the incidents with the graphic power of a campaigner whose spirit had been thoroughly tempered to the savage work.

"We arrived," he says, "at one o'clock P.M., and at once surrounded the whole place and demanded an unconditional surrender. The notorious captain, and a few of his followers, as well as his wife, broke from some of the buildings, fired on our troops, and attempted to escape. I promptly ordered them fired on, which was as promptly executed. Some fifty random shots were fired, but owing to the fences, buildings, and other means of obstruction, none were killed, but one slightly wounded on the rebel side—none hurt on our side. The scene was a wild one —the activity of our cavalry in guarding the avenues of the place, arresting the rebels in running to and fro, the screams of the secesh wives, daughters, and children, the firing from both sides echoing from the bluffs on either side, made the whole thing look frantic. However, at the end of thirty minutes, the town was restored to its usual quiet, and secesh under guard."

Oct. 14.

The fourth brilliant dash of cavalry, during Fremont's campaign, was executed by his own body-guard under the command of Major Zagonyi, who thus relates the affair in his official report:

"COLONEL J. H. EATON, ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL:

"SIR: According to the order of Major-General Fremont, I left the camp south of the Pomme de Terre River on Thursday, the 24th instant, at half-past eight o'clock P.M., and proceeded toward Springfield. About eight miles from that place I captured five men belonging to picket guard and foraging parties. A sixth escaped, and gave the alarm to the rebels. I reached Springfield, a distance of fifty-one miles, at three P.M., on the 25th. Knowing that the enemy was apprised of our coming, I made a *détour* of five miles to attack from another side; but instead of finding the enemy in their own camp, I came suddenly upon them, drawn up in line of battle, as I emerged from a wood near the Mount Vernon road. The place was too confined for me to form my men. I had to pass 250 yards down a lane, and take down a rail fence at the end of it, form in their camp, and make the first charge. My men, belonging to the body-guard, amounted to 150, and were exposed from the moment we entered the lane to a murderous cross-fire. Our first charge was completely successful. Half of my command charged upon the infantry, and the remainder upon the cavalry, breaking their line at every point. The infantry retired to a thick wood, where it was impossible to follow

them. The cavalry fled in all directions through the town. I rallied and charged through the streets in all directions about twenty times, clearing the town and neighborhood, returning at last to the court-house, where I raised the flag of one of my companions, liberated the prisoners, and united my men, which now amounted to seventy, the rest being scattered or lost. As it was nearly dark, I retired, in order not to run the risk of sacrificing the rest of my men, who were exhausted with the labors of the march and the battle. Twenty men, with a corporal, who were without horses, took possession of the town, collected the wounded and placed them in the hospital, picked up the dead, ordered out the Home Guard, and preserved order throughout the next day.

"On the 27th, at five o'clock A.M., I arrived again in the city, and from the statement of citizens, scouts, and prisoners (the latter being Union soldiers, placed in front of the enemy's ranks to be shot at), I ascertained that the rebel strength arrayed to receive our first charge, was 2,190 men. They had concentrated all the forces in the city to receive us.

"From the beginning to the end the body-guard behaved with the utmost bravery and coolness. I have seen battles and cavalry charges before, but I never imagined that a body of men could endure and accomplish so much in the face of such fearful disadvantages. At the war-cry of 'Fremont and Union!' which was raised at every charge, they dashed forward repeatedly in perfect order and with resistless energy. Many of my officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates had three, or even four horses killed under them, capturing new ones from the enemy. I cannot mention any names without doing great injustice to my command. Many performed acts of heroism; not one but did his whole duty. Our loss is as follows:

"Killed: Corporals, six; privates, nine; total, fifteen. Wounded: Officers, four; non-commissioned officers, seven; privates, sixteen; total, twenty-seven. Missing: Sergeant, 1; corporal, 1; privates, eight; total, ten. Total loss, fifty-two.

"The loss of the enemy in killed alone, from the statements of citizens, scouts, and prisoners, was at least 106; how many wounded have since died I have no means of knowing, as they removed them in the night with wagons. Twenty-three of these dead were buried by the body-guard. We took twenty-seven prisoners, $4,040 in gold, and about sixty stand of arms. Major White's command left me at the beginning of the action, and before my first charge, and I saw no more of them until the next day at ten o'clock. Captain Naughton and Lieutenant Connelly, who followed part way down the lane, were both wounded (the latter mortally), whereupon this company turned and followed the others, too, in spite of the efforts of the sergeant. Major White himself was made a prisoner before the battle, and placed, with others, in the enemy's front rank, but escaped uninjured.

"In conclusion, I beg to urge the necessity of new clothing and arms for my command. Forty-five horses are killed or unfitted for use. Uniforms, haversacks, and extra clothes carried in the haversacks, are so riddled with bullets as to be useless. Revolvers are also seriously damaged by the enemy's bullets, Very respectfully,

"CHAS. ZAGONYI,

"Commanding Body-guard.

"SPRINGFIELD, *Monday, October* 28, 1861."

The gallant Zagonyi thus announced the success of the guard to their commander-in-chief:

"FIVE MILES OUT OF BOLIVAR, *October* 25—10 A.M.

"GENERAL: I report respectfully that yesterday, at four P.M., I met in Springfield about 2,000 rebels formed in line of battle. They gave a very warm reception, but your guard, with one feeling, made a charge, and in less than three minutes the enemy was completely routed by 150 men. We cleared the city of every rebel, and retired, it being near night, and not feeling able to keep the place with so small a force. Major White's command did not participate in the charge. I have seen charges, but such brilliant bravery I have never seen and did not expect. Their war-cry—Fremont and the Union—broke out like thunder. CHARLES ZAGONYI,

"Major Commanding Body-guard."

Fremont, equally elated, thus exultingly wrote to the chief military authority at Washington:

"HEADQUARTERS, IN THE FIELD, NEAR HOMANSVILLE, MO., *Oct.* 26, 1861.

"CAPTAIN MCKEEVER, ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL:

"Yesterday afternoon Major Zagonyi, at the head of my guard, made a most brilliant charge upon a body of the enemy, drawn up in line of battle, and their camp, at Springfield, 2,000 or 2,200 strong. He completely routed them, cleared them from the town, hoisted the national flag on the court-house, and retired upon a reinforcement, which he had already joined. Our loss is not great.

"This successful charge against such very large odds is a noble example to the army. Our advance will occupy Springfield to-night.

"J. C. FREMONT,

"Major-General Commanding."

"The pains of hell have got hold of us!"

While Generals Lane and Fremont were thus apparently in the course of effecting a clean sweep of the rebels from the west and southwest of Missouri, there was also an encouraging success for the Federal arms in the southeastern portion of the State. A junction having been formed between the command of Colonel Carlin—consisting of parts of the Twenty-first, Twenty-third, and Thirty-eighth Illinois regiments, Eighth Wisconsin, Colonel Baker's Indiana cavalry and Major Scofield's battery—and a body of troops led by Colonel Plummer—consisting of the Eleventh, Seventeenth, and Twentieth Illinois, and 400 cavalry—the combined force, having rendezvoused at Fredericktown, set out in pursuit of the enemy, who, it was supposed, were retreating southward. As they had left Fredericktown twenty-four hours before the arrival of the Federal troops, a lengthened pursuit was anticipated. They were, however, found only a mile beyond the city, prepared to accept battle. The enemy were 5,000 strong, under the command of General Jefferson Thompson and Colonel Lowe, and were well posted, partly in the open field and partly in the adjacent woods, with four iron eighteen-pounders planted in their front.

The Federalists began the engagement by opening a fire from Scofield's battery, and at the fourth round one of the enemy's guns was silenced. The engagement now became general, and lasted about three hours, although after the first half hour the secessionists showed evidence of wavering and confusion, and took to the cover of the woods. After thus retreating from the open field they were pursued until put completely to rout by the Federal cavalry, and great havoc ensued. "The bravery and activity," testifies one who was present, "of the Indiana cavalry at Fredericktown have never been surpassed. Nine tenths of the rebels who fell in their charge were killed by sabre cuts."

The loss of the Federalists was computed at the trifling amount of ten killed and twenty slightly wounded, while that of the enemy in killed and wounded was estimated as high as from two to five hundred. The secessionists lost one of their leaders, Colonel Lowe, who fell killed by a cannon-ball at the beginning of the battle. The strength of the Federal force was but 4,000 all told, while that of the enemy is supposed to have been somewhat over 5,000.

"Let us do justice to the rebels. They fought," says one who had tested their powers, and is entitled to speak authoritatively, "well and bravely, when all the circumstances are considered. No doubt they expected a victory, else Thompson would have retreated when he found he had missed Plummer, instead of coming back to his position. He knew our forces, and believed he could successfully resist them. He is by this time a wiser, if not a better man.

"But who could reasonably expect

victory with such an army and such implements of warfare? One-third of the dead and wounded were boys from fifteen to eighteen years old—mere striplings, with the down on their faces, who could not have been disciplined, and who could have had no adequate idea of military duty or the horrors of a battle. One of these, who had been shot through the thigh, and was suffering intensely, cried like a child, as he was, and most piteously bewailed his unfortunate condition. Then their guns. They no doubt had some good muskets, but of the forty or fifty pieces that had been picked up on the battle-field, not a single one could be called respectable. More than half of them were old flint-lock squirrel guns, that were next to useless in battle. Two brothers lay behind a fence; one of them was shot dead, and the other, a mere boy, concluding discretion was the better part of valor, played dead, and allowed himself to be taken prisoner.

"Of the dead, not a single one that I saw was dressed in any kind of uniform, the cloth being generally home-made and butter-nut colored. Old, torn, fragmentary hats were lying in every direction, with here and there a nut-brown thread-bare coat. I confess that, in looking over the field and reflecting on the condition of these people, I felt for them the deepest pity and commiseration. Even Colonel Lowe himself had but a sash to distinguish him from a civilian, which, together with his sword and pistols, was taken possession of by some of the boys before the body was removed from where it fell.

"Some of the enemy performed deeds of heroism worthy of a better cause. One of their cannon was placed in the woods near the mouth of the lane, and was vigorously worked. As our forces advanced, they picked one after another of the gunners off, till at last but a single one was left. He continued his work of loading and aiming as fast as he could, nothing daunted. He seemed utterly oblivious to everything but the work before him, and made no motion toward retreat. At last he fell at his post, bravely and heroically."

Again, in the northwestern part of Missouri, the Federalists were active, but though they forced the enemy to retire, did not find an occasion for any very brilliant feat of arms. As the secessionist bands had been plundering St. Joseph's and the neighboring country, General Pope resolved to rout them out, and sent three detachments in pursuit—one from St. Joseph's under Colonel Smith, another from Cameron under Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, and a third from Mexico. Smith and Scott started at the same time, and it was intended that they should meet at Liberty, where, having combined their forces, they were to march toward Blue Mills Landing, at which point the enemy expected to cross the river.

Colonel Scott, while on the march with a part of the Iowa Third, and of a German artillery company from St. Louis, with a single six-pounder, learn-

ing that the enemy under Boyd, Patton, and others, with a force estimated at 4,500 men, were strongly posted near Blue Mills Landing, dispatched a messenger to Colonel Smith—who had been detained by the rains and bad roads, and was yet distant ten miles from Liberty—to hasten his advance. Scott, however, did not await his coming up, but boldly pushed forward with his meagre force and met the enemy near Blue Mills Landing. The secessionists drove back Scott's skirmishers with a severe volley, but his main body held their ground, and the action soon became general. The six-pounder, the only piece of artillery the Federalists had, was brought to bear, and fired twice; but was responded to with such effect that one gunner was killed and two others were wounded. The rest who were serving the cannon fled, carrying with them the primer and matches, and rendering the gun useless.

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The action, however, was gallantly continued by the Federalists for an hour longer, until finding it useless to persevere against such a host, they finally retired to some open ground near by, but succeeded in bringing away all their wounded and securing their six-pounder, which they dragged off by hand, as the horses had been all killed or badly wounded.

Colonel Smith having in the mean time received Scott's message, hurried forward with all his mounted men and artillery to his succor. This much needed reinforcement, however, did not arrive where the battle had been fought until dark. It was now determined to postpone a renewal of the attack upon the enemy until the next day. At an early hour in the morning, the Federal scouts came in with the intelligence that the enemy had escaped, having crossed the river during the night, a movement which they readily accomplished, being supplied with three large flat-boats and a steamer for transportation.

In the mean time General Fremont was continuing his advance against the enemy in the southwest of Missouri. He finally arrived at Springfield, which had just before been the scene of the brilliant exploit of his body-guard under Zagonyi. Fremont and his troops were received with great demonstrations of welcome. There were "no professed rebels" in the place. The "stars and stripes" floated freely from the houses, and men, women, and children waved handkerchiefs and flags from every window and doorway.

Oct. 27.

Of the enemy, little reliable information could be obtained, but various rumors were in circulation. Now, it was reported that General Price was at Carthage and in full retreat, and now, that he was at Cassville with a large force, about to form a junction with McCulloch in advance, and march to meet Fremont. The enemy's strength was variously computed at from twenty-five to sixty thousand men. Great activity reigned in the Federal camp preparatory to an expected battle, which each man seemed to be eager to fight under the inspiring leadership of his popular gen-

eral. Fremont himself was full of ardor for the contest, upon the result of which his personal destiny was believed to depend. For five nights he hardly slept, such were his vigilance and activity in making ready for the momentous struggle. He was rapidly concentrating his whole force for one great effort. Generals Lane and Sturgis had arrived with their columns, and Pope and McKinstry were hourly expected. The enemy were supposed to be about to march upon Springfield, and offer battle at Wilson's Creek, the field so fatal to the gallant Lyon, whose death every Federal soldier burned to avenge, and for whose sacrifice the Federal leader was resolved to atone.

While Fremont and his men were thus ready to strike, as they believed, a decided blow for the Federal cause in Missouri, there came an order from the President which suddenly checked the rising ardor and paralyzed the effort of every soldier. Fremont had been removed from the command and superseded by his subordinate, General Hunter. The intelligence, as it spread throughout the camp, excited the greatest indignation, which threatened to result in mutiny. Several regiments threw down their arms and declared that they would serve under no other commander than General Fremont. Deputation after deputation of field and line officers hurried to headquarters and earnestly protested against the change in the command. Such was the demoralization among the troops which ensued, that it was believed that

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if the enemy had, in the mean time, attacked them, they would have been utterly routed. General Fremont, however, repressed the disorder and rising mutiny by expostulating with the officers and men, and urging them by their love for their country and himself not to forsake their duty. He at the same time issued the following order, in which he took a graceful farewell of his troops, and decorously reminded them of the claims of his successor to their obedience:

"HEADQUARTERS, WESTERN DEPARTMENT,
SPRINGFIELD, MO., *Nov.* 2, 1861.

"SOLDIERS OF THE MISSISSIPPI ARMY:

"Agreeably to orders received this day I take leave of you. Although our army has been of sudden growth, we have grown up together, and I have become familiar with the brave and generous spirits which you bring to the defence of your country, and which makes me anticipate for you a brilliant career. Continue as you have begun, and give to my successor the same cordial and enthusiastic support with which you have encouraged me. Emulate the splendid example which you have already before you, and let me remain as I am, proud of the noble army which I have thus far labored to bring together.

"Soldiers, I regret to leave you. Most sincerely I thank you for the regard and confidence you have invariably shown me. I deeply regret that I shall not have the honor to lead you to the victory which you are just about to win; but I shall claim the right to share with you in the joy of every triumph,

and trust always to be personally remembered by my companions in arms.

"JOHN C. FREMONT, Major-General."

As the order from Washington by which Fremont had been superseded seemed peremptory, he had determined upon leaving Springfield at break of day, on the next morning. General Hunter, who was to succeed him, being away, Fremont would have made over his command to General Pope, Hunter's next in rank.

On the reception of this information, all the commanders of divisions and brigades united in a remonstrance against General Fremont's relinquishing the command until General Hunter came up. Answer was returned that their request should be complied with, and the command not be given up to any one save the proper officer. In the afternoon of the 31st November, General Hunter not having arrived, and no intelligence being received from him, another request was made that the army should be led to battle on the following morning, as it was stated that the enemy were in force in the old battle-ground on Wilson's Creek. After duly considering the request, General Fremont replied that he would accede to it in case Gen. Hunter should not be heard from, and at once issued an order to all the commanders of divisions and brigades for a full and exact statement of the size and condition of their respective force, and on the reception of that information proceeded to perfect his plan of battle.

"The intelligence of this determination of the commanding General was," wrote a campaigner, "at once communicated from camp to camp, and the greatest enthusiasm prevailed. Every five minutes during the succeeding two and a half hours, the wildest cheering could be heard from some portion of the army as the information was conveyed to the various regiments. A dozen bands at once proceeded to the headquarters and serenaded the General. Crowds of officers gathered in front of his quarters and greeted him by loud and prolonged cheering, and had the battle occurred according to arrangements, the troops would have fought in the most determined manner; but the arrival of General Hunter, about ten o'clock in the evening, made a complete change in the matter, and the battle was delayed.

"Generals Fremont and Hunter had an interview of two hours, in which the former stated his entire plan of battle, and turned over to the latter all the official documents pertaining to the headquarters of this department. The interview was entirely official in its character, and at its close the Generals retired to their headquarters for the night.

"General Fremont and staff, with the exception of Colonels Lovejoy, Hudson, and Schenck, took their departure next day. The camps were not generally made aware of the departure, as it was not deemed prudent for the soldiers to receive the information until the General should be some distance on the way.

"The faces of all who were around the headquarters at the time of the de-

parture wore an expression of sadness, and evinced that a sore blow had been struck at the enthusiasm of the Western army. Only the immediate presence of the enemy, and the prospect of battle in a few days, kept our camp in order and the army from demoralization.

"Whatever may have been the information that furnished grounds for the removal of our commanding General, it is certain that the administration is in error in taking him away on the eve of a great and decisive battle with the rebels of the Southwest. The soldiers of this command had implicit faith in General Fremont, and would have followed him to victory over a foe of treble their number. At present they are much dispirited, and though they would doubtless behave well and gallantly in action, their great enthusiasm while serving under Fremont is lost. Many of the regiments were raised with the special view of being placed in the command of the man for whom such a feeling of admiration has been raised throughout the West, and these in particular regret his loss.

"Until General Fremont shall have the opportunity of a hearing, it will be impossible to render a just judgment in his case ; he must stand arraigned before the country for military incapacity, and maladministration as an executive officer. Charges of corruption have been made against his subordinates, for whom he is held responsible, but his own direct connivance, though insinuated, is by no means proved. Fremont's conduct in Missouri had aroused the opposition of some of the leading men of the State, among whom Colonel Frank P. Blair was especially prominent. The intense antagonism of this gentleman had excited the indignation of Fremont, who had caused him to be arrested on a charge of using disrespectful language toward his superior. Without imputing any but patriotic motives to Colonel Blair, it cannot be denied that his personal influence with the cabinet at Washington, of which his brother was an influential member, served greatly to induce the President to remove Fremont from his command."

President Lincoln did not assume the responsibility of such an act as the removal of the popular General of the West without some scrutiny of his conduct. The secretary of war, Mr. Cameron, accompanied by the adjutant-general, Thomas, was dispatched to make a personal investigation of the charges against Fremont, which had been so pertinaciously presented to the notice of the administration.

These gentlemen having visited St. Louis, and followed Fremont on his march, the result of their inquiries was published to the world in that remarkable document termed the journal of Adjutant-General Thomas. There can be little doubt that this paper was a frank exposition of all that was heard by the Secretary and his *fidus Achates* during this tour of governmental detectiveism. With much that it contained of grave and responsible accusation, there was mingled a great deal of unquestionable gossip and scandalous libel, which

have been subsequently exposed as unworthy of the least credit.

The publication of Adjutant-General Thomas' diary, charged as it was with the personalities of the gossip of informal talk with querulous subalterns and disappointed contract-seekers, told severely against Fremont, and prepared the public for the fall of a popular idol. Thus the purpose of the Government was gained, and Fremont deposed from his majestic elevation without exciting that resistance from his partisans which had been apprehended from their admiration of his character.*

CHAPTER XLIV.

Attitude of Kentucky.—Presumption of the Secessionists.—Its Grounds.—Hopes of the Unionists.—Foundation of their Hopes.—Discouraging Response from the Governor of Kentucky to the President's Call to Arms.—Encouragement of the Secessionists.—Confederate Secretary of War's Letter to Governor Magoffin.—Proclamation of Magoffin. Its Word and Spirit.—Special Session of Kentucky Legislature.—Message of the Governor.—Its Scope and Purpose.—Action of the Legislature.—The Loyalty of the Legislature.—Magoffin proclaims Neutrality.—Convention of the Border Slave States.—Its despair.—Proceedings.—Address.—The delusion of Neutrality.—Practical abuse of Neutrality.—Division of Sentiment.—Father against Son.—Son against Father.—Horrors of Civil War.—Old Men pleading the cause of the Union.—Proclamation of Magoffin forbidding either belligerent to occupy the State with troops.—The Convention at Frankfort in favor of Neutrality.—Conference of General Buckner with General McClellan.—Questioned veracity.—The Confederate Troops enter Kentucky.—McClellan's Protest.—Union reaction in Kentucky.—Elections decidedly for the Union.—The Federal Government asserting its authority in Kentucky.—General Andrew appointed to command in Kentucky.—Governor Magoffin sends Commissioners to the President demanding the removal of United States Troops.

1861. THE attitude of the great State of Kentucky, in relation to the civil conflict, was watched with solicitude throughout the country, both at the North and at the South. The secessionists, presuming upon the sympathy which binds together the States where slavery is a recognized social institution, were hopeful of gaining Kentucky to their cause. Their hope was strengthened by the known aversion of most of the political leaders of the State to the rule of the Republican party, the avowed opposition of many to the suppression of the rebellion by force of arms, and the secret connivance of others, as was suspected, with the conspiracy against the Federal authority. The Unionists, on the other hand—calculating upon the

* Since these pages were written, General Fremont has published a justification, in which he meets the main charges against him—his expensive fortifications of St. Louis, and his neglect to reinforce Lyon at Springfield and Colonel Mulligan at Lexington. In regard to the first, he declares that the fortifications were at the time necessary, and the cost not exorbitant. As for the second, he pleads that the more urgent necessity of protecting Cairo deprived him of the means of sending troops to the aid of Lyon; and lastly, he insists that he did his best for Colonel Mulligan consistently with the meagre and ill-equipped force left him, after complying with the peremptory demand of the Government at Washington for 5,000 of his best men.

close commercial and agricultural relations of Kentucky, as a border State, with the North, the comparatively small influence of the slave interest, the large proportion of non-slaveholders, the frequent efforts in past times for emancipation, and the traditional Union sentiment of the people—believed that by a conciliatory policy the loyalty of Kentucky might be secured. Some of her senators and representatives in Congress had, although protesting against the principles of the ruling party, shown their devotion to the Union by constant efforts to preserve it by every possible plan of compromise. Having failed in their amiable attempts, they still declared themselves loyal to the Federal Government, and have mostly proved by their acts the sincerity of their professions.

The first direct appeal to the loyalty of Kentucky, however, met with a reception as disheartening to the Federalists as it was encouraging to the secessionists. We refer to the response of Governor Magoffin to the demand of President Lincoln for military aid from Kentucky in suppressing the insurrection.

"Your dispatch is received. In answer," wrote the Governor, "I say emphatically, that Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern States."

This official rebuff to the President of the United States seemed to augur ill for the loyalty of Kentucky to the Union, and was hailed by the secessionists as an auspicious omen of a further accession to their cause. The Confederate Government eagerly caught at this apparent manifestation of sympathy from the Governor of Kentucky, and presuming upon it, solicited, through their secretary of war, Mr. E. P. Walker, his active co-operation against the Federal authorities.

This Confederate official immediately addressed the following letter to Governor Magoffin: April 22.

"MONTGOMERY, *April* 22.

"HON. B. MAGOFFIN:

"SIR: Your *patriotic* response to the President of the United States for troops to coerce the Confederate States, justifies the belief that your people are prepared to unite with us in repelling the common enemy of the South. Virginia needs our aid. I therefore request you to furnish one regiment of infantry without delay, to rendezvous at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. It must consist of ten companies, of not less than sixty-four men each. The regiment will be entitled to one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, one adjutant from the line of lieutenants, one sergeant-major from the enlisted men. Each company is entitled to one captain, one first lieutenant, two second lieutenants, four sergeants, four corporals, and two musicians; the officers, except staff officers, to be appointed in the manner prescribed by the law of your State. Staff officers are appointed by the President. Term of service not less than twelve months, unless sooner discharged. They will be mustered into the service of the Confederate States at Harper's Ferry, but transportation and sub-

sistence will be provided from the point of departure. They will furnish their own uniforms. By communicating with me, arms and ammunition will be sent to Harper's Ferry, or to such points as you may designate. Answer, and say whether you will comply with this request, and if so, when.

L. P. WALKER,
Secretary of War of Confederate States."

Magoffin in zealous haste responded to this appeal by a proclamation convening the Legislature of Kentucky. Although he studiously avoided committing himself by word, he manifested a disposition, if not to promote the cause of secession, at least to resist any armed effort to check it. This was his proclamation:

"Recent events are of so startling a character as to render it imperatively necessary that the Legislature of Kentucky be again convened in extraordinary session. It is now apparent that the most energetic measures are being resorted to by the Government at Washington to prosecute a war upon an extended scale with the seceded States. Already large sums of money and supplies of men are being raised in the Northern States for that purpose. The tread of armies is the response which is being made to the measures of pacification which are being discussed before the people, while up to this moment we are comparatively in a defenceless attitude.

"Whatever else should be done, it is, in my judgment, the duty of Kentucky, without delay, to place herself in a complete position for defence. The causes for apprehension are now certainly grave enough to impel every Kentuckian to demand that this be done, and to require of the Legislature of the State such additional action as may be necessary for the general welfare. To this end I now call upon the members of General Assembly to convene at the Capitol, in Frankfort, on the 6th day of May, 1861.

"Done at the city of Frankfort, the 24th day of April, 1861, and in the sixty-ninth year of the Commonwealth.

"B. MAGOFFIN."

On the meeting of the Legislature of Kentucky in special session, the Governor addressed it in a message in which his spirit of opposition to the Federal Government was even more manifest than in his proclamation. "It is idle," he said, "longer to refuse to recognize the fact that the late American Union is dissolved." And after imputing the blame of the war to the President, he asked, in the language of unsettled loyalty, "what Kentucky should do in this deplorable conflict? Shall she continue her alliance with the Northern States, adhere to the United States Government, and assume her portion of the war debt being incurred? Shall she declare her own independence, and prepare single-handed to maintain it? Shall she ally herself with the remaining slave States, and make common cause with them?" May 6.

The members of the Legislature, however, were indisposed to be made a party to the suspected designs of the Governor

to wrest the State of Kentucky from its allegiance to the Union. It is true they authorized the organization of the State militia, as had been advised by the Governor, but at the same time affixed a condition of enrolment which it was suspected was by no means in accordance with his desire. They loyally made it the duty of every one who took up arms to swear fealty not only to Kentucky, but to the United States. In the mean time, the State itself had clearly revealed its attachment to the Union by electing a large majority of Unionists to represent it in the "convention of the border slave States," first proposed by Virginia. Finding that both the Legislature and the people were indisposed to leave the Union, the Governor strove to paralyze the Federal power in Kentucky by the artifice of establishing the State in a neutral and independent position. He accordingly issued a proclamation,* in which he advocated the notable expedient of neutrality, which, if conceded,

* "Whereas numerous applications have been made to me from many good citizens of this commonwealth, praying me to issue a proclamation forbidding the march of any forces, of this or any other State or States, over our soil to make an apprehended attack upon the Federal forces at Cairo, in Illinois, or disturb any otherwise the peaceful attitude of Kentucky with reference to the deplorable war now waging between the United States and the Confederate States; and whereas numerous applications from the good citizens of this commonwealth have also been made to me, praying me to issue a proclamation forbidding the occupation of any post or place, or the march over our sacred soil by any force of the United States for any purpose; and whereas it is made fully evident, by every indication of public sentiment, that it is the determined purpose of the good people of Kentucky to maintain, with courageous firmness, the fixed position of self-defence, proposing or intending no invasion or aggression toward any other State or States, forbidding the quartering of troops upon her soil by either of the hostile sections, but simply standing aloof from an unnatural, horrid, and lamentable strife, for the existence of which Kentucky, neither by thought, word, nor act, is in anywise responsible; and whereas the policy thus recommended by so many of my fellow-citizens of all political leanings is, in my judgment, wise, peaceful, safe, and honorable, and the most likely to preserve peace and amity between the neighboring bordering States on both shores of the Ohio River, and protect Kentucky, generally, from the ravages of a deplorable war; and whereas the arms distributed to the 'State Guard,' composed as it is of gentlemen equally conscientious and honest, who entertain the opinions of both parties, are not to be used *against the Federal Government nor the Confederate States*, but to resist and prevent encroachments upon her soil, her rights, her honor, and her sovereignty by either of the belligerent parties, and to preserve the peace, safety, prosperity, and happiness and strict neutrality of her people, in the hope that she may soon have an opportunity to become a successful mediator between them; and in order to remove the unfounded distrust and suspicions of purposes to force Kentucky out of the Union at the point of the bayonet, which may have been strongly and wickedly engendered in the public mind in regard to my own position and that of the 'State Guard'—

"Now, therefore, I, Beriah Magoffin, governor of the commonwealth of Kentucky, and commander-in-chief of all her military forces on land or water, have issued this my *proclamation*, hereby notifying and warning all other States, whether separate or united, and especially the 'United States' and the 'Confederate States,' that I solemnly forbid any movement upon the soil of Kentucky, or the occupation of any port, post, or place whatever within the lawful boundary or jurisdiction of this State by any of the forces under the orders of the States aforesaid, for any purpose whatever, until authorized by invitation or permission of the legislative and executive authorities of this State previously granted. I also hereby especially and solemnly forbid all good citizens of this commonwealth, whether incorporated in the 'State Guard' or otherwise, making any warlike or hostile demonstrations whatever against any of the authorities aforesaid, earnestly requesting all citizens, civic and military, to be obedient hereto; to be obedient to the law and lawful orders of both the civil and military authorities; to remain, when off military duty, quietly and peaceably at their homes, pursuing their wonted lawful avocations; to refrain from all words and acts likely to engender hot blood and provoke collision; to pursue such a line of wise conduct as will promote peace and tranquillity, and a sense of safety and security, and thus keep far away from our beloved land and the people the deplorable calamities of invasion; but at the same time earnestly counselling my fellow-citizens of Kentucky to make prompt and efficient preparations to assume the armor and attitude prescribed by the paramount and supreme law of self-defence—and strictly of self-

would imply the right of independent State sovereignty, and be as emphatic a defiance of the Federal authority as an act of secession itself.

The "convention of the border slave States" met at Frankfort, but Virginia, which had proposed it, and Delaware and Maryland, failed to send representatives. Delegates only appeared from Kentucky and Missouri, to whom was added a single member from Tennessee, who offered himself as a volunteer. The convention, however, was organized with the Honorable John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, as president. An address was issued, in which there was a cry for "peace, peace," yet no practicable suggestion by which peace could be secured. The spirit of the document was evidently in favor of the Union.

In regard to the seceded States, its authors said: "Our present purpose does not require us to discuss the propriety of the acts of these States, yet it may be proper for us to say, that they find no warrant in any known principle of our Government, and no justification in the fact existing when they seceded."

Throughout the paper there was evident a feeling of despair of reconciliation, although a recurrence to the old remedies of a national convention, constitutional alterations, and compromises was proposed. But there was evidently little hope of the success of such means, and the delegates of Kentucky and Missouri, the only States represented in the convention, sought refuge in neutrality from the horrors of civil war.

"Our States desire," they declared, "and have indicated a purpose to take no part in this war, and we believe that in this course we shall ultimately best serve the interest of our common country. It is impossible that we should be indifferent spectators; we consider that our interests would be irretrievably ruined by taking part in the conflict on the side where the strongest sympathies of our people are, and that our sense of honor and of duty requires that we should not allow ourselves to be drawn or driven into a war in which other States, without consulting us, have deliberately chosen to involve themselves. Our safety and our dignity as among the most powerful of the slave States demand of us that we take this position."

Notwithstanding this theoretical neutrality, in the delusion of which the political leaders of Kentucky were indulging, it soon became evident that the people of the State could not be withheld from practically co-operating, as their sentiments or interests guided them, either with the Federalists or secessionists. A large number of Kentuckians enrolled themselves in the army of the Confederacy, as did many in that of the United States, and thus Kentuckian was waging actual war with Kentuckian, while their State was proposing the impracticable theory of neutrality.

Most of the young men of the State,

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defence alone; praying Almighty God to have us evermore in his holy keeping, and to preserve us in peace, prosperity, and security forever.

"In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my name, and caused the seal of the commonwealth to be affixed. Done at Frankfort, this the 30th of May, A D. 1861, and the sixty-ninth year of the commonwealth.

"B. MAGOFFIN."

with the indiscreet ardor of youth, had adopted the cause of secession, while the older, with a prudent regard to the risks and dangers of a revolution, had as generally adhered to that of the Union. Thus while fathers were counselling fidelity to the Federal authority as the only hope of safety for the State, their sons were in open rebellion against it.

The aged leaders of Kentucky, among whom were men who had long since given proof of devotion to their country as the wisest of its counsellors and the bravest of its soldiers, now showed a loyalty to the Union not to be shaken by a convulsion which had shattered their fortunes, rudely severed the dearest ties of affection, and extinguished their political hopes. At a great meeting held at Louisville, the Honorable James Guthrie, formerly Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and Dixon, once Governor of Kentucky, eloquently pleaded the cause of the Union, and urged with success the adoption of these resolutions:

"1. That as the Confederate States have, by overt acts, commenced war against the United States, without consultation with Kentucky and their sister Southern States, Kentucky reserves to herself the right to choose her own position, and that while her natural sympathies are with those who have a common interest in the protection of slavery, she still acknowledges her loyalty and fealty to the Government of the United States, which she will cheerfully render until that Government becomes aggressive, tyrannical, and regardless of our rights in slaveholding property.

"4. That secession is a remedy for no evils, real or imaginary, but an aggravation and complication of existing difficulties.

"5. That the memories of the past, the interests of the present, and the solemn convictions of future duty and usefulness in the hope of mediation, prevent Kentucky from taking part with the seceding States against the General Government."

Crittenden, the United States senator from Kentucky, who had persisted so devotedly in his well-meant effort to avert civil war by conciliation and compromise, now that he despaired of peace, did not hesitate to take a firm stand for the Union. By this action his house was divided. One of his sons had taken up arms in behalf of the Southern Confederacy, a cause which his father proclaimed to be unholy, and its promoters deserving of the severest punishment. Prentiss, too, the veteran editor of the Louisville *Journal*, while manfully serving his country with all the power of his vigorous pen, was forced into a conflict with his own child, who fought in the ranks of the rebels. These are but two illustrations of the effects of the unhappy civil struggle in Kentucky, where it had not only destroyed political harmony, but domestic concord. "Thousands of other examples might be readily gathered in the border States. Those at the extreme North and South, though they may be suffering from the ordinary evils of war, have no conception of its horrors as waged in Kentucky and Missouri."

Governor Magoffin, resolutely bent upon maintaining the neutrality of Kentucky, issued a proclamation after (May 6.) the adjournment of the Legislature, in which, declaring the State to be neutral, he forbade both the Federal and the Confederate governments to occupy any portion of Kentucky with their troops. A convention, which met at Frankfort previous to its adjournment, though (June 3.) professing attachment to the Union, gave in their adhesion to the Governor's doctrine of neutrality. They declared, in their address to the people, that "Kentucky was right in this position [of neutrality], because from the commencement of this deplorable controversy her voice was for reconciliation, compromise, and peace. * * * * All she asks is permission to keep out of this unnatural strife. When called to take part in it, she believes there is more honor in the breach than in the observance of any supposed duty to perform it. Feeling that she is clearly right in this, and having announced her intention to refrain from aggression upon others, she must protest against her soil being made the theatre of military operations by any belligerent. The war must not be transferred by the warring sections from their own to her borders. Such unfriendly action cannot be viewed with indifference by Kentucky."

In order to accomplish his pet scheme of neutrality, the Governor of Kentucky dispatched General Buckner, the inspector-general of the State, to confer with General McClellan, then at Cincinnati, in command of the United States troops in the States north of the Ohio River. Buckner reported, on his return, that he had entered into the following agreement with McClellan:

"The authorities of the State of Kentucky are to protect the United (June 10.) States property within the limits of the State, to enforce the laws of the United States in accordance with the interpretation of the United States courts, as far as these laws may be applicable to Kentucky, and to enforce with all the powers of the State our obligations of neutrality as against the Southern States, as long as the position we have assumed shall be respected by the United States. General McClellan stipulates that the territory of Kentucky shall be respected on the part of the United States, even though the Southern States should occupy it; but in the latter case he will call upon the authorities of Kentucky to remove the Southern forces from our territory.

"Should Kentucky fail to accomplish this object in a reasonable time, General McClellan claims the same right of occupancy given to the Southern forces. I have stipulated in that case to advise him of the inability of Kentucky to comply with her obligations, and invite him to dislodge the Southern forces. He stipulates that if he is successful in doing so, he will withdraw his forces from the territory of the State as soon as the Southern forces shall have been removed. This, he assures me, is the policy which he will adopt toward Kentucky.

"Should the Administration here-

after adopt a different policy, he is to give me timely notice of the fact. Should the State of Kentucky hereafter assume a different attitude, he is in like manner to be advised of the fact. The well-known character of General McClellan is a sufficient guaranty for the fulfilment of every stipulation on his part."

McClellan promptly disavowed Buckner's positive assertions in regard to his being a party to this agreement. In a letter to Captain Wilson, of the United
June States navy, dated Grafton, Mc-
26. Clellan wrote :

"My interview with General Buckner was personal, not official. It was solicited by him more than once. I made no stipulation on the part of the General Government, and regarded his voluntary promise to drive out the Confederate troops as the only result of the interview. His letter gives his own views, not mine."

In the mean time the secessionists of Kentucky were mustering rapidly, and taking up arms under the flag of the Confederacy. The Confederate troops, moreover, had taken possession of two islands in the Mississippi, below Columbus, evidently with the view of occupying that important strategic position. As this recruiting for the Confederate service within the limits of the State, and this armed occupation of its territory, were apparently unopposed by the civil authorities of Kentucky, their professed neutrality seemed only an encouragement to the secessionists, and a corresponding disfavor to the Federal authority.

General McClellan accordingly summoned the Governor of Kentucky to interpose his authority and check this breach of neutrality. He wrote to Magoffin :

"I have received information that Tennessee troops are under orders to oc- June
cupy Island No. 1, six miles below 11.
Cairo. In accordance with my understanding with General Buckner, I call upon you to prevent this step. Do you regard the islands on the Mississippi River above the Tennessee line within your jurisdiction, and if so, what ones?"

The people of Kentucky now began to be alarmed lest their attempted neutrality scheme should prove a delusion and involve them in war with the United States. They accordingly took care to express their aversion to hostility with the Federal Government, by a large vote, at their congressional and legislative elections, in favor of the Union. Every member of Congress elected, with the exception of Mr. Burnet, from the western district of the State, was devotedly loyal. Of those chosen members of
the State Legislature, twenty-eight Aug.
Unionists and ten secessionists were 18.
returned to the Senate; seventy-five Unionists and twenty-five secessionists were elected members of the House.

Encouraged as it was by this striking demonstration of loyalty on the part of the people of Kentucky, the Federal Government did not now hesitate to assert its authority. A force was organized under the command of General Anderson, of Fort Sumter fame, and other military means used, to protect loyal citizens and secure the State against invasion.

Governor Magoffin, still affecting to consider Kentucky as neutral, sent two commissioners to the President of the United States to demand the removal of the Federal troops from the boundaries of the State.

CHAPTER XLV.

Instructions of the Commissioners from Kentucky.—Answer of President Lincoln.—Letter of the Governor of Kentucky to Jefferson Davis.—A friendly Response from Davis.—The Governor's Letter to Tennessee.—Rejoinder of the Governor of Tennessee.—Meeting of the Loyal Legislature of Kentucky.—Message of the Governor.—Partial Indignation.—Persistent advocacy of Neutrality.—Opposition to the action of the Federal Government.—Loyal action of the Legislature.—Hoisting the Union Flag at Frankfort. Reading of a Secession Address opposed.—Occupation of Columbus by General Polk.—Description of Columbus.—Polk's Justification.—General Grant occupies Paducah.—Paducah described. Anger of the Legislature at the movement of Polk.—Expulsion of the Invaders resolved on.—The United States Troops excepted by a large majority.—Magoffin's Proclamation summoning the Tennessee Troops to withdraw.—A mild Expostulation.—Continued Loyal action of the Legislature.—Adoption of Congressional Tax Law by a large majority. Occupation of Cumberland Gap by Zollicoffer.—His Justification.—The Legislature returns to the charge against the Invaders.—Strong Resolutions.—Vetoed by the Governor.—Passed by the House.—Kentucky for the Union.—Once more the "Dark and Bloody Ground."—The civil strife begun.—Meeting of Antagonists.—General Buckner in command of the Secessionists.—His Proclamation.—Affected regard for Neutrality.—Proclamation of General Anderson.—Great Preparations.—Resignation of Anderson.—Appointment of Sherman.—Unfitness.—Extraordinary statement.—Buell appointed to command in Kentucky.—Secession of Vice-President Breckenridge.—His Life and Character.—His Political and Military Career.—His action in Congress after the breaking out of the Civil War.

1861. THE commissioners, Messrs. Dudley and Hunt, appointed by Governor Magoffin, to demand of President Lincoln the removal of the Federal troops from Kentucky, were provided with a communication in which the object of their mission was duly set forth.

Aug. 19. "From the commencement of the unhappy hostilities now pending in this country," said Magoffin, addressing the President, "the people of Kentucky have indicated an earnest desire and purpose, as far as lay in their power, while maintaining their original political status, to do nothing by which to involve themselves in the war; up to this time they have succeeded in securing to themselves and to the State peace and tranquillity, as the fruits of the policy they adopted. My single object now is to promote the continuance of these blessings to the people of this State.

"Until within a brief period the people of Kentucky were quiet and tranquil, free from domestic strife, and undisturbed by internal commotion. They have resisted no law, rebelled against no authority, engaged in no revolution, but constantly proclaimed their firm determination to pursue their peaceful avocations, earnestly hoping that their own soil would be spared the presence of armed troops, and that the scene of conflict would be kept removed beyond the border of their State. By thus avoiding

all occasions for the introduction of bodies of armed soldiers, and offering no provocation for the presence of a military force, the people of Kentucky have sincerely striven to preserve in their State domestic peace, and avert the calamities of sanguinary engagement.

"Recently a large body of soldiers have been enlisted in the United States army and collected in military camps in the central portion of Kentucky. This movement was preceded by the active organization of companies, regiments, etc., consisting of men sworn into the United States service, under officers holding commissions from yourself. Ordnance, arms, munitions and supplies of war are being transported into the State, and placed in large quantities in these camps. In a word, an army is now being organized and quartered within the State, supplied with all the appliances of war, without the consent or advice of the authorities of the State, and without consultation with those most prominently known and recognized as loyal citizens. This movement now imperils that peace and tranquillity which, from the beginning of our pending difficulties, have been the paramount desire of this people, and which, up to this time, they have so secured to this State.

"With Kentucky there has been, and is likely to be, no occasion for the presence of a military force. The people are quiet and tranquil, feeling no apprehension of any occasion arising to invoke protection from the Federal arm. They have asked that their territory be left free from military occupation, and the present tranquillity of their communication left uninvaded by soldiers. They do not desire that Kentucky shall be required to supply the battle-field for the contending armies, or become the theatre of war.

"Now, therefore, as Governor of the State of Kentucky, and in the name of the people I have the honor to represent, and with the single and earnest desire to avert from their peaceful homes the horrors of war, I urge the removal from the limits of Kentucky of the military forces now organized and in camp within the State. If such action as is hereby urged be promptly taken, I firmly believe the peace of the people of Kentucky will be preserved, and the horrors of a bloody war will be averted from a people now peaceful and tranquil."

To this communication the President, evidently with an anxious desire to conciliate the good-will of the people of Kentucky, returned this calmly and amiably expressed letter, with, however, a rebuke of the Governor at the end of it, like a sting in the tail of a gliding serpent:

"WASHINGTON, D. C.,
Saturday, August 24, 1861.

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY B. MAGOFFIN, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF KENTUCKY:

"SIR: Your letter of the 19th instant, in which you 'urge the removal from the limits of Kentucky of the military forces now organized and in camp within that State,' is received. I may not possess full and precisely accurate knowledge upon this subject, but I believe it is true that there is a military force in camp

within Kentucky, acting by authority of the United States, which force is not very large, and is not now being augmented. I also believe that some arms have been furnished to this force by the United States. I also believe this force consists exclusively of Kentuckians, having their camp in the immediate vicinity of their own homes, and not assailing or menacing any of the good people of Kentucky.

"In all I have done in the premises, I have acted upon the urgent solicitation of many Kentuckians, and in accordance with what I believed, and still believe, to be the wish of a majority of all the Union-loving people of Kentucky. While I have conversed on this subject with many eminent men of Kentucky, including a large majority of her members of Congress, I do not remember that any one of them, or any other person, except your Excellency and the bearers of your Excellency's letter, has urged me to remove the military force from Kentucky, or to disband it. One other very worthy citizen of Kentucky did solicit me to have the augmenting of the force suspended for a time.

"Taking all the means within my reach to form a judgment, I do not believe it is the popular wish of Kentucky that this force shall be removed beyond her limits; and with this impression I must respectfully decline so to remove it. I most cordially sympathize with your Excellency in the wish to preserve the peace of my own native State, Kentucky; but it is with regret I search and cannot find, in your not very short letter, any declaration or intimation that you entertain any desire for the preservation of the Federal Union.

"Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN."

At the same time Governor Magoffin, to give plausibility to his "neutrality" scheme, addressed a letter to the "Hon. Jefferson Davis." In this communication he informed the President of the Southern Confederacy that he had made a demand upon the President of the United States for the removal of the Federal troops from Kentucky, and reiterated the desire of the State to maintain a neutral position. To secure this, the Governor called upon Jefferson Davis to respect the assumed neutrality of the State. The Governor's summons was thus gently conveyed and softened by a compliment little merited, as the Confederate troops had been recruiting in Kentucky, and were already in possession of a portion of its domain. "Although I have no reason to presume," wrote Magoffin, "that the Government of the Confederate States contemplate or have ever proposed any invasion of the neutral attitude thus assumed by Kentucky, there seems to be some uneasiness felt by the people of some portion of the State, occasioned by the collection of bodies of troops along their southern frontier. In order to quiet this apprehension, and to secure to the people their cherished object of peace, this communication is to represent these facts, and elicit an authoritative assurance that the Government of the Confederate States will continue to respect and observe the

position indicated as assumed by Kentucky."

To this kindly summons Jefferson Davis responded with sympathetic friendliness: "I lose no time in assuring you that the Government of the Confederate States of America neither intends nor desires to disturb the neutrality of Kentucky. The assemblage of troops in Tennessee to which you refer, had no other object than to repel the lawless invasion of that State by the forces of the United States, should their Government attempt to approach it through Kentucky, without respect for its position of neutrality. That such apprehensions were not groundless has been proved by the course of that Government in Maryland and Missouri, and more recently in Kentucky itself, in which, as you inform me, 'a military force has been enlisted and quartered by the United States authorities.'

"The Government of the Confederate States has not only respected most scrupulously the neutrality of Kentucky, but has continued to maintain the friendly relations of trade and intercourse which it has suspended with the people of the United States generally. In view of the history of the past, it can scarcely be necessary to assure your Excellency that the Government of the Confederate States will continue to respect the neutrality of Kentucky as long as her people will maintain it themselves. But neutrality, to be entitled to respect, must be strictly maintained between both parties; or if the door be opened on the other side for the aggressions of one of the belligerent parties upon the other, it ought not to be shut to the assailed when they seek to enter it for the purpose of self-defence.

"I do not, however, believe that your gallant State will suffer its soil to be used for the purpose of giving an advantage to those who violate its neutrality and disregard its rights, over those who respect them both."

Magoffin had already said, in reply to the Governor of the Confederate State of Tennessee: Aug. 12.

"In a few days I hope to be able to inform your Excellency of the disbanding of the organizations to which you have been pleased to call my attention. I am satisfied a large majority even of the Union men in Kentucky are opposed to any such organization here by the Federal Government, or the transportation of arms, men, or munitions over our soil to the State of Tennessee."

Whereupon the Governor of Tennessee rejoined: "We cannot believe that Kentucky will, at the instigation of either of the belligerents, abandon the position of neutrality so lately and solemnly assumed, or permit it to be so used as to render a hollow peace more harassing and dangerous than open war."

In the mean time the Legislature assembled, in the election of which the loyalty of the people of Kentucky had so signally manifested itself, by returning a large majority of Unionists. The Governor in his message acknowledged the interference with his cherished project of neutrality, by the action of both belligerents, but dwelt with especial in-

dignation upon the conduct of the Federal Government. He at the same time still held to the neutral policy, declaring that—

"In regard to our national difficulties, my action, from first to last, has been dictated by an earnest wish to preserve the neutrality and peace of Kentucky. I am not conscious of any lack of vigilance or effort on my part in maintaining the peaceful attitude of neutrality which the people of the State have determined to occupy. The very corner-stone of the theory of the States Rights party, to which I have always adhered, is the right of the people of a State, by a lawful expression of a majority thereof, to determine the policy and the relations of the commonwealth. My functions are purely executive, and I am bound by my oath of office to carry out the lawful will of the people, whether the policy they prefer accords with my own views or not. The Constitution is the only barrier between the people and the Executive which I recognize. I was elected governor by a majority of the people, who well knew my political sentiments. Since my election great questions have arisen, which, if contemplated in the canvass, it was hoped would be settled by adjustment in the councils of the Federal Government; and these questions unhappily involve the external relations, the peace and prosperity of Kentucky. I deprecate the introduction of these questions, and did all I could to avert the issues. No man lives, or ever did live, who more honestly and earnestly desires to uphold and perpetuate the Union by a faithful execution of the Federal Constitution."

While thus professing fidelity to the Union, the Governor took occasion to set forth at length his reasons for opposing the action of the Federal authority.

The Legislature showed itself more loyal. The House of Representatives, by the large vote of seventy-six to twenty, ordered the United States flag to be hoisted over the Capitol at Frankfort, and the Senate refused, by a vote of twenty-four to twelve, to listen to the reading of an address by some supposed secessionists. When the loyalty of Kentucky was thus clearly manifested, General, the ci-devant Bishop, Polk, commander-in-chief of the Confederate forces in southern Missouri and in Memphis, at once took possession of Columbus, in Kentucky. This place, situated on the Mississippi about twenty-two miles below Cairo, is one of the most important strategic points in the West. General Polk justified this invasion of Kentucky and disregard of its neutrality on the score of a "military necessity." Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederate States, moreover, sanctioned the act on the same ground.* Polk, in this letter to Governor Magoffin, entered into a more detailed exposition of the motives of his conduct:

"Columbus, Kentucky, *September* 9.

"Governor B. Magoffin, Frankfort, Kentucky: I should have dispatched you, immediately the troops under my command took possession of this position, the very few words I addressed to the people here; but my duties since that time have so pressed me, that I have but

* This was denied, however, by certain delegates from Tennessee to the Confederate Government.

now the first leisure time to communicate with you. It will be sufficient for me to inform you, which my short address here will do, that I had information on which I could rely, that the Federal forces intended and were preparing to seize Columbus. I need not describe the danger resulting to west Tennessee from such seizure. * * * In evidence of the information possessed, I will state, as the Confederate forces occupied this place, the Federal troops were formed on the opposite bank in formidable numbers, with their cannon turned upon Columbus. The citizens of the town had fled with terror, and not a word of assurance of safety or protection had been addressed to them. Since I have taken possession of this place, I have been informed by highly responsible citizens of your State, that certain representatives of the Federal Government are setting up complaint of my act of occupying it, and are making it a pretence for seizing other positions. Upon this course of proceeding I have no comment to make, but I am prepared to say, that I will agree to withdraw the Confederate troops from Kentucky, provided she will agree that the troops of the Federal Government be withdrawn simultaneously, with a guaranty which I will give reciprocally for the Confederate Government, that the Federal troops shall not be allowed to enter or occupy any point in Kentucky in the future.

"I have the honor to be, your obedient servant, LEONIDAS POLK,

"Major-General Commanding."

As soon as General Grant, in command of the Federal troops at Cairo, in Illinois, situated at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi, discovered this movement of General Polk to Columbus, he did not hesitate to disregard the delusive neutrality of Kentucky, but took possession of Paducah. This town is placed at the junction of the Ohio and Tennessee rivers, forty-seven miles east of Cairo. Its position had become of the utmost importance, now that Kentucky was destined to be a scene of conflict. The enemy, by the possession of Columbus, and Hickman, on the Mississippi, and by the advance of troops from Tennessee into other parts of Kentucky, threatened to flank Cairo, and the movement of General Grant became necessary for the protection of that important Federal post.

The Legislature of Kentucky received the announcement of the invasion of the State by General Polk with the greatest anger, and denouncing it in these resolutions, showed their determination to expel the invaders:

"*Resolved*, That Kentucky's peace and neutrality have been wantonly viola- **Sept.**
ted, her soil has been invaded, and **12.**
the rights of her citizens have been grossly infringed by the so-called Southern Confederate forces. This has been done without cause, therefore,

"Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the commonwealth of Kentucky, that the Governor be requested to call out the military force of the State to expel and drive out the invaders.

"*Resolved*, That the United States be invoked to give that aid and assistance, that protection against invasion, which is

granted to each one of the States by the fourth section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States.

"*Resolved*, That General Robert Anderson be, and he is hereby requested, to enter immediately upon the discharge of his duties in this military district.

"*Resolved*, That we appeal to the people of Kentucky, by the ties of patriotism and honor, by the ties of common interest and common defence, by the remembrances of the past and by the hopes of the future national existence, to assist in repelling and driving out the wanton violators of our peace and neutrality, the lawless invaders of our soil."

The loyalty of the Legislature of Kentucky was emphatically expressed by the vote on these resolutions, which were passed in the House by the majority of seventy-one to twenty-six, and in the Senate of twenty-six to eight. This loyalty was still further manifested by the action of the Legislature, which rejected an attempt to include the Federal troops at Paducah in the same category with the Confederate force, and passed the original resolutions in spite of a veto of the Governor. Magoffin was now reluctantly compelled to issue a proclamation thus mildly drawn:

"In obedience to the subjoined resolution, adopted by the General Assembly of the commonwealth of Kentucky, the Government of the Confederate States, the State of Tennessee, and all others concerned, are hereby informed that 'Kentucky expects the Confederate or Tennessee troops to be withdrawn from her soil unconditionally.'

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my name, and caused the seal of the commonwealth to be affixed. Done at Frankfort this the 13th day of September, A. D. 1861, and in the seventieth year of the commonwealth.

"B. MAGOFFIN."

"*Resolved by the General Assembly of the commonwealth of Kentucky*, That his Excellency Governor Magoffin be, and he is hereby instructed, to inform those concerned, that Kentucky expects the Confederate or Tennessee troops to be withdrawn from her soil unconditionally."

The Legislature of Kentucky continued to give proof of its devotion to the cause of the Union. The chairman of the committee on foreign relations, in his report, declared that the tax law passed by Congress was within its constitutional powers, and should be obeyed by Kentucky. His report, which was adopted in the House by the majority of seventy-two to thirty, concluded with this emphatic expression of aversion to the insurgents and loyalty to the United States:

"The effort now being made to overthrow the Government is unspeakably wicked. Kentucky abhors that effort. She will not weigh money in the scales against a government which has been her boast and her pride, and which she regards as the very palladium of the liberties of the people."

A further defiance of the authority of Kentucky and of the Union sentiment of its people came from General Zollicoffer, the Confederate general commanding in Tennessee. He occupied the mountain passes at Cumberland, known as the

"Gap," and the three long mountains in Kentucky, justifying himself thus in a letter to Governor Magoffin :

"For weeks I have known," he wrote, "that the Federal commander at Hoskins' Cross Roads was threatening the invasion of East Tennessee, and ruthlessly urging our own people to destroy their own road bridge. I postponed this precautionary measure until the despotic Government at Washington, refusing to recognize the neutrality of Kentucky, has established formidable camps in the centre and other parts of the State, with the view, first to subjugate our gallant sister, then ourselves. Tennessee feels, and has ever felt, toward Kentucky as a twin sister; their people are as one people, in kindred, sympathy, valor, and patriotism; we have felt, and still feel, a religious respect for Kentucky's neutrality ; we will respect it as long as our safety will permit. If the Federal forces will now withdraw from their menacing position, the forces under my command shall be immediately withdrawn."

The loyal Legislature of Kentucky returned to the charge against its invaders with these stringent resolutions :

"Whereas Kentucky has been invaded by the so-called Confederate States, and their commanders so invading the State have insolently prescribed the conditions upon which they will withdraw, thus insulting the dignity of the State by demanding terms to which Kentucky cannot listen without dishonor ; therefore

"*Be it resolved*, That the invaders must be expelled, inasmuch as there are Federal troops assembled in Kentucky, for the purpose of preserving the tranquillity of the State and defending the people of Kentucky in the peaceful enjoyment of their lives and property ; it is further

"*Resolved*, That General Robert Anderson, a native of Kentucky, who has been appointed to the command of the department of Cumberland, be requested to take instant command, with authority and power from the commonwealth to call out a volunteer force in Kentucky for the purpose of repelling the invaders from our soil.

"*Resolved*, That in using the means which duty and honor require shall be used to expel the invader from the soil of Kentucky, no citizen shall be molested on account of his political opinions; that no citizen's property shall be taken or confiscated because of such opinions, nor shall any slave be set free by any military commander; and that all peaceable citizens and their families are entitled to and shall receive the fullest protection of the Government in the enjoyment of their lives, their liberties, and their property.

"*Resolved*, That his Excellency the Governor of the commonwealth of Kentucky be requested to give all the aid in his power to accomplish the end of these resolutions, and that he call out so much of the military force of the State under his command as may be necessary therefor, and that he place the same under the command of General Thomas L. Crittenden.

"*Resolved*, That the patriotism of every Kentuckian is invoked, and is confidently relied upon, to give active aid in the defence of the commonwealth."

These patriotic resolutions, though passed in the Senate by the significant majority of twenty-five to nine, were vetoed by the Governor. The House, however, in spite of the veto, took them up and triumphantly passed them by a majority of sixty-eight to twenty-two.

Kentucky had thus deliberately as a State taken its stand for the Union. Sept. 20. Its people, however, were greatly divided in sentiment, and it soon became evident that by a horrid fratricidal war their State was destined to illustrate once more the tragic meaning of its Indian name, the "Dark and Bloody Ground."

Those Kentuckians opposed to the action of the Legislature at once mustered in arms to resist it and make common cause with the Confederate States. Buckner, the former inspector-general, and a native of Kentucky, commissioned a brigadier-general of the Confederate army, took possession of Bowling Green and openly defied the constituted authorities of his State. Sept. 18. Issuing a proclamation to his fellow-citizens, he denounced the Legislature as "faithless to the will of the people." "They have endeavored," he declared, "to make your gallant State a fortress in which, under the guise of neutrality, the armed forces of the United States might secretly prepare to subjugate alike the people of Kentucky and the Southern States.

"It was not until after months of covert and open violation of your neutrality, with large encampments of Federal troops on your territory, and a recent official declaration of the President of the United States not to regard your neutral position, coupled with a well-prepared scheme to seize an additional point in your territory, which was of vital importance to the safety and defence of Tennessee, that the troops of the Southern Confederacy, on the invitation of the people of Kentucky, occupied a defensive position in your State. In doing so, the commander announced his purpose to evacuate your territory simultaneously with a similar movement on the part of the Federal forces, whenever the Legislature of Kentucky shall undertake to enforce against the belligerents the strict neutrality which they have so often declared. I return among you, citizens of Kentucky, at the head of a force the advance of which is composed entirely of Kentuckians. We do not come to molest any citizen, whatever may be his political opinions. Unlike the agents of the Northern despotism, who seek to reduce us to the condition of dependent vassals, we believe that the recognition of the civil rights of citizens is the foundation of constitutional liberty, and that the claim of the President of the United States to declare martial law, to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, and to convert every barrack and prison in the land into a bastile, is nothing but the claim which other tyrants have assumed to subjugate a free people. The Confederate States occupy Bowling Green as a defensive position."

After this severe tirade against the United States, to which Kentucky had solemnly renewed its pledge of fidelity and zealous defence of the illegal inva-

sion of the State by the Confederates, this insurrectionary general, while bearing the commission of the enemy, still affected a regard for the neutrality of Kentucky. "I renew," he said, "the pledges of commanders of other columns of Confederate troops to retire from the territory of Kentucky, on the same conditions which will govern their movements. I further give you," he added, "my own assurance, that the force under my command will be used as an aid to the Government of Kentucky in carrying out the strict neutrality desired by its people, whenever they undertake to enforce it against the two belligerents alike."

The Federal commander in Kentucky, General Anderson, of Sumter fame, met this plausible manifesto of the disloyal Buckner with a counter-proclamation. "Called," he declared, "by the Legislature of this, my native State, I hereby assume command of this department. I come to enforce, not to make laws, and, God willing, to protect your property and lives. The enemies of the country have dared to invade our soil. Kentucky is in danger. She has vainly striven to keep peace with her neighbors. Our State is now invaded by those who professed to be her friends, but who now seek to conquer her. No true son of Kentucky can longer hesitate as to his duty to his State and country. The invaders must, and, God willing, will be expelled. The leader of the hostile forces who now approaches is, I regret to say, a Kentuckian, making war on Kentucky and Kentuckians. Let all past differences of opinion be overlooked. Every one who now rallies to the support of our Union and our State is a friend. Rally, then, my countrymen, around the flag our fathers loved, and which has shielded us so long. I call you to arms for self-defence and for the protection of all that is dear to freemen. Let us trust in God, and do our duty as did our fathers."

Great preparations were now made for the coming conflict, which it was evident was about to assume in Kentucky, from its position as a border State, and the divided sentiment of its people, the character of a severe and protracted civil struggle. Troops poured in from the Northern free States of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, and combining with the loyal men of Kentucky, soon formed a formidable Federal force prepared to sustain the cause of the Union. Their general, Anderson, being a Kentuckian by birth, having proved his fidelity to the Union in his gallant defence of Fort Sumter, and expressed his patriotism so emphatically in his spirited proclamation, was thought to be especially the man for the occasion. Great hopes were entertained of his successful leadership, when they were suddenly extinguished by his resignation on the score of ill health. General Sherman was appointed to succeed him, but he, also, depressed by disease or overwhelmed by the responsibilities of his position, was found to be wanting. This was revealed by that notable detective visit of the Secretary of War to the West, and on the publication of that remarkable diary of Adjutant-General Thomas, in which General

Sherman is reputed to have confidentially declared that all the young men of Kentucky were secessionists, that the old ones who were loyal were indisposed to take up arms against them, and that it would require two hundred thousand men from the other States to keep Kentucky within the Union. After such a confession on the part of General Sherman he was removed, and General Buell appointed his successor in the command of the Department of Kentucky. It was hoped that now the great State of Kentucky, however beset by the machinations and assaults of the enemy, would finally be saved to the Union. Zealous patriots everywhere hoped for this result, though many judicious observers failed not to see that it would not be without a desperate struggle.

In the mean time, the men loyal to the Union and the partisans of the Confederate States were daily manifesting more openly their mutual hostility. Some of the more notable men of the State did not hesitate to array themselves on the side of the enemy. Ex-Governor Morehead was arrested in Louisville, charged with treason, and Senator Breckenridge, formerly the Vice-President of the United States, fled from Frankfort to avoid the same fate, and joined the Confederate army.

Sept. 21.

John C. Breckenridge was born near Lexington, Kentucky, on the 21st of January, 1821. He is the grandson of John Breckenridge, who was attorney-general under Jefferson, and a United States senator from Kentucky in 1801. His uncle is the famous Presbyterian divine, John Breckenridge, D.D., a man remarkable for his controversial skill, and who, although a strenuous opponent of the abolition propagandists, has, during the present civil conflict, manfully sustained the cause of the Union. His nephew, after a collegiate and legal education, removed to Iowa to practice law; but soon returned to his native State, where, after marrying a Miss Birch, of Georgetown, he established himself as a lawyer in Lexington, and acquired an eminent position in his profession.

On the breaking out of the war with Mexico, Breckenridge was chosen a major of Kentucky volunteers, but had little opportunity of seeing active service, though his legal ability was called into requisition as a defender of General Pillow in the course of the numerous court-martials to which that litigious officer became a party, in consequence of disputes with his superiors and subordinates. After the war, Mr. Breckenridge was elected a member of Congress from Kentucky, and displayed remarkable aptitude as a debater. In 1851 he was again elected, after a severe electioneering contest with General Leslie Coombs. At the next election, his perseverance and tact as a candidate for popular suffrage were still more tried, but with the same success, resulting in a triumph over his competitor, Governor Robert Letcher, after a violent struggle.

On the accession of President Pierce, Mr. Breckenridge was offered the appointment of minister to Spain, which he declined, and Mr. Pierre Soulé, of Louisiana, was chosen. In 1856 he was elect-

ed Vice-President of the United States, the youngest man who had ever been chosen, and entered upon his office on the 4th of March, 1857. As president of the Senate he gave general satisfaction by the impartiality and dignity with which he ruled over that august body. During the last year of his Vice-Presidency he was nominated, by the Southern faction of the Democratic party, a candidate for the Presidency. On the inauguration of Lincoln, Breckenridge returned to Kentucky and was elected senator of the United States. After serving during the extra session of Congress, called by President Lincoln, when he evidently strove, by factious opposition, to embarrass the Federal Government in the conduct of the war, he, while still a senator, openly defied the national authority by joining the ranks of its enemies.

"Breckenridge is an active and shrewd politician, a vigorous and plausible debater, and a showy rhetorician. His eulogy on Henry Clay, to whom he was politically opposed, was much admired for its brilliancy of expression and impartiality of spirit. Mr. Breckenridge, though he has had no great opportunity as yet of exhibiting his daring on the battle-field, showed himself ready to meet an opponent in deadly encounter, by challenging a fellow-member of Congress to the duello. The fight did not take place, owing to the discretion of his antagonist."

CHAPTER XLVI.

Western Virginia.—General Rosecrans successor to General McClellan.—Life and Character of Rosecrans.—Military Career.—Service at West Point.—Resigns and turns Manufacturer. Offers his services for the War.—Accepted and appointed to a Command.—At Carnifex Ferry.—The Enemy on the Gauley River. General Floyd.—His Life and Character.—His official career.—Abuse of trust.—General calamity.—Advance of the Unionists.—Strength of their Force.—The March.—Its difficulties and trials.—A *terra incognita*.—Scaling the mountains.—Muddlety Bottoms.—Sight of the Enemy.—Close at their heels.—A deserted Camp.—Cautious Advance.—Scattering of the Enemy's Skirmishers.—Exact intelligence at last.—The Battle of Carnifex Ferry.—A long struggle.—Rosecrans' official Report.—Comparative Strength and Losses on both sides.—Retreat of the Enemy across the river.—Enemy's account.—Strength of the Position abandoned by the Enemy.—Description of their Intrenchments on the Gauley River.—Cheat Mountain Pass.—Its strength.—Description of the Federal Position there.—General Lee determines to try an Assault.—Repulsed by General Reynolds.—Reynolds' official Report.

1861.

July 22.

On the appointment of General McClellan to the command of the Federal forces on the Potomac, General Rosecrans became his successor in Western Virginia. William S. Rosecrans, if not born, spent his childhood and youth in the State of Ohio. He entered the military academy at West Point in 1838, and after the usual four years' study, graduated with distinction in July, 1842. In accordance with his merit, he was admitted at once to the rank of second lieutenant of that *corps d'élite*, the Engineers. He was soon

after appointed one of the teachers in the academy at West Point, where he had passed so creditable a career as a student. For four years he continued in this position, having been successively Assistant Professor of Engineering from September, 1843, to August, 1844 ; Assistant Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy from August, 1844, to August, 1845, and again of Engineering for the two years from the latter date to August, 1847. In March, 1853, he received the commission of first lieutenant, but averse to the comparative inactivity to which a soldier's life was doomed in those piping times of peace, he sought in civil occupation a more stirring sphere for his active energies. He became a manufacturer of oil in the West, and was thus engaged when the civil war broke out. He now offered his services to the Government, which gladly accepted them, and appointed him to an important command under General McClellan, in Western Virginia. His good and effective conduct as a subordinate has been already recorded. His services as a commanding general in that department, where the Federal arms hitherto had been illustrated by the wisest management and greatest success, now claim notice.

The enemy, supposed to be five or six thousand strong, were intrenched at Carnifex Ferry, on the right bank of the Gauley River, a tributary stream of the Great Kanawha, situated in Western Virginia about seven or eight miles south of Summerville. The commander-in-chief of the secession force was General John B. Floyd, secretary of war of the United States under Buchanan.

John Buchanan Floyd was born in Montgomery, Pulaski County, Virginia, in 1805. Educated at the University of South Carolina in Columbia, subsequently studying law, and admitted to the bar in 1828, he removed in 1836 to Arkansas, where he practiced his profession for several years. He afterwards returned to Virginia, and lived in Washington County of that State. In 1847 he was elected a member of the lower house of the Virginia Legislature, and was rechosen in 1849. In December of that year he was elected, by the General Assembly, Governor of Virginia. After the expiration of his term of office in January, 1853, he remained for a time in private life, but was again elected to the Legislature in 1855. In 1856, having been chosen a Presidential elector, he cast his vote for Buchanan, for whose nomination he had been a strenuous advocate in the Democratic convention at Cincinnati, and whose election he furthered by every possible effort. Buchanan, on his accession to the Presidency, rewarded his faithful adherent by appointing Floyd secretary of war. His administration of this office was directed, as is now evident, to the single purpose of weakening the Federal Government and strengthening its enemies. His control of the war department gave him the opportunity, of which he freely availed himself, of preparing the secessionists, by an artful distribution in their favor of the munitions of war, for the armed assault upon the Union, which he,

doubtless, as one of the main conspirators against the Government, had long contemplated. Toward the close of Buchanan's administration, when the secession plot was fully ripe for execution, Floyd resigned the secretaryship of war, and openly joining the insurgents was appointed by them one of their brigadier-generals. No public official in the United States ever incurred greater contumely for abuse of trust. His name is never uttered without a prefix to it, branding him as the vilest criminal, and charges are made not only imputing to him administrative perversion in the interests of secession, but private peculation for personal advantage. Such is the history of the General Floyd in command of the Confederate troops at Carnifex Ferry, whom General Rosecrans had resolved upon advancing to meet and drive from their stronghold in Western Virginia.

The Federal force numbered only 4,500 men, but though thus inferior in strength to the enemy, who, moreover, had the advantage of a strongly intrenched position, the resolute Rosecrans determined to advance against them. A long march over a wild and mountainous country, of which little was known or could be learned, lay before him. He, however, led his column steadily on day and night, crossing mountains and wading through the same tortuous streams again and again. After passing over Kreitz's Mountain, a spur of the Alleghany range, the weary soldiers sought a camping place at the base, but such were the inclination and irregularity of the ground, that there was not a spot where man or beast could find rest or safety in sleep. On pushing into the valley, the main body was at last enabled to bivouac, while the scouts were scouring the neighboring mountains and gorges for the enemy, whose mounted skirmishers began now to show themselves.

The country, as the column advanced, became more and more difficult and dangerous to penetrate. It was "seamed with by-roads, blind paths, and mountain passes. It was also infested with bushwackers, and, in order," says a campaigner, "to stop up all avenues by which it could be possible for the enemy to strike our lines in the rear or centre, the General and his engineering corps found it necessary to make minute reconnoissances."

Finally, Powell Mountain, the loftiest summit in Western Virginia, was scaled, and traces of the enemy became more distinct. Upon the highest ridge the remains of a deserted camp were discovered, showing that a considerable body of men had been there, and the information was extorted from some women, at a house on the roadside, that the enemy in large force were intrenched on the Gauley River. Persons occasionally met were generally either indisposed to give information or too ignorant to convey it intelligibly, and the General and his officers were greatly perplexed in the wild country.

The advance guard, however, moved cautiously forward into "Muddlety Bottoms," scattering before them several hundred of the enemy, who disappeared as they caught sight of our troops. The

main body followed the advance, and encamping for the night in the meadows, in the expectation of an early march to battle on the morrow, slept upon their arms.

The advance guard was again in motion at four o'clock next morning, and was soon followed by the whole column. On approaching Summerville, after a march of eight miles, a troop of the enemy's cavalry was seen scampering out of the village, and it was learned that a Virginia regiment had retreated to the camp at Gauley River, only six hours before. The march was now continued with the greatest caution, as our troops were nearing the enemy's position, and there was danger of masked batteries and ambuscades. Skirmishers were pushed forward on either flank of the column, and scouts were sent forward to scour the woods and thickets. After passing some six miles beyond Summerville, a small force of dragoons and infantry was dispatched through the woods to the bank of the Gauley River, in order to destroy a ferry-boat. As they approached, however, they were met by a fire from the opposite side of the river. A small detachment was sent to the succor of our men, which succeeded in scattering the enemy's skirmishers, who had hid themselves among the rocks.

Sept. 16.

"From thence," says the campaigner* already quoted, "not a bridle-path, ravine, nor neighboring cliff was passed without a thorough examination in advance. At about one o'clock the column halted at the forks of the road, one branch leading to Cross Lanes and Gauley Bridge, the other to Lewisburgh, *via* Carnifex Ferry. An hour before halting here, the Commander-in-chief had no knowledge of the geographical position of Floyd, but an intelligent mountaineer lad, who had been in the rebel camp, opportunely made his appearance to enlighten him. Most of us had labored under an erroneous supposition that the enemy was fortified below Cross Lanes, and it was confirmed by ignorant or treacherous inhabitants, but the lad relieved us from our anxious embarrassment. From him we learned that Floyd was on the cliffs overlooking Carnifex Ferry, and that a mile farther up the road approaching him there was another fork leading among the hills to Cross Lanes. He innocently suggested its importance in a military point of view, and it was deemed important to make a thorough reconnoissance of the premises. Heavy columns were immediately deployed in line of battle on the rear, and strong columns of skirmishers enveloped the ridges in front, when General Benham was ordered to move on down the road. Nearly two hours were thus occupied, when Benham sent back word that the reconnoissance was effected to the point desired, and the track was clear. General Rosecrans immediately went to the front to make inquiries as to sharp firing heard in the direction of the ferry. It turned out that our skirmishers had driven in the rebel pickets, and in the chase had disturbed a considerable body of the enemy under Colonel Reynolds,

* New York *Daily Times*.

who were encamped on the hill, not a mile and a half from the forks of the road where we had been halting so long. The news was communicated to the troops, who received it with inspiriting shouts. It was now perfectly obvious to all that we were about to engage the enemy. The men braced themselves manfully for it, and displayed splendid spirit. The Irish regiment, under Colonel Lytle, who have the right of the column, having already snuffed the enemy, pressed on with fiery zeal, with the gallant Smith and his Thirteenth Ohio on their heels. The remainder of Benham's brigade, the Twelfth Ohio, under Colonel Lowe, was halted at the foot of the hill to guard the cross road, while McCook and Scammon were moving their columns toward the front by another route over the ridges.

"General Benham now asked permission to press upon the enemy with his brigade, and General Rosecrans gave his consent to a demonstration for reconnoissance. * * * Intense excitement prevailed.

"It was precisely 3.45 o'clock in the afternoon when the Commander-in-chief rode to the top of an adjacent hill to make an observation. His staff were clustered about him waiting orders, and our artillery was laboring up the hill, when our attention was attracted by quick, sharp firing in the forests, just ahead of us. Almost simultaneously, and before we could interchange remarks, our very souls were thrilled by a terrific and prolonged roar of musketry. Suspicion flashed through our minds that the gallant 1st brigade had fallen into an ambuscade or masked battery.

"* * We were all in an agony of suspense. But scarce an instant elapsed when, with a long sigh of grateful relief, we heard the swift volleys of our own gallant lads. * * * We could see nothing of the battle, not even smoke, but we knew by the infernal din that our battalions were swarming about the enemy. Only the 10th and 8th companies of the Thirteenth Regiment had yet gone forward. Lowe's Twelfth Ohio had been ordered up by General Rosecrans, and it now came charging up the road at double quick, its brave colonel at the head; and as the lads raised the crest of the hill they saluted the General, who was waiting to direct their commander, with a splendid volley of cheers. The Twelfth plunged into the jungle on the left, Adjutant-General Hartsuff leading Lowe toward his position. As the bold fellows rushed into the woods, they flung knapsacks and blankets desperately into the field, and pitched forward to regain their places. Hartsuff now came back, and by order of the General, sent forward McMullen's howitzers and Snyder's two field-pieces.

"No tidings came up from the field. General Rosecrans, having made all necessary disposition to protect his rear, advanced to the front. Pushing down the ferry road, which was densely shaded by masses of undergrowth and heavy forests, we still saw no battle; but the terrific uproar, which seemed almost within the cast of a pebble, and the

hurtling bullets cutting the twigs overhead, were proof that the enemy was close at hand. Directly a gleam of light from a clearing in front, with a long stream of fire blazing along the works of the enemy, showed where they were. The General took position near the battery, but from that time until the last column groped out of the woods in thick darkness, he was in the midst of the combat, directing the general movements of the division. Benham was also in the front of battle, watching his brigade with reckless exposure of his person, encouraging and emboldening the men by his fearlessness.

"Meantime McCook's brigade of Germans had formed in line of battle on the crest of Rebel Hill, and Scammon's little brigade was marching in to form behind him to protect our left. I had returned from the front with an order to Scammon to send a detachment to try the enemy's right, and Major R. B. Hayes, of the Twenty-third Ohio, dashed off through the forest with four companies.

"The wounded were now being rapidly brought in. It was, perhaps, six o'clock when Colonel Lowe was announced among the killed. The firing continued with intensified violence on our side, but it appeared to slacken on the part of the enemy. But the din was still terrific, showing that the rebels intended to make us pay for victory. The sun was rapidly sinking when orders arrived to forward the Dutch brigade. It was my grand satisfaction to be present and witness the magnificent reception of the order. Colonel R. L. McCook, acting brigadier, in his citizen's dress, stood in his stirrups, and snatching his slouched hat from his head, roared out 'Forward, my bully Dutch! We'll go over their d——d intrenchments if every man dies on the other side.' The usually phlegmatic Teutons, inflamed with passionate excitement, exploded with terrific cheers. * *

"As the column deployed into the road, Captain Hartsuff volunteered to lead the column into position, when three thousand Dutchmen again yelled themselves hoarse, and McCook spurred onward to the front to reconnoitre his post. The brigade was not permitted to storm, but the Ninth Ohio, McCook's own regiment, and Colonel Moore's Twenty-eighth, had opportunity to show their steadiness under a galling fire. The Third German Regiment was detained in the rear, and did not get into action at all, but its colonel, Porschner, went into the storm of bullets to see how the battle raged.

"As darkness approached, the fire slackened. The rebels seemed to be getting weary, or out of ammunition, and our officers were endeavoring to get their men into a position for a general assault. But profound darkness set in before arrangements were completed, and it became absolutely necessary to withdraw our troops. It was nine o'clock at night, however, before we retired to bivouac, under the very batteries of the rebels, intending to carry them by storm before sunrise next morning. But the enemy did not wait for us, and our triumph was only half a victory.

"We will now return to detail the engagement more minutely. When General Benham went to the front, an armed reconnoissance of the rebel position, not a general action, was intended. We knew nothing of the position—not even where it was located, nor anything of the topographical features of the massively broken mountains about it. Besides, the men had marched seventeen miles and a half, and many of them were harassed and wearied with scouting and skirmishing all day over the hills. The whole column, in fact, had been astir since three o'clock in the morning, and were obviously unfit for battle. Captain Hartsuff strenuously objected to a general engagement, and earnestly recommended that the army should go into camp and refresh themselves with food and sleep—with the understanding that an immediate reconnoissance was imperatively necessary.

"General Benham pushed onward with this understanding, when the enemy's inside pickets were driven in by the Irish skirmishers. A few moments afterward the rebels, hearing his men in the ravine under their guns, let drive at them their first infernal volley along their whole line on the right. It is believed the rebels did not see our men at all, but fired at a venture into the jungle, at a range at which they had manifestly practiced. But not a man of ours was hurt, and Floyd's precipitation had exposed his lines. General Benham, Colonel Lytle, and Colonel Smith, however, were keeping a sharp look-out for surprises, the old General saying he would never be caught by a masked battery. The way was now described by rebel bullets, and the Tenth was deployed up the hill to the right, and the Thirteenth down the hill into the ravine to the left—Lytle and Smith each at the head of their regiments. Our batteries were still behind, and Lowe's Twelfth Ohio was some distance in the rear coming up slowly, so that the Tenth and Thirteenth had to support the enemy's fire a long time without assistance. But they did it gallantly, and continued to advance until they got to the edge of the abattis in front of the enemy, where they stood near the verge of the forest. In consequence of the rugged and impracticable nature of the ground, the line of the Tenth was broken, and the right wing was separated from the centre. Colonel Lytle could not see this on account of the jungle, and General Benham was directing a movement on the extreme left, when Lytle ordered the colors forward, and shouting, 'Follow, Tenth!' he made a dash up the road, intended to charge the battery, and succeeded in getting within little more than a hundred yards of the rebel parapets before he was discovered. A terrific fire opened upon him, and his four gallant companies, who followed him with frantic cheers, suffered severely. A ball went through his left leg and wounded his horse, which became unmanageable and threw him. The horse dashed over the rebel intrenchments and was killed, and the gallant Lytle himself was assisted into a house not a hundred feet off, and heard the crash of can-

non-balls through it and over it until the battle ended. Color-sergeant Fitzgibbons, who was behind the Colonel when he fell, had his right hand shattered, but, gathering the Stars and Stripes in his left, he waved them again enthusiastically, and was torn to pieces by a round shot. Sergeant O'Connor snatched the falling colors and again held them aloft, when he was also struck by a ball in his left hand; but he dropped behind a log and kept the colors flying until exhaustion compelled him to drop them. His captain, Stephen McGroarty, as gallant a fellow as ever wore sword, snatched them up again, and while rolling them up, ordered his men to retire to cover, and in bringing up the rear a ball struck him in the right breast, and went through him without disabling him, until after he got out of the field with his flag. Every man of his company stuck to him with unswerving fidelity. * * * *

"The Twelfth Ohio had found their route impracticable, and their brave colonel carried them over a rugged route squarely into the front of the battle, and gave them an opportunity to do their share of duty. Colonel Lowe was encouraging and directing them in front, when he was struck by a shot fairly in the centre of his forehead, and he fell without a groan. A moment afterward a charge of grape mangled both his legs. * * * *

"Snyder's two rifled six-pounders and McMullen's batteries were planted in the road about two hundred yards in front of the rebel main battery, and were served rapidly and with considerable effect. Subsequently, part of each was removed to the right. * * *

"At dusk, McCook's brigade was ordered into position. The Ninth was carried around to the left of the rebel battery by Captain Hartsuff, to make a rush upon it under a flanking battery, which had been discovered in the woods, on their extreme left, but which had not been served during the engagement. The bold fellows, under their colonel, pushed forward under a galling storm of musketry, and were about to dash headlong at the enemy under cover of darkness, when they were ordered back, after suffering a loss of one killed and ten wounded. The four companies under Major Hayes, after infinite difficulty scaling precipices and forcing their way through dense thickets of laurel and blackberry bushes, had been halted in a ravine in front of the centre of the rebels' right wing, and they were afterward supported by the Twenty-eighth, under Colonel Moor. The former met with no casualties, though under fire. The latter pushed across the ravine, and extended the line up a precipitous hill, until the whole of the main front of the enemy was enveloped by our lines. He lost two killed and thirty-one wounded.

"It was now pitchy dark. It was impossible to distinguish an object a yard from your eyes, and it was so obviously unwise to storm the works in such dense obscurity, that the General was compelled to withdraw the troops. They retired slowly and mad at their disappointment, and bivouacked wearied and

supperless within musket range of the rebel front. It was nine o'clock at night when they got out of the forest where they had labored and fought unflinchingly for five hours." * *

General Rosecrans thus briefly describes, in his official report, the severe and long engagement at Carnifex Ferry:

"HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF VIRGINIA,
CAMP SCOTT, *Sept.* 11, P. M.

TO COLONEL E. D. TOWNSEND:

"We yesterday marched seventeen and a half miles, reached the enemy's intrenched position in front of Carnifex Ferry, driving his advanced outposts and pickets before us. We found him occupying a strongly intrenched position, covered by a forest too dense to admit of its being seen at a distance of three hundred yards. His force was five regiments, besides the one driven in. He had probably sixteen pieces of artillery. At three o'clock we began a strong reconnoissance, which proceeded to such a length that we were about to assault the position on the flank and front, when night coming on and our troops being completely exhausted, I drew them out of the woods and posted them in the order of battle behind ridges immediately in front of the enemy's position, where they rested on their arms till morning.

"Shortly after daylight a runaway contraband came in and reported that the enemy had crossed the Gauley during the night by means of the ferry, and a bridge which they had completed. Colonel Ewing was ordered to take possession of the camp, which he did at about seven o'clock, capturing a few prisoners, two stand of colors, a considerable quantity of arms, with quartermaster's stores, messing and camp equipage.

"The enemy have destroyed the bridge across the Gauley, which there rushes through a deep gorge, and our troops being still much fatigued, and having no material for immediately replacing the bridge, it was thought prudent to encamp the troops and occupy the ferry and captured camp, sending a few rifle cannon shots at the enemy to produce a moral effect. Our loss will probably amount to twenty killed and one hundred wounded. The enemy's loss had not been ascertained, but from report it must have been considerable.

"W. S. ROSECRANS."

The enemy reported themselves only 1,700 strong, and boasted of having repelled their assailants several times, who, however, they confessed, fought with "terrible fury." Our force, according to their account, consisted of nine regiments with six pieces of artillery. In consequence of those superior numbers, as they declared, and the prospect of reinforcement of the Federal force, it was determined by General Floyd to retreat and not hazard another battle. He consequently crossed the river Gauley and fell back about fifteen miles from Gauley Bridge, on the main Charleston road, within a short distance of the encampment of General Wise at Dogwood and Hawk's Nest. The enemy made a great boast of their successful retreat. "I think," says one of their officers, "that the public and all military men will agree

that both our fight and our fall back to the side of the river are among the most remarkable incidents in the history of war. Seventeen hundred men, with six inferior pieces of artillery, fought back four times their number, with much superior artillery, for more than four long hours, repulsed them three times, and remained masters of the ground. They then retired with their baggage, stores, and more than two hundred sick and wounded, across the river, from ten P.M. to four A.M., along one of the steepest and worst single-track roads that ever horse's hoof trod or man ever saw. At four o'clock they were three miles from the enemy, with their newly constructed bridge destroyed and their boats sunk behind them. I think these facts show a generalship seldom exhibited anywhere."

The enemy, however, were forced from a position which they believed they could sustain "even against such terrific odds" as in their imaginations they credited the Federal general with possessing. Their camp on the Gauley River, which they were compelled to abandon, was very favorably situated for defence, and had been elaborately strengthened by artificial works, which embraced almost a square mile of ground. There was a large battery flanked by breast-works of logs, which extended to the cliffs which rose above the river some three hundred and fifty feet high. The intrenched camp of the enemy was within a basin of the mountain, protected from all missiles but shells. The river flowed deep in the rear, where it was crossed by the ferry, but above and below there were dangerous rapids. In front of the camp was a ravine, thickly grown with forest wood and thicket, which so concealed the position that it could hardly be seen from without until it was reached. On the right were strong works which stretched over the rocks to the very edge of their precipices. The left was the only portion of the works tolerably accessible. That the enemy, therefore, should have retired from such a position was in itself a tribute to the gallantry of their assailants, and a victorious result of which General Rosecrans could justly boast.

While the Federalists under Rosecrans were thus successful in assailing the enemy's intrenchments on the Gauley River, another portion of our army, in Western Virginia, was proving itself equally capable of acting on the defensive. After General McClellan had driven the enemy out of the Cheat River Valley, he took possession of the Cheat Mountain Pass, which leads from Central into Western Virginia, over the main chain of the Alleghanies. Here fortifications had been erected to add to the great natural strength of the position, which one* of the enemy had testified to be "a defence almost impregnable. Some of our men," he wrote, "Colonel Rust himself among them, have approached it so nearly as to look over into it and see all that was going on in it, and also the exact nature of the fortification. It is built on the summit of Cheat Mount-

* Lynchburg (Va.) *Republican*.

* A writer in the Richmond *Dispatch*.

ain, in Randolph County, just where the road crosses upon a hill which has no level land upon its top, but suddenly descends on both sides. The forest along the road at this point, as for many miles of the adjacent country, consists of white pines, which are tall and stand close together, while the undergrowth is almost wholly mountain laurel, so dense and interlocked as to be almost inpenetrable. Here the enemy cleared several acres on each side of the road. On the outer boundary they placed the tall pines they had cut down, partially trimmed and skinned, with their tops outward, presenting to any one approaching a mass of sharp points, raised to a considerable height, and strongly interlocked. Inside of this they built a wall of logs and cut a deep ditch. In the road they built up, in line with the fortification, breast-works of great strength, and mounted them with pivot guns, while in the centre they erected a block-house, pierced and armed also with cannon. On the east side from the fort to the Cheat River, one mile and a quarter distant, they cleared the road for some distance on both sides, and this can be all the way swept by the cannon. The same is the case on the road westwardly for some distance.

"Recurring to the remarkable fort on Cheat Mountain, while it is creditable to the ingenuity of the enemy, it induces a very earnest regret that we ourselves had not held that position when we had it. But if it cannot be taken, of course it can and will be turned. General Lee has, indeed, already turned it, but he had still some hope of taking it, which, we suppose, this expedition will induce him to abandon. It is defended by 1,200 men, who are good, with their protection, against probably as many thousand. But if our forces march on beyond it, the position is useless to the enemy, and will have to be abandoned."

Lee, of Arlington House, Va.—the descendant of Major Lee, of Revolutionary fame, and the husband of a descendant of Mrs. Washington—once an esteemed officer of the United States, now a Confederate general, with a large force, computed to amount to eight or nine thousand men, determined, notwithstanding the formidable strength of this position at Cheat Mountain Pass, to assail it. His rash attempt, however, was signally defeated by General Reynolds, the Federal officer in command, who gave this official report of the result:

Sept. 12.

"HEADQUARTERS, FIRST BRIGADE I. V. M.,
ELK WATER, *September* 17, 1861.

"TO GEO. L. HARTSUFF, ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL, DEPARTMENT OF OHIO:

"SIR: The operations of this brigade for the past few days may be summed up as follows: On the 12th instant, the enemy, 9,000 strong, with eight to twelve pieces of artillery, under command of General R. E. Lee, advanced on this position by the Huntersville pike. Our advanced pickets—portions of the Fifteenth Indiana and Sixth Ohio—gradually fell back to our main picket station, two companies of the Seventeenth Indiana, under Colonel Hascall, checking the enemy's advance at the

Point Mountain turnpike, and then falling back on the regiment, which occupied a very advanced position on our right front, and which was now ordered in. The enemy threw into the woods on our left front three regiments, who made their way to the right and rear of Cheat Mountain, took a position on the road leading to Huttonsville, broke the telegraph wire and cut off our communication with Colonel Kimball's Fourteenth Indiana cavalry on Cheat Summit. Simultaneously another force of the enemy, of about equal strength, advanced by the Stanton pike on the front of Cheat Mountain and threw two regiments to the right and rear of Cheat Mountain, which united with the three regiments from the other column of the enemy. The two posts, Cheat Summit and Elk Water, are seven miles apart by a bridle path, over the mountains, and eighteen by the wagon road *via* Huttonville, Cheat Mountain Pass, the former headquarters of the brigade being at the foot of the mountain, ten miles from the summit. The enemy, advancing toward the pass, by which he might possibly have obtained the rear or left of Elk Water, was met there by three companies of the Thirteenth Indiana, ordered up for that purpose, and by one company of the Fourteenth Indiana, from the summit. These four companies engaged and gallantly held in check greatly superior numbers of the enemy, foiled him in his attempt to obtain the rear or left of Elk Water, and threw him into the rear and right of Cheat Mountain—the companies retiring to the pass at the foot of the mountain.

"The enemy, about 5,000 strong, were closed in on Cheat Summit, and became engaged with detachments of the Fourteenth Indiana and Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Ohio, from the summit, in all about three hundred, who, deployed in the wood, held in check and killed many of the enemy, who did not at any time succeed in getting sufficiently near the field redoubt to give Dunn's battery an opportunity of firing into him. So matters rested at dark on the 12th, with heavy forces in front and in plain sight of both posts, communication cut off, and the supply train for the mountain, loaded with provisions which were needed, waiting for an opportunity to pass up the hill.

"Determined to force a communication with Cheat, I ordered the Thirteenth Indiana, under Colonel Sullivan, to cut their way, if necessary, by the mail road, and the greater part of the Third Ohio and Second Virginia, under Colonels Morrow and Moss respectively, to do the same by the path, the two commands starting at three o'clock A. M. on the 13th, the former from Cheat Mountain Pass and the latter from Elk Water, so as to fall upon the enemy, if possible, simultaneously. Early on the 13th the small force of about three hundred from the summit engaged the enemy, and with such effect that, notwithstanding his greatly superior numbers, he retired in great haste and disorder, leaving large quantities of cloth-

ing and equipments on the ground; and our relieving forces failing to catch the enemy, marched to the summit, securing the provision train and reopening our communication. While this was taking place on the mountain, and as yet unknown to us, the enemy, under Lee, advanced on Elk Water, apparently for a general attack. One rifled ten-pounder Parrott gun, from Loomis' battery, was run to the front three-fourths of a mile, and delivered a few shots at the enemy, doing fine execution, causing him to withdraw out of convenient range. Our relative positions remained unchanged until near dark, when we learned the result of the movement on the mountain, as above stated, and the enemy retired somewhat for the night.

"On the 14th, early, the enemy was again in position in front of Elk Water, and a few rounds, supported by a company of the Fifteenth Indiana, were again administered, which caused him to withdraw as before. The forces that had been repulsed from Cheat returned, and were again driven back by a comparatively small force from the mountain. The Seventeenth Indiana was ordered up the path to open communication and make way for another supply train, but, as before, found the little band from the summit had already done the work.* During the afternoon of the 14th the enemy withdrew from before Elk Water, and is now principally concentrated some ten miles from this post, at or near his main camp. On the 15th he appeared in stronger force than at any previous time in front of Cheat, and attempted a flank movement by the left, but was driven back by the ever vigilant and gallant garrison of the field redoubt on the summit. To-day the enemy has also retired from the front of Cheat, but to what precise position I am not yet informed. The results of these affairs are, that we have killed near one hundred of the enemy, including Colonel John A. Washington, aid-de-camp to General Lee, and have taken about twenty prisoners. We have lost nine killed, including Lieutenant Junod, Fourteenth Indiana, two missing, and about sixty prisoners, including Captain James Bense and Lieutenants Gilman and Shaffer of the Sixth Ohio, and Lieutenant Merrill of the Engineers. I append the reports of Colonel Kimball, Fourteenth Indiana, Captain Higgins, Twenty-fourth Ohio, and Lieutenant-Colonel Owen and Colonel Wagner of the Fifteenth Indiana.

"J. J. Reynolds,

"Brig.-Gen. Com'g First Brigade.

"Geo. S. Ross, Assistant Adjutant-General."

CHAPTER XLVII.

General Reynolds' Reconnoissance in Western Virginia.—The Enemy on Greenbrier River.—An Engagement.—Reynolds' Official Account of the affair.—A forced March and a heavy Fire.—A successful Enterprise.—The Enemy's account.—Contradictory statements.—The Enemy boast a victory.—Rout and Confusion.—Comparative Losses.—Kelley a Brigadier-General.—Recovered from his wound.—Again active.—March to Romney.—Capture of Romney.—A brief Official Report.—Exaggeration of the Enemy.—Palliation of Defeat.—An Apologist.—Surprise of Guyandotte.—Treachery and Barbarity.—Suddenness of Attack.—Carelessness of the Unionists.—Fury of the Secessionists.—Flight of the Secessionists.—Arrival of a Federal Force from Ohio.—The criminal Connivance of the Inhabitants of Guyandotte.—Excitement and Exasperation of the Federal Troops.—Burning of Guyandotte.—Terrible Retribution.—No Pity.—General Rosecrans on the Gauley River.—Floyd and his Force.—Batteries of the Enemy.—Fire across the river.—Rosecrans' plan for a Surprise.—March of the several Divisions of the Federal Forces.—Failure of the Enterprise.—Escape of Floyd.—His retreat.—Benham held responsible.—Arrest.—Court-martial postponed.—The end of the Campaign in Western Virginia.—How the Federal Troops were distributed.—The new State of Kanawha established.

1861. General Reynolds, who had so successfully resisted, with his meagre force in his stronghold at Cheat Mountain Pass, the large numbers with which the Confederate general, Lee, had assailed him, now ventured to assume the offensive against the enemy. Reynolds started out with a detachment of 5,000 men on what he was pleased to term merely a reconnoissance of the enemy's intrenched position on the Greenbrier River, twelve miles from his own encampment. His official report is the best account of the affair, which became quite a serious engagement. Oct. 2.

"Headquarters First Brigade, Army of Occupation, Western Virginia, Elkwater, *Oct.* 4, 1861.

"George S. Hartsuff, Assistant Adjutant-General:

"Sir: On the night of the 2d of October, at twelve o'clock, I started from the summit of Cheat Mountain to make an armed reconnoissance of the enemy's position on the Greenbrier River, twelve miles in advance. Our force consisted of Howe's battery, Fourth Regular Artillery, Loomis' battery, Michigan Volunteer Artillery, part of Daum's battery, Virginia Volunteer Artillery, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-fifth, and Thirty-second Ohio regiments, Seventh, Ninth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Seventeenth Indiana regiments (the last four being reduced by continuous hard service and sickness to about half regiments), parts of Robinson's company of Ohio, Greenfield's reserve, and Bracken's Indiana cavalry—in all about 5,000. Milroy's Ninth Indiana Regiment drove in the enemy's advanced pickets, and deployed to our right, driving the enemy on that flank into his intrenchments. Kimball's Fourteenth Indiana was advanced directly to the enemy's front and right, to drive his advanced regiments from a position suitable for our artillery; this was soon done in gallant style, and

our batteries took their position within about 700 yards of the intrenchments and opened fire. Some of the enemy's guns were visible, and others concealed. We disabled three of his guns, made a thorough reconnoissance, and after having fully and successfully accomplished the object of the expedition, retired leisurely and in good order to Cheat Mountain, arriving at sundown, having marched twenty-four miles, and been under the enemy's fire four hours. The enemy's force was about 9,000, and we distinctly saw heavy reinforcements of infantry and artillery arrive while we were in front of the works.

"We took thirteen prisoners. The number of killed and wounded could not be accurately ascertained, but from those actually counted in the field, and estimated in the trenches which could be seen from the heights, it is believed the number reached at least 300. Our loss was surprisingly small—8 killed and 32 wounded, most of them slightly—the proximity of our batteries to the intrenchments causing many shots to pass over us. Very respectfully, etc.

"J. J. REYNOLDS,

"Brigadier-General Commanding.

"GEN. S. ROSE, Adjutant-General."

The enemy's account materially differed from that of General Reynolds. The Confederate general in his report boastingly declared that our troops were driven back in such disorder that their officers failed, "with words of mingled command, remonstrance, and entreaty," to rally them again to the charge. "Rapidly and in disorder they retired," continues the Confederate general in his official report, "into the turnpike, and soon thereafter the entire force of the enemy—artillery, infantry, and cavalry—retreated in confusion along the road and adjacent fields, leaving behind them, at different points, numbers of their killed, guns, knapsacks, canteens, etc. Among other trophies taken were a stand of United States colors, which are held subject to the order of the commanding general. This engagement lasted from seven in the morning to half-past two in the afternoon, at which time the enemy—who had come with artillery to bombard and demoralize us, with infantry to storm our camp, with cavalry to rout and destroy us, and with four days' rations cooked in his haversack to prosecute a rapid march either toward Stanton or toward Huntersville—was in precipitate retreat back to his Cheat Mountain fastness. His loss in killed and wounded is estimated at from 250 to 300; among them an officer of superior rank. Our own, I am happy to say, was very inconsiderable, not exceeding fifty in all."

Kelley, who had distinguished himself at the commencement of the campaign in Western Virginia, and been rewarded for his gallantry with promotion to a brigadier-generalship, having now recovered from his wound received at the battle of Philippi, was again doing good service for the Federal cause. Starting from his camp at New Creek, Oct. 25. Hampshire County, with an Ohio regiment, six companies of the Seventh, and one company of the Third Virginia

regiments, and three pieces of artillery, he pushed on toward Romney with the view of driving out the enemy, who occupied that place. Within about six miles his advance met the enemy's picket guards and drove them back upon the town. Kelley now followed with his whole force, and after a two hours' engagement completely routed the enemy and took possession of Romney. He thus briefly reported his success:

"ROMNEY, VA., *Saturday, Oct.* 26, P. M.

"In obedience to your orders, I moved on this place at twelve o'clock last night, attacked the enemy at three o'clock this afternoon, and drove in their outposts, and after a brilliant action of two hours completely routed them, taking all their cannon and much of their camp equipage, and many prisoners. Our loss is but trifling, but cannot say to what extent.

"BRIG.-GEN. B. F. KELLEY, Com'g."

The enemy could not conceal their mortification at the loss of Romney, but strove to palliate it by exaggerating the strength of the Federal force and the weakness of their own.*

Nov. 10. The surprise, by the secessionists of Guyandotte—a town situated at the confluence of the Guyandotte and Ohio rivers, at the extreme west of Virginia near its Kentucky and Ohio frontiers—accompanied, as it was reputed to be, with treachery and barbarity, greatly excited the indignation of the Unionists, who took dreadful revenge by burning the town to ashes.*

* Richmond *Enquirer*. This was one of their accounts of the affair:

"An engagement took place yesterday (October 25), between Colonel Angus McDonald's cavalry, 200 in number, and about 200 militia under Colonel Munroe, and a body of Yankee troops, variously estimated at from 3,000 to 5,000. Our little force was obliged to retreat before superior numbers. The fight commenced three or four miles from Romney, whither our troops had gone to meet the enemy. After fighting some time, it was found that they could not keep back the Hessians, and a retreat toward Romney followed, the enemy pursuing. Our army wagons blocked up the road, and the artillery could not pass, and it was consequently captured, with wagons, tents, baggage, etc.; and we regret to add that Colonel McDonald, it is believed, fell into the hands of the pursuers. When last seen he was on horseback, with the enemy but a short distance in the rear. Some of his friends fear that he has been killed, as the Hessians, it has been stated, exhibited no disposition to take prisoners, but rode up to teamsters and killed them with their sabres. Major O. R. Funster escaped. He was thrown from a horse, but was carried off in a carriage, and has reached this place in a bruised condition. Some twenty or thirty of the cavalry have reached Winchester, from whom we obtain these particulars.

"Although directly from the scene of the engagement, they bring reports containing discrepancies as to details. I aim to give what I believe to be the most reliable. It is believed we had about twenty killed, and a number wounded. A large number of the enemy were killed, the artillery making roads through them.

"The enemy are, no doubt, once more in Romney, and some of our citizens fear they may extend their visit to Winchester—forty-two miles being the distance—but I have no such fears.

"A militia force left here this morning in the direction of Romney, to check them if they should have the temerity to advance in this direction. The cars have gone to Charlestown to bring some troops from that place, to go also toward Romney. Of course our people regret that the enemy have, for once, 'stolen a march on our men,' and given the invaders some cause to 'crow.'"

* The following, from the Ironton *Register* (Ohio), in the absence of any official account, is the most authentic record of these transactions at present attainable:

"Colonel R. V. Whaley, of Wayne County, Va., was forming the Ninth Virginia Regiment with his camp at Guyandotte. He had altogether about 150 men, but many were absent on furlough last Sunday. On Saturday, November 9th, thirty-five men of the cavalry of Colonel Zeigler's Fifth Virginia, under Lieutenants Feazzel and Shanley, joined him; and probably Colonel Whaley had on Sunday night, when attacked, not to exceed 135 or 140 men under his command, in Guyandotte. Eighteen were in the hospital, mostly with the measles. The attack was sudden and entirely unexpected, and his men were, some at church, some sauntering about town, some asleep in

Both parties seem to have displayed in this affair an unusual degree of ferocity. One of the Federal fugitives having surrendered to the secessionists and begged his life, received for answer: "We do not take prisoners," and had his throat immediately cut from ear to ear.

To complete the history of the campaign in Western Virginia, it is necessary to recur to the operations of

their quarters, and only a 'camp guard,' but no 'pickets' out. In short, they were in a criminally careless condition. About eight o'clock in the evening the rebel guerrilla cavalry of Colonel Jenkins, in force estimated from 400 to 800,—very good authority puts it at 800, but probably 400 is nearer the actual number—suddenly fell upon Colonel Whaley, from different directions. 'Rally!' was instantly the word in Whaley's camp; the men gathered in squads, sheltering themselves behind buildings, embankments, and from the darkness of their various places of making stands, made a gallant resistance of over an hour, pouring a dreadful fire upon their assailants in the streets. From their scattered condition at the outset, probably not many over one hundred Union men got to their guns—Enfield rifles but those that did, fought desperately against four to one, and they only gave up the fight at last when overwhelmed by superior numbers.

"There was a sanguinary struggle at the bridge over the Guyandotte River, and those who have since visited the bridge report it covered with blood, as in a slaughter-house. Some of the Federal troops were killed here, and their bodies are said to have been thrown off the bridge into the river by their rebel antagonists. A reliable man, who was in the fight, tells us that one wounded man begged not to be thrown over, but he says—'I heard a splash!' Three of our men attempted to swim the Guyandotte River, two of them are reported shot; one did swim the river, but he received a bullet in the leg. One man was pulled out from under a house. Another, concealed near, says: 'I heard an officer yell, "Here, shoot this d—d Yankee!"' William Wilson, of Marion, in this county, is said to have been thrown from the bridge. He swam out, concealed himself, and after daylight the next morning, he, with another man, having passed up the bank of the Ohio, was shot from the house of Robert Stewart, a notorious rebel, just above Guyandotte, and wounded severely in the thigh. Wilson was lying at Fuller's in Quaker Bottom, Monday night Yells of the infuriated rebels were often heard, such as: 'Don't let a man escape!' 'Give 'em hell!' 'Take no prisoners!' and language not best to repeat. There are reports of firing on our men from the windows in town—so men in the fight say.

"The rebels pursued the squads, charging upon them around the corners, running down individuals. killing some, wounding others, taking others prisoners, and after the fight was over they hauled many from places where they had attempted to conceal themselves. The rebel troops held possession of the town until about eight o'clock Monday morning, when they left just as the steamer Boston, with a portion of the Fifth Virginia, under command of Colonel Zeigler, was about arriving, and other Union soldiers were gathering in from the country for thirty miles above and thirty below.

"The rebels captured about two hundred Enfield rifles, thirty-eight cavalry horses, and all the saddles and horse equipments which had not been received, and were new; also they took some commissary stores. When they first made the attack, a strong party went directly to the stables where our men had their horses, in the manner showing that they had been fully 'posted.' Several of their horses were killed.

"There is no doubt that the rebels in town had accurately informed the rebel troops of the condition of all things there, and that the rebel people of that place were expecting the attack at the very time it was made, and had governed themselves accordingly. One of our concealed men, who escaped, heard the rapturous congratulations between Colonel Jenkins and John W Hite, a notorious secession citizen, on Monday morning. A rebel family, under whose house one of our escaped men was hidden, heard them over his head, getting an 'early breakfast' for a squad of the victors, and heard the women of the house laugh and carry on in great glee about the whipped Yankees. o o o o

"About nine o'clock Monday morning, Colonel Zeigler, of the Fifth Virginia Regiment, arrived at Guyandotte from Ceredo, with a force of Union troops—the last of the rebel troops leaving as he arrived. Stories of the night before were heard; the general rebel conduct of Guyandotte through the nine months past was recollected; Guyandotte as the headquarters of rebel spies, and as a nest of traitors, called by many 'vipers and rattlesnakes,' was thought of; there was much excitement and exasperation, and soon *the town was in flames!* The compact part of the town all the business portion was committed to the 'devouring element.' The flouring-mill at the upper part of the town was also burnt. Robert Stewart's fine residence, above town, from which Wilson was shot in the morning, also his stables, went the same way. As near as we can judge, from one-half to two-thirds of the houses in town were burnt, probably, safe to say, over one hundred houses.

"This tragic narrative closes with the severe sentence, 'No pity is due the rebels there—the men, and some of the women—for their hard fate.'"

General Rosecrans. It will be recollected that this energetic commander, after forcing General Floyd to cross the Gauley River, took possession of the enemy's deserted camp on the banks of that stream.

Floyd having thrown his force over to the west side of New River—which by confluence with the Gauley forms the Great Kanawha—had erected three batteries of two guns each, one opposite General Rosecrans' headquarters at Tompkins' farm, five miles above the town of Gauley, another opposite the Kanawha Falls, a mile and a half below the town, and a third opposite the mouth of the Gauley, where the town itself is situated. By these batteries the enemy were enabled so to command the road over which Rosecrans' supply trains from the Falls to his headquarters were obliged to pass—a distance of six miles—that the wagons could only proceed in the night-time. During the day, Floyd kept up a fire of shells across the river upon the Federal encampments, but did little damage, wounding only two men and killing a few horses. Rosecrans had in the mean time got some cannon in position, by which he succeeded in silencing the enemy's most telling battery, opposite the mouth of the Gauley River. A battery of ten Parrott guns had also been received by Rosecrans, which he was posting with the view of responding effectually to that battery of the enemy which bore upon the Kanawha Falls.

While thus meeting Floyd in front, Rosecrans was planning to take him on the flank and in the rear, with the hope of surrounding his whole force and compelling it to surrender. One who was following our army has thus reported the result:

"It was extremely desirable," says he, "to turn Floyd's position and get into his rear if possible, and for this purpose Major Crawford, of the United States Army, a member of General Rosecrans' staff, was directed to make an examination of the slope of the mountain toward a deserted ferry, known as Townsend's Ferry, and from which, after crossing the river and ascending the opposite mountain, a road led directly to the town of Fayette, in the rear of Floyd's position. After incredible labor a road was made down the mountain the distance of one mile, and over rocks and down ravines Major Crawford, with his force of pioneers, passed several boats and two large floats capable of containing ninety or one hundred men. The enemy were not watching the ferry on the opposite side, and by Monday night all was ready. Schenck's brigade was to have crossed at this ferry. The boats were in the river, and the movement about to be made, when the river suddenly rose, and in a short time became a dashing torrent. To attempt to cross would have hazarded the lives of the men. But one thing was to be done—as we could not strike them in the rear, we could reach their flank, and the order was given to the brigade to cross below the entrance of New River into the Kanawha.

"Meantime the first Kentucky regiment had been ordered across, under

Major Leeper, to attack them on the hill [Cotton Hill] opposite Gauley. This was done, and the hill taken, with a loss of four men killed, five wounded, and six missing. Twenty of the enemy were killed and wounded. Five miles down the river General Benham had crossed with his entire brigade, and was coming up rapidly. The enemy fell back toward a line of intrenchments they had constructed at Dickerson's farm, on the road from Gauley to Fayette. Fearing that they would retreat, General Rosecrans sent orders to General Benham to push forward at once a large force to Cassiday's mill, the key-point of the position. A road led from this mill directly to the road running from Fayette to Raleigh, over which the enemy must pass should he determine to retire. It was the intention of General Rosecrans that this force should have been thrown upon the flank of the retreating army, while Schenck's and Benham's brigades pushed them in the rear. By some strange mismanagement upon the part of General Benham, the force at the mill was ordered by him to rejoin his command by another road. The enemy, knowing that we would outflank him by the very road from Cassiday's mill, made no stand at his intrenchments, and hastily retreated. The road was strewn with tents, tent poles, cooking utensils, and ammunition, as he lightened his wagons in his flight. Benham now pressed his rear through Fayette and along the Raleigh road, and came up with his rear guard about two miles from the town. He attacked this force, consisting of four hundred cavalry and several regiments of infantry, killing Colonel Croghan, who commanded the cavalry, and several others. He brought up his artillery and opened fire upon them with effect. Again they retreated, closely pursued until nightfall, when, from the exhaustion of our men, who were without food or blankets, a halt was ordered, and shortly afterwards an order from the commanding general arrived directing a return of our forces."

Floyd was reported to have had a force of 5,000 men and a train of 300 wagons. His escape was a great disappointment to General Rosecrans, who, holding General Benham responsible for having failed to cut off the retreat, ordered his arrest. The commander-in-chief, General McClellan, however, released Benham, and postponed the court-martial.

The flight of Floyd put an end to the campaign in Western Virginia. The Confederate commander, Lee, had already been withdrawn to command in South Carolina and superintend the defences of the Southern coast, threatened by the naval expeditions. Floyd returned a disappointed man after his inglorious campaign in Western Virginia, and was subsequently sent to Kentucky. General Wise was still more disgraced, and was believed to have sought for a time in obscure retirement a refuge from the scorn excited by his unskilful generalship.

Our troops were variously distributed. General Reynolds continued to hold,

with a small force, the important pass of Cheat Mountain, the greater portion of his Western regiments having been sent to Kentucky or to join General Kelley, at Romney, with the view of being ready to co-operate in probable movements on the Potomac. General Rosecrans established his winter-quarters at Wheeling. Thus ended the campaign in Western Virginia, which though not illustrated by any very brilliant feat of arms, except at the commencement, proved to be the most successful since the civil war began.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Western Virginia had adopted, by an immense majority, the ordinance for dividing the old commonwealth of Virginia and establishing a new State, called Kanawha, to be composed of the counties west of the Alleghany Mountains.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Alarm at the North about Southern Privateers.—Action of European Powers on the subject.—Its effect upon Southern Privateering.—Effect of the Blockade.—Mitigation of feeling at the North.—Inquietude of the Federal Government.—Proposition of the Secretary of State to the European Powers.—The Congress of Paris.—Its Articles.—Why not agreed to by the United States.—Eagerness of Secretary Seward.—Imprudent Concessions.—A Fortunate Disappointment.—Europe unwilling to apply the principles of the Congress of Paris to the Southern Confederacy.—Reasons.—Jeff. Davis' Government acknowledged a Belligerent.—Seward withdraws his Proposition.—The Commerce of the Slave States.—Commercial Marine.—War Vessels and Privateers.—Bold adventurers.—The first Privateer.—The Savannah.—Description.—Her fate.—Trial of her officers and crew at New York.—Disagreement of the Jury.—Excitement at the South.—Threatened Retaliation.—Victims selected.—The fatal Lot.—Prisoners sent to Charleston.—Treated as criminals.—Change of sentiment at the North.—Necessity of treating the Southern Confederacy as a Belligerent.—Rebels on sea like Rebels on land.—The number of Prizes captured by the Enemy.—Cruise of the Jeff. Davis.—Description of the Vessel.—Her Prizes.—Recapture of one of her Prizes.—A tragic Deed.—The Negro hero Tillman.—Public curiosity.—History and Description of Tillman.—Wreck of the Jeff. Davis.—Re-capture of the Cuba.—The story simply told.—The young Prize-master.—His account of the affair.

1861. The alarm produced at the North, by the issue of letters of marque on the part of the Southern Confederacy, was much greater than had been hitherto justified by the result. The action of the great powers of Europe, restricting the privileges of armed vessels of the "belligerents" to the delay of twenty-four hours in their various ports, refusing them the opportunity of selling prizes, adding to their armaments and stores, or of refitting, except in cases of absolute necessity, pressed with especial weight upon Southern privateering, and greatly diminished its power for evil; while the Federal blockade of Southern ports, becoming daily more stringent, had rendered the enterprise of sailing under letters of marque extremely hazardous.

Though privateering was denounced by President Lincoln in his proclamation as piracy, and those taken in the act

threatened with the retribution due to that crime, there had been a growing tendency at the North, on the score of policy, to mitigate the severe punishment which the privateers of the Southern Confederacy were formerly declared to have merited. The early inquietude of the Federal Government is clearly revealed in the hasty, and perhaps ill-advised, proposition of the Secretary of State to the powers of Europe. who were parties to the agreement at the Congress of Paris, in 1856, to concur with them in the abolition of privateering. The assent of our Government, it will be recollected, was refused to the action of the Congress of Paris, because to its articles of agreement—abolishing privateering, granting enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war, immunity from seizure under a neutral flag, giving neutrals' goods, with the same exception, protection under the enemy's flag, and declaring that blockades to be valid must be effective—there was not added the exemption from seizure of private property on the sea, under all circumstances, as on land. The Secretary of State, in his eagerness to prevent the evil of Southern privateering, which, at the time, appeared so formidable, hurried to give in his adhesion to the propositions of the Congress of Paris, without insisting, like the astute Marcy, on the exemption of private property from seizure on the sea. He thus waived a privilege of immense importance, without asking for that compensation which alone could repay the United States—with a large commercial marine and comparatively small naval power—for the loss of its peculiarly effective arm of offence, the privateer.

Fortunately, perhaps, for the United States, the proposition of Secretary Seward was met by England and France with the condition, that the principles laid down by the Congress of Paris should not be applicable to the Southern Confederacy. These European powers had already committed themselves to the recognition of the Confederacy as a belligerent, and therefore were bound in honor to concede to it the privileges belonging to that character. The Government of Jefferson Davis was held by France and England as possessed of all the ordinary international rights of a war power, and of course entitled to issue letters of marque, until by its own free will it had given up the privilege. With this condition attached to the acceptance of his proposition to make the United States a party to the agreement of the Congress of Paris abolishing privateering, Seward found himself frustrated in his object of weakening the Southern Confederacy, and withdrew his offer of concurrence.

The slave States having, in comparison with the free, an insignificant commercial marine, had, although possessed of an extensive sea-coast, but a small number of vessels armed or manned by their own people. Their commerce was chiefly carried on in Northern bottoms and by Northern sailors. On the breaking out of the civil war, however, they seized, without scruple, those vessels belonging to the Government and private persons

which happened to be lying in their harbors. They were thus enabled to obtain a considerable fleet of sailing vessels and steamers, though mostly of small tonnage, with the exception of those which fell into their hands on the abandonment of the Norfolk Navy Yard. Of these latter they made effective use, having restored some of them, among which was the Merrimac, that became such a formidable machine of destruction.*

Many of the vessels thus surreptitiously obtained were converted into privateers, and have met with various fates, which it is now proposed to record. Among those persons engaged in the coasting trade, of whom not a few were Northern men, and the large number of naval officers who had deserted the United States flag and adopted that of the Confederacy, it was not difficult to find bold adventurers and competent officers to command those vessels, many of which have been handled with rare skill and daring. While some have fallen an easy prey, others have eluded the vigilance of our blockading fleets and escaped from the pursuit of our swiftest cruisers.

The first privateer commissioned by

* The following list of vessels in the service of the Confederates is obtained from the New York *Herald* of November 19, 1861, and is probably as nearly accurate as is now possible:

LIST OF PRIVATEERS.

Name.	Class.	Commander.	Guns.	Tons.
Alice	Schooner	—	-	
Antonio	Schooner	A. O. Muphy	--	--
Beauregard	-	Capt. Libby	—	—
Bonita	Brig	-	—	276
Bradford	Steamer		—	—
Cotton Plant	Steamer	Capt. Lynch	—	--
Coffee	Steamer	—	2	—
Calhoun	Steamer	Geo. N Hollins	3	1,058
Curtis Peck	Steamer	—	—	—
Curlew	Steamer	Capt. Hunter	1	--
Dixie	Schooner	T. J. Moore	1	150
Dodge	Schooner	—	1	100
Everglade	Steamer	J McIntosh Kell	—	—
Gordon	Steamer	Capt. Lockwood	2	500
Geo. Page	Steamer	—	1	—
Geo. B. Baker	Schooner	—	—	—
Huntress	Steamer	—	1	—
Ivy	Steamer	—	2	200
James Grey	Propeller	--	1	—
Jackson	Steamer	Capt Gwalteney	2	200
Jeff. Davis	Brig	Capt. Coxetter	5	—
Judith	Schooner	--	5	250
John A Moore	Steamer	—	—	—
Lady Davis	Steamer	T. B. Hager	2	—
Lewis Cass	Schooner	—	2	100
McRae	Steamer	—	6	500
McClellan	Schooner	J. G. [illegible]eshwood	5	145
Merrimac	Steamer	—	6	—
Manassas	Steamer	—	2	--
Mashmon	Steamer	—	—	—
Marion	Steamer	—	4	—
Mystic	Steamer	—	—	—
Music	Steamer	—	—	—
Northampton	Steamer	Capt. Hicks	—	—
Nina	Steamer	—	1	--
Nashville	Steamer	—	—	1,220
Nelins	Steamer	—	—	--
Neva	Schooner	—	—	—
Pickens	Schooner	—	5	—
Petrel	Schooner	Wm. Perry	1	90
Patrick Henry	Steamer	—	—	—
Richmond	Steamer	Capt. Kennedy	—	—
Sumter	Steamer	R. Semmes	—	--
Sallie	Schooner	Capt. Libby	1	110
Savannah	Schooner	T. H. Baker	1	54
Screamer	Steamer	--	—	—
Sallust	Schooner	—	—	—
South Carolina	Steamer	Capt. Coxetter	—	—
St Nicholas	Steamer	—	—	—
Tuscarora	Steamer	—	2	—
Vixen	Steamer	—	1	—
Washington	Schooner	—	1	—
Wm. H. Webb	Steamer	—	—	—
York	Schooner	—	—	—
Yorktown	Steamer	Capt. Parrish	8	1,400

RECAPITULATION.

Steamers	36	Uncertain	1
Schooners	16		—
Brigs	2	Total	55

In addition to the above list, the Southerners had at their disposal some very large steamers, that could upon

the President of the Confederate States was captured. This was the Savannah, made memorable by the trial of her captain and crew for piracy. She was a small

emergency be converted into vessels of war. Among them the following:

Name.	Tons.	Name	Tons.
Atlantic	623	Suwanee	494
America	372	Star of the West	1,172
General Miramon	296	Tennessee	1,179
Galveston	945	Texas	1,125
Mexico	1,059	W. G. Hewes	1,100
Magnolia	843	Matagorda	425

TRANSPORTS.

Prince of Wales.	Cheeney.	Louisville.
Kentucky.	Tucker.	Sovereign.
Victoria.	Little Rock.	Admiral.
John Walsh.	Chester Ashley.	Nebraska.
Ingomar.	Belfast.	F. Nortrebe.
John Simmons.	Alonzo Childs.	Arkansas.
General Pike.	E. H. Mears.	Equality.
	Mary Patterson.	

RECAPITULATION.

Privateers	55
Steamers under the rebel control, not in use	12
Transports	22
Total	89

OFFICERS IN THE REBEL SERVICE.

CAPTAINS.

Lawrence Rousseau, of Louisiana.
Josiah Tattnall, of Georgia.
Victor M. Randolph, of Alabama.
D. N. Ingraham, of South Carolina.
French Forrest, of Virginia.
George N. Hollins, of Maryland.
Samuel Barron, of Virginia.
William F. Lynch, of Virginia.
Isaac F. Sterett, of Maryland.

COMMANDERS.

E. Favans, of Florida.
Thomas W. Brent, of Florida.
Raphael Semmes, of Alabama.
Henry J. Hartstene, of South Carolina.
Sidney Smith Lee, of Virginia.
William G. Whittle, of Virginia.
Robert D. Thornton, of Virginia.
Robert J. Robb, of Virginia.
Murray Mason, of Virginia.
William W. Hunter, of Virginia.
Archibald B. Fairfax, of Virginia.
William McBlair, of Maryland.
Richard L. Page, of Virginia.
Frederick Chatard, of Maryland.
Arthur Sinclair, of Virginia.
Charles A. Kennedy, of North Carolina.
Matthew F. Maury, of Tennessee.
John R. Tucker, of Virginia.
Robert F. Pinckney, of Maryland.
Thomas R. Rootes, of Georgia.
James L. Henderson, of Virginia.
William S. Muir, of North Carolina.
Thomas F. Hunter, of Virginia.
Charles F. McIntosh, of Virginia.
William S. Muse, of North Carolina.

LIEUTENANTS.

F. B. Renshaw, of Pennsylvania.
James H. North, of South Carolina.
Thomas B. Huger, of South Carolina.
John Rutledge, of South Carolina.
C. M. Morris, of South Carolina.
A. F. Warley, of South Carolina.
John Kell, of Georgia.
Joseph Fry, of Georgia.
J. R. Hamilton, of South Carolina.
J. R. Eggleston, of Mississippi.
R. S. Chapman, of Alabama.
Thomas P. Pelot, of South Carolina.
William G. Dozier, of South Carolina.
Maurice Simons, of South Carolina.
C. L. Sayre, of Alabama.
J. M. Stribling, of South Carolina.
Philip Porcher, of South Carolina.
P. U. Murphy, of North Carolina.
W. N. E. Boudinot, of North Carolina.
Thomas M. Crosson, of North Carolina.
William W. Roberts, of North Carolina.
David Coleman, of North Carolina.
R. C. Duval, of North Carolina.
—— Crosson, of North Carolina.

MIDSHIPMEN.

W. T. Moore, of North Carolina.
John Grimball, of ——.
Henry H. Tyson, of Maryland.
Leroy H. Washington, of Georgia.
W. B. Hart, of Georgia.
Barron Carter, of Georgia.

SURGEONS.

W. A. W. Spotswood, of Virginia.
Edward Wonders, of North Carolina.
William F. Carrington, of Virginia.
Wyatt M. Brown, of North Carolina.
Arthur M. Lynch, of South Carolina.
D. B. Phillips, of ——.
Charles F. Lining, of South Carolina.

schooner of only fifty tons measurement, and was originally used as a pilot-boat in the harbor of Charleston, but, having been condemned as unserviceable, had been laid up. Though old, she was a fast sailer. Having been refitted, armed with an eighteen-pounder which was mounted on a swivel midships, well supplied with ammunition, stores, and water for a long voyage, and manned with a crew of twenty men, the Savannah set
June 2. sail from Charleston.

Her cruise and subsequent fate were thus told in one of the daily newspapers:*

"The Savannah went to sea on Sunday, 2d of June, and the next day fell in with the brig Joseph of Rockland, Maine, from Cardenas, Cuba, with a cargo of sugar consigned to Welch & Co., Philadelphia. The pirate set her colors so as to deceive the Joseph, and the latter hove to and her captain went aboard the piratical craft, under the impression that she was in distress. No sooner had he done so than the captain of the privateer said, 'Your vessel is taken as a prize under the authority of the Confederate States.' Eight men were put aboard the Joseph, and they were directed to take her and the crew to the nearest port, which was that of Georgetown, S. C. This occurred about the middle of the afternoon. Soon after the Savannah and Joseph parted company, the brig Perry, a man-of-war, hove in sight, a little north of the Hole in the Wall; but as her guns were run back, her port-holes closed, and the vessel otherwise purposely disguised, she was mistaken for a merchantman, and the pirates, flushed with their recent success, and with so inviting a prospect of plunder before them, full of great expectations, made all sail for the supposed prize. They had got within a mile of the brig before they discovered their blunder, when they put about, more anxious to escape than they had been before to make the seizure. The Perry at once gave chase, and fired several shots, four of which were returned by the eighteen-

PAYMASTERS.

W. W. J. Bell, of Florida.
Henry Meyers, of Georgia.
John Johnston, of North Carolina.

CHIEF ENGINEER.

Samuel Archibald, of Maryland.
J. W. Parks, of North Carolina.

FIRST ASSISTANT ENGINEER.

John H. Loper.

NAVAL AGENTS.

Oliver S. Dewey, of North Carolina.
Marshall P. Parks, of Virginia.

MARINES.

COLONEL.

Lloyd J. Bell, of Maryland.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL.

Henry B. Tyler, of Virginia.

MAJOR.

George H. Terry, of Virginia.

CAPTAINS.

Israel Green, of Virginia.
George Holmes, of Florida.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

James R. Y. Fenack, of Georgia.
Wilber F. Johnson, of Georgia.
Edmund J. Lloyd, of Virginia.

RECAPITULATION.

Captains	9	Navy Agents	2
Commanders	25	Colonel of Marines	1
Lieutenants	24	Lieut.-Col. of Marines	1
Midshipmen	6	Major of Marines	1
Surgeons	7	Captains of Marines	2
Paymasters	3	Second Lieuts. of Marines	3
Chief Engineer	1		
First Assistant Engineer	1	Total	87

* New York Tribune.

pounder of the Savannah. Two of the shots from the Perry went through the foresail of the pilot-boat; the shots of the Savannah did not take effect. The next occurrence was the surrender of the pirates, who were taken on board the Perry, and were subsequently transferred to the Minnesota, lying off Charleston, where they were put in irons."

The officers and crew of the Savannah were subsequently sent to New York, where they were placed in the custody of the United States marshal and confined in the City Prison, to take their trial for piracy. They were accordingly duly arraigned and tried for this crime, but the jury having failed to agree, the privateersmen were re-committed to prison to await future action. About the same time a trial of some men similarly charged took place in Philadelphia, which resulted in their conviction of piracy. Meanwhile the Southern Confederacy was greatly excited on the score of these trials, and the threatened punishment of the captured privateersmen as pirates. Jefferson Davis officially declared, that, in case of their execution, he would retaliate upon the Federal prisoners who had fallen into his hands; and to prove the fixedness of his resolve he immediately gave orders for the selection by lot among the principal captives then at Richmond, of those who were to answer with their lives for the privateersmen who should be executed by the United States Government. The enemy, principally by their successes at Bull Run, had become possessed of a large number of prisoners, many of whom were officers of high rank, and the fatal chance fell to some of the principal of them, of whom Colonel Corcoran, the commander of the Sixty-ninth Irish Regiment, of New York, who had acquitted himself with rare gallantry before Manassas, is the best known. He and the other victims of the fatal lot were transferred from Richmond to Charleston, where they were closely imprisoned and treated with the harshness used only toward criminals; and where they long remained, with their lives in suspense, awaiting the action of the Federal Government in regard to the captured privateersmen.

In the progress, however, of the civil war, there had been a manifest change of sentiment in the North. As the strength of the Southern insurgents had become more apparent, there had been an increasing willingness to consider them as belligerents, and to award them all the privileges which belong to that character. Though at the commencement of the conflict the Federal Government resolutely refused to treat with the enemy in regard to the exchange of prisoners, it soon after did so with the formalities usual between belligerents in regular war. With this concession, the natural result of the severity and prolongation of the struggle, the conviction had been growing, that policy required that prisoners taken on sea must be treated in every respect like those captured on the land. It seemed therefore settled that Confederate privateersmen were in no more danger of the yard-arm than prisoners of war were of the gallows.

It is impossible to give the exact

number of prizes taken by the privateers
Jan. 16. of the enemy, but, at this date, the whole would hardly amount to half a hundred. The recapture of several of the prizes by their original crews has supplied some of the most startling and tragic incidents of the war. The "Jeff. Davis" had proved herself one of the most audacious of the Southern privateers, and the most successful in her adventurous enterprise. She was formerly known as the slaver Echo, and having been captured while engaged in that cruel traffic on the coast of Africa, was taken into the harbor of Charleston and condemned. She was rigged as a brig, and not having the "low, black" look of the traditional corsair, but the rusty and substantial appearance of the ordinary merchantman, was especially calculated to deceive the unwary. Having been mounted with a thirty-two-pounder, placed on a pivot amidships, and on each side with a thirty-two-pounder, and a twelve-pounder, she sailed out of Savannah on a cruise. Her commander was Captain Coxetter, said to be of Dutch origin; her first lieutenant was one Porchal, formerly a midshipman in the United States navy; and her crew consisted of about sixty men, of all nations. Her cruise, boldly pushed even to Nantucket Shoals, was very successful, and alarming to the commerce of New England. Among her prizes was the schooner S. J. Waring, recaptured by her negro cook, William Tillman.*

The Jeff. Davis, after her adventurous cruise, was wrecked on the Aug. 17.

* The following is the narrative of a passenger:

"The privateer," he says, after describing the capture of the Waring by the Jeff. Davis, "took some of our charts, coasting books, a sextant, some plates, coffee cups, a lot of table cloths, a quantity of flour, several oil-cans, a tub of butter, some cases of preserved lobster, and other articles, together with all the fire-arms which they could find, except a single-barrelled pistol belonging to myself, and another owned by William Stedding, one of our crew.

"Having sent their boat load of stuff off, they returned with a prize crew, consisting of a prize master, mate, and second mate, and two men, taking in exchange for them Captain Smith, of Brooklyn; T. J. Smith, first mate, of New York; T. Davidson, second mate, and two seamen. The prize crew consisted of Montague Amiel, a Charleston pilot, prize-master; Stephens, mate, an Irishman, who had been in this country about ten years ago, but had been at sea until [illegible] months since, when he returned, and three sailors, [illegible] whom acted as second mate and slept in the cabin; the other two were hands, whose names are James Milnor, of South Carolina, and James Dorsey, of Pt. Pleasant, N. J. There were, therefore, on the schooner the prize crew of five; William Tillman, the colored steward; William Stedding and Daniel McLeod, seamen, and myself; of the original party four—nine persons in all.

"[illegible] headed for Charleston, or some inlet on the coast near that port. We were not put in irons, but were treated with as much kindness as we could expect. The steward continued to cook and provide for us, and our men worked the vessel. I became quite intimate with the officers, and expected soon to be a prisoner of war in Charleston, though we had hoped that we might fall in with a United States vessel, and be rescued from our captors. Thus we got along quietly on our way southward, till Tuesday, the 10th inst., when we were fifty miles south and one hundred miles east of that port, and thought we might get in the next day.

"[illegible] I did not anticipate. It is true that, [illegible] I look back, I remember that Amiel had con[illegible] valuable prize that he had [illegible] steward, whom he vowed was worth a cool [illegible] Meeting Street, [illegible]leston. And I further remember that [illegible] Tillman, the steward, shook his head [illegible] muttered, '[illegible] fo'ks nebber git to Charls'n;' but I supposed then [illegible] he was expecting, like the rest of us, to meet with a [illegible] in [illegible] of Uncle Sam's cruisers.

"It was a bright [illegible] night, that of Tuesday, so pleasant that I remain[illegible] deck till eleven P.M., later than I usually did. The [illegible]ard had turned in at eight, as was his habit. Our [illegible] cabin projected about three feet above the main [illegible], and was entered by a companion-way in the middle of the forward end. When I went down, the mate was nodding on the cabin roof, just in front of the wheel, in a half recumbent position. Behind him stood William Stedding, one of our old crew, at the wheel



bar outside of St. Augustine, in Florida, while attempting to make a harbor. She proved, notwithstanding every attempt to save her, a total loss.

Milnor, the South Carolinian, lay asleep on a pile of sails at the foot of the foremast. McLeod, another of our men, with Dorsey, the Jerseyman, were asleep in the forecastle. The cabin lamp was burning on the table when I went below, and Captain Amiel lay snoring in his berth, sound asleep in his state-room. In the state-room on the other side of the cabin slept the steward and second mate, the former on top, the latter in the second berth, the third and lowest sleeping-place being unoccupied.

"The weather being sultry, the doors of the state-rooms had been taken off, so that not only were the rooms open from the cabin, but my room, in the rear of the captain's, opened into his, the door between being also down. I took my coat and vest off very leisurely, and swallowed a draught of cherry brandy before getting into bed, so that I should think it was eleven when I retired. It could not have been more than ten minutes later when I was awakened from a light sleep by a peculiar sound in the captain's room, which I knew instinctively could only have been produced by an axe cleaving Amiel's skull. No sooner did the '*thush*' strike upon my ear than I leaped out of bed, and leaning against the door-casing in the partition, saw the steward dart through the twilight—for he had extinguished the light, noiseless as a cat—across the cabin, toward the second mate's room. I also saw, at the same glance, Captain Amiel rise from his berth and attempt to follow him; but the blood blinded him, and he fell to the floor with a horrid gurgling sound in his throat. All this was the work of a second. The cleaving of the skull, like the flash from a gun preceding the report, was followed by a weak, faint cry, like that of a sick child, and the gurgling in the throat. I knew then that his wound was mortal. Stooping sideways, the steward entered the second mate's cabin, and once more swung his axe, but not so effectively.

"The mate started up with a 'G—d d—n you, don't strike me again,' and clutched at the steward's breast; but eluding the wounded man, he ran on deck to where the man was lying near the wheel-house, and keeping his axe behind him, demanded 'what all this noise was about?' The mate, who had been aroused by the outcries of the captain and second mate, had raised himself up on his elbow and stared at the steward in a half stupid, half fascinated way, not seeing the pistol which Stedding, the man at the helm, had pointed at him for use in case of necessity. As he turned his face toward the steward, the latter drove his weapon home into the base of his skull. Stedding and the steward then tumbled him overboard. He rose on the wave with a hoarse cry, when about two lengths astern, the water having raised him; but he must have soon gone down to his long account.

"Then the steward came down to the cabin, where I still was, while Stedding stood, pistol in hand, guarding the deck. The captain cried faintly twice to me by name, 'Help me—help me;' but he was past help. Another swishing blow of the axe, and he did not repeat the cry. Then the steward returned to the second mate's cabin, where, seated on a pile of starch boxes, his legs drawn up and his head between his knees, was the half-stupefied man. Again and again the axe fell, and again and again the cry, 'Don't do that,' fell on my ear, each time fainter than the last. Stedding now came down, and the steward and he took the corpse of the captain by the feet, and dragging it up the companion-way, tossed it overboard. Meantime I had got some irons out, hoping to intercede to save bloodshed. Stedding and the steward once more came down, and each taking the second mate by the shoulder, led him out from the place where he had crouched on the starch boxes. He seemed to walk with their assistance, as they went up the companion-way, but his head lay a pulpy mass upon his shoulder, and a moment after a splash alongside told the fate of another of the privateers.

"There were three persons on board who knew nothing of all this—the two privateer sailors, and Donald McLeod, one of our sailors, whom I subsequently learned would not join the steward and Stedding in the attempt to recapture the vessel. Handing me his pistol, Stedding went forward and roused Milnor, the South Carolinian, a young man of two or three-and-twenty, from his sleep at the foot of the mainmast, and called him aft. Not seeing his comrades when he came into the cabin, he was much frightened and begged for life. The steward told him he would not kill him but iron him, and his fate must depend upon his good behavior; he wanted to spill as little blood as possible. He willingly held out his wrists for the irons. They then went forward to the forecastle and called the other privateer, Dorsey. Upon learning the condition of affairs he begged for his life, which they promised to spare if he would assist in working the ship and be true and faithful; to all of which he agreed.

"The steward now took command, and the schooner headed for the north, with a fair wind. None of us knew anything of navigation, but we trusted to good fortune and the land to enable us to make out our course. The South Carolinian was released from irons the next morning, and proved a very useful and willing fellow in working the ship. On Friday the 19th, at eight o'clock in the morning, we made the land, which became quite distinct by noon, and we kept on our way with good weather, sounding our way as we went. Of course, we had to be vigilant.

"Two of our hands might turn upon us at any moment, and McLeod was not faithful; for three days before we got in, therefore, the steward went forward and slept with them in the forecastle. Stedding, Tillman, and I managed it so that two of us were on deck all the while, and always aft of the other three. The two men on watch carried the two pistols, and the one that slept always kept

With the S. J. Waring, there came on the same day into the harbor of New York the brig Cuba, which had been re-captured by her original captain and crew under similar circumstances.*

one eye open, lest we might be attacked. On Sunday morning, July 21st, at nine o'clock, we got a pilot off Sandy Hook, and soon after hired a tug for $60 to tow us up to New York, where we arrived about four P.M., truly thankful for our great deliverance."

Tillman, the negro steward, became the hero of the day, and his history, personal appearance, and character were minutely investigated. He was described as "of medium height, rather strongly built, crisp hair, of nearly unmixed negro blood, and bearing in his countenance an expression of honesty and strong common sense, with some touches of humor." His age was given as "twenty-seven last birthday," and his early history thus detailed: "He was born of free colored parents in Milford, Delaware. His parents moved to Providence, Rhode Island, when he was fourteen years old, and he has since called that place his home. He has followed the sea for years, and has been in the employ of Jonas Smith & Co., No. 227 Front Street (New York), by whom the Waring was owned, for the last three years."

* The following account is derived from the log of Captain Strout:

"Sailed from Trinidad de Cuba for London on July 2, with a cargo of sugar and molasses. On the morning of July 4, in latitude 21° 10′, longitude 78° 16′, on the south side of Cuba, was brought to by a shot from the privateer steamer Sumter, formerly the Marquis de la Habana, and on heaving to was boarded by a boat from her, and ordered to come on board the steamer and bring my ship's papers. The steamer at the time had the Stars and Stripes flying from her peak, which were afterward taken down and the secession flag hoisted. On arriving on board I was ordered below in the cabin, and delivered my papers to the captain, who, after examining them, destroyed them, saying that I was a prisoner, and that the brig should be taken into port and sold. At this time Captain Shoppy, of the brig Machias, of Machias, came on board, and after presenting his ship's papers, which were destroyed, we were told to go on board our vessels, and that they would be towed to some port in Cuba.

"Hawsers were then got out, and the two brigs were taken in tow; this was about twelve o'clock, 4th July, and the brigs continued in tow until four A.M., July 5th, when the hawser of the Machias parted; the Cuba was towed some ten miles farther, when she was let off and search made for the Machias. On coming up again, they could not get near enough to our brig to get the hawser, on account of the heavy sea, when she proceeded on with the Machias. All sail was then made for Cuba, and she was headed in for land, having received a prize crew of five men, consisting of one midshipman, two sailors, and two marines, who threatened, 'in case Captain Strout and his men refused to work the vessel, they would shoot them.' Continued working the vessel in toward the eastward until the 7th, when the officer concluded to keep her off for some Southern port, where he could run her in or on shore."

On the night of the 8th Captain Strout succeeded, after a desperate resistance on the part of the sailors and marines in regaining possession of his vessel.

On the 14th of July the midshipman managed to get possession of a pistol, by breaking open a chest while all hands were engaged in working the ship, and with it went up to the maintop. Captain Strout coming on deck, and seeing the pistol in his hand, turned to go below for arms, when the midshipman threatened to shoot him if he did. The captain, however, went below, procured a revolver, and ordered him down on the deck. On his refusal two shots were fired at him, one of which taking effect in his shoulder, he came down.

The young prize officer had been a United States midshipman, and was a graduate of the Naval School at Annapolis. He gave the following account of his capture:

"I tried to work the ship with Captain Strout's crew, and had given positive orders to the men to keep their arms on, and help to work, whether seamen or not, wherever it was possible. The men neglected it; and I, for the first time in four days and nights had left mine off, they being in the bunk below at the time of Captain Strout's movement. I had laid myself down on deck and gone asleep. When I awoke I found all the men aft, without arms, and six men, Captain Strout, his mate, and five men, ranged opposite and around me, with arms in their hands. I immediately went below, having been permitted to pass them, with the intention of getting my arms, but I found them gone; and when I returned on deck I met the captain and his mate facing me, with my pistols. The captain demanded my surrender, and said he had my arms.

"As soon as I got up to him he ordered me forward, and said everything should be done fairly with us, etc. He put us in irons, but not having sufficient he tied several of the men with ropes. He took my irons off an hour after; but I was watched, and afterward locked up."

CHAPTER XLIX.

The Privateer Sumter.—Her History and Construction.—Armament and Officers.—Her escape from New Orleans.—An eventful Cruise.—Arrival at Gibraltar.—The Privateer Petrel.—Her Destruction by the St. Lawrence.—The Dixie and her triumphs.—The mystery of Privateering.—The seizure of the St. Nicholas.—An "Artful Dodger."—His capture at last.—Cutting out of Schooner Judah.—A formidable attempt of New Orleans.—The Enemy's Flotilla. A Steam Ram. · Its Construction.—Commodore Hollins.—The United States Fleet.—Hollins' Attack.—A Jubilant Bulletin.—The other side.—The Breaking of the Blockade.—Voyage of the Bermuda.—Arrival of the Nashville in England.

1861. THE most adventurous of the Confederate privateers, and the most successful, as she so long eluded the constant pursuit of the Federal cruisers, was the Sumter. She was first called the Colon, and subsequently the Marquis de la Habana. She was an iron screw-steamer, built at Montreal, and was for a time engaged in the packet service between New Orleans and Havana. Having made the passage between these two ports in less time than any other, she had the reputation of being a remarkably fast sailer. Originally owned by Spanish Americans, she was chartered by the faction of Miramon, claiming the Government of Mexico, and being captured by a United States squadron off Vera Cruz, was sent to New Orleans for adjudication. After being subjected to a trial for piracy, the vessel was returned to her original owners.

She was now purchased by some citizens of New Orleans, and thoroughly overhauled. Her old engines and boilers were taken out and new ones put in below the water-line. Her upper works, with her cabins for passengers, were removed, and a clear deck, fore and aft, thus secured. She was pierced for four guns on each side. She was armed with a rifled eighty-two pounder, mounted on a swivel amidship, and eight thirty-two pounders. The bulwarks were so arranged, that this extensive armament might be concealed from passing vessels. The large swivel gun was hidden from view by means of a wooden structure which had the appearance of a permanent galley, but which could be taken to pieces in a few minutes. The vessel was thoroughly braced and strengthened in every part, and well-manned and equipped. Her crew, consisting of sixty-five sailors and twenty-five marines, were picked men, and her captain and officers remarkable for their skill and enterprise. The look of the Sumter would seem to have been by no means attractive. She is described as an "awkwardly rigged bark, having the appearance of being half merchantman, half man-of-war. Her masts appear strongly set, and her sails are much too small for a vessel of her build. She carries three trysails, all of them being much larger than those

usually carried by a sailing vessel (we say sailing vessel, because it is a trick of the captain to take down the smoke-stack and pass himself as a sailing vessel, a ruse that has been successful). She has a fore staysail and jib. She has two large quarter boats, and one hanging at the stern. She also carries top-gallant sails. Her courses are deep, particularly the mainsail, and her top-sails bear the appearance of having a reef in them. A vessel of good sailing qualities can find no difficulty in running away from her, provided such a course is deemed advisable. The range of her largest gun is 2,000 yards, at high elevation; but the execution is small at a greater distance than 1,500 yards. Her other guns have been supplied from the Norfolk Navy Yard."*

Closely watched by the sloop-of-war Brooklyn, blockading the mouths of the Mississippi, the Sumter made several ineffectual attempts to elude her vigilance, but finally succeeded in making her escape after being chased four hours. (July 7.) "With three cheers for the Southern Confederacy," the Sumter sailed upon her adventurous cruise, and immediately began a series of ravages upon Northern commerce, which every effort failed to check. Making a course for the West Indies, she captured eight American vessels on the south side of Cuba, and burned one ship, the Golden Rocket, near the Isle of Pines. She afterward cruised for a time on the South American coast, in the neighborhood of Guiana and Brazil, but having extended her voyages as far as the coast of Spain, burning and capturing many vessels, finally put into Gibraltar, where being blockaded by the United States gunboat Tuscarora, she was sold.

The little Petrel, formerly the revenue cutter Aiken, was disposed to be no less adventurous, but proved less successful than the Sumter. On the very first day after leaving the harbor of Charleston, (Aug. 1.) she, with blind recklessness, threw herself into the fatal embrace of a powerful Federal man-of-war—the United States frigate St. Lawrence—having mistaken her for a merchantman.*

* Captain and officers of the privateer Sumter:

COMMANDER.—Raphael Semmes.

LIEUTENANTS.—John M. Kells, R. F. Chapman, W. E. Evans, J. M. Stribling.

PAYMASTER.—Henry Myers.

PASSED ASSISTANT SURGEON.—Francis I. Golt.

LIEUTENANT OF MARINES.—Beckett K. Howell.

MIDSHIPMEN.—R. F. Armstrong, Wm. A. Hicks, A. G. Hudgins, J. D. Wilson.

GUNNER.—Thomas C. Cuddy.

SAILMAKER.—M. P. Beaufort.

FIRST ASSISTANT ENGINEER, ACTING AS CHIEF.—M. J. Freeman.

SECOND ASSISTANT.—W. P. Brooks.

THIRD ASSISTANTS.—Matthew O'Brien, S. W. Cummings.

The Sumter is 1,137 tons register, 184 feet long, 30 feet beam, and 13 feet depth of hold.

* The story is well told in this account of her destruction:

"The St. Lawrence had been cruising for a month along the Atlantic coast, between Cape Henry and Savannah, and on the morning of the 1st of August, while just outside the harbor of Charleston, espied a long, rakish schooner, filled with men and mounting three or four guns, sailing rapidly down upon her. The port-holes were still shut, but the flag was at the peak, and the St. Lawrence looked not unlike a great lubberly merchantman becalmed in a strange latitude, and too unwieldy for any purposes save the holding of a big cargo for the avarice of an enemy to court and a daring privateer to secure.

"As the stranger came down, the St. Lawrence hoisted all sail and affected to be anxious to get out to sea. In reality, however, she was edging closer in to shore, and making arrangements below to receive the reckless visit-



From the very nature of these privateering enterprises—which to be successful must be conducted with the utmost secrecy—they are involved in a mystery

ers with appropriate largess. Directly a shot came skipping over the water, falling into the sea a few rods ahead of the frigate, and a number followed it in quick succession, but nearly all either striking beyond or passing over. The final discharge consisted of grape and canister, which made some little dalliance with the frigate's rigging, and admonished the commander that the play was growing serious.

"At this time the vessels were within speaking distance, and a man in uniform was seen mounted upon the pirate's deck, who shouted to the St. Lawrence to lay to and send over a boat. The crew were distinctly seen flourishing their cutlasses, and the gunners ramming and pointing their guns. She carried three guns, supposed to be rifled cannon. Then the St. Lawrence threw up her ports, and disclosed a whole broadside of cannon, with the gunners behind the guns holding lighted fuses, and directly the broad decks were filled with seamen in blue jackets, armed with muskets, who sprang into the shrouds and ran out on the yards, laying prone in the maintop, on the bowsprit, and at every point where aim could be taken with advantage. In a word, the ugly merchant was metamorphosed into a bristling war-ship, with a man at every point, and a broadside of cannon looking into the eyes of the pirates. The latter, taken aback, recoiled a moment, but before they had time for action, even for thought, the guns belched forth their iron messengers, splintering the masts, cutting the rigging and the sails as with knives, breaking the spars and the booms, and literally carving the schooner into pieces, and opening gulfs into which the water rushed as through sluices, filling the hold, and admonishing the rebels that their sole hopes of life lay in the ship's boat, or in wrestling with the sea.

"The fire still continued, and the water was full of driftwood. Many of the men leaped overboard, and the rest, launching the life-boat, jumped in and held up a white handkerchief as a sign of surrender. But one man had an opportunity to go down into the cabin for his property, and he was the lieutenant, named Harvey, formerly a midshipman in the United States service, under command of Captain Sartori. Harvey recovered his trunk.

"The St. Lawrence still continued the fire with small arms, but directing their aim at the hulk, and not at the small boat, the crew, excepting four men, were not injured. In ten minutes from the time of the discharge of her first gun, the Petrel swayed heavily and went under, carrying down four men of her crew. The officers of the St. Lawrence now discovered the life-boat and the flag of humiliation. They dropped a boat and made out the rebels, and finally passed them on board ship, where they were ironed as fast as received, and securely confined below. In the engagement, the St. Lawrence received two shots, one in the foresail, the other in the quarter-deck. She transferred her prisoners to the steamer Flag on Sunday morning, and they were at once brought to Philadelphia." --*Philadelphia Press.*

The people of Charleston, however, consoled themselves for the loss of the Petrel, with the triumphs of the Dixie, whose successes were thus described in the Charleston *Mercury:*

"The thunders of a Confederate salute in our harbor yesterday morning set all the town agog with curiosity. A general rush to the wharves resulted in the ascertainment of the fact, that the gay little privateer Dixie, safe from the perils of fire and water and Yankee cruisers was again under the guns of Castle Pinckney. We are indebted to the courtesy of Captain Moore, the gallant and enterprising captain, for an interesting account of the adventures of the cruise. Aug. 28.

"The Dixie weighed anchor in Charleston harbor July 18. On the following day, aided by a stiff breeze, she succeeded in getting out safely to sea. By what channel her exit was accomplished, we leave to the serene contemplation of the 'cute blockaders, who permitted the saucy little craft to slip through their fingers. The privateer pursued a southeasterly course, without any incident of special moment, until Tuesday, the 23d ult At an early hour on that day Captain Moore made a sail upon the lee quarter, and tacking ship, soon overhauled her. A gun fired across the bow of the stranger speedily brought her to. The captain was ordered to come on board the Dixie, and his papers showed his vessel to be the bark Glen, of Portland, Maine, bound to Fort Jefferson, Tortugas, with a cargo of coal. Without further ceremony the Yankee skipper was informed of the business of his captors, and made prisoner. A prize crew was put aboard the Glen, who did not take her to Fort Jefferson, and the Dixie went on her way rejoicing. On Thursday the 25th, the schooner Mary Alice, of New York, from the West Indies, with a cargo of sugar, bound for New York, hove in sight. A messenger from "long Tom" explained the meaning of the Stars and Bars, and the Mary Alice was soon a prize. [As our readers know, she was afterward recaptured by the blockaders.] On the 27th, two sails were for a short time in sight, but a heavy squall came up, accompanied by a waterspout, which passed close ahead of the privateer, and when this subsided, the vessels had disappeared. On Monday, the 29th, two sails were again descried, but the Dixie was unable to come up with them. On the 30th the hermaphrodite brig Robert R. Kirkland, of Baltimore, loaded with salt, consigned to a firm in that city, was spoken. She was, of course, permitted to pass. The captain of the brig, however, was induced to take on board the cook of the Glen, the prisoners on board the

which it is presumptuous on the part of the chronicler to attempt to penetrate. This imperfect record, therefore, is presented merely as an illustration of the general character of Southern privateering, and not as a precise narrative of the details of its conduct. "It would be impossible to describe with minuteness the cruises of the various vessels which have sailed under letters of marque to prey upon Northern commerce. Many successful as well as unsuccessful attempts have been made to elude the vigilance of the Federal blockade; numerous prizes have been captured and re-captured; some depredations have been committed with impunity, while others have been signally avenged; not a few vessels have been robbed, burned, or sunk by the enemy's cruisers, which in other instances have been arrested in their destructive career by the activity of our cruisers. In these enterprises great daring, skill, and ingenuity have been displayed on both sides." The seizure of the steamer St. Nicholas, in Chesapeake Bay, was a successful exploit on the part of the enemy, accomplished by means of a clever ruse which was applaudingly narrated by a sympathizing writer* of Baltimore. It

June 28.

Dixie having become more numerous than was desirable. On the evening of the 31st, no less than nine sails were visible. About sundown the Dixie gave chase to one of these vessels, which, from information obtained from one of the prisoners, was believed to be the bark Albertina, armed with two rifled cannon. Two of the guns of the privateer were loaded with grape and canister, and when the stranger was sufficiently near, a shot was fired across her bow, which had the desired effect of bringing her to. She proved to be the bark Rowena, of Philadelphia, from Laguayra, with coffee, for Philadelphia. The Rowena, as well as her coffee, was, of course, duly 'bagged.' But inasmuch as her crew numbered thirteen, besides four passengers, Captain Moore deemed it prudent to go aboard of her himself as prize-master, taking with him several of the prisoners, and leaving on board the Dixie a crew of four men, under command of Lieutenant L. D. Benton, with the remainder of the prisoners. The privateer being now in latitude 30° 38′, longitude 76° 25′, and with the bark Rowena in her wake, was headed west. On the 2d of August she made a strange steamer, but managed to elude her. On Sunday the 4th of August, before daylight, a vessel's light was discovered to the eastward, but the Dixie kept shy of her. Shortly after daybreak, a steamer was plainly seen in the same direction. For a while she gave chase to the Dixie, but Lieutenant Benton finding himself off a well-known and convenient harbor of our coast, now a port of entry, decided to run in without delay. The steamer, finding her chase ineffectual, hauled off to the southward.

"The subsequent adventures," concludes the writer, "of the gallant little craft are not of a nature to interest our readers. Suffice it to say that she did not again venture far out from shore, but passed through the 'efficient' blockade, and with guns booming and colors flying, yesterday forenoon startled from their gravity the quiet people of this 'nest of rebellion.'"

* He thus records the "brilliant exploit:"

"The St. Nicholas, Captain Jacob Kirwan, left this city on Friday morning last, having on board about forty-five passengers. Among those who went aboard the boat previous to her departure from this city was a very respectable 'French lady,' who was heavily veiled, and pleading indisposition, she was immediately shown to her state-room. There were also a party of about twenty-five men dressed in the garb of mechanics, carrying with them carpenters', tinners', blacksmiths', and other tools.

"The boat left at the usual hour for Point Lookout, and other points on the Potomac River, and everything passed off as usual until the boat arrived at Point Lookout on Saturday morning last.

"When near Point Lookout, the 'French lady' appeared on deck, not in crinoline, but in the person of a stalwart man, who was immediately surrounded by the party of mechanics above alluded to. Captain Kirwan demanded an explanation, when the 'lady-man' coolly informed him that he designed confiscating the steamer and going on a privateering expedition. Finding himself overpowered, Captain Kirwan was compelled to submit quietly, and the boat was formally handed over to the man and his crew, who took possession, and proceeded to run the steamer to a point known as 'The Cone,' on the Virginia shore.

"Upon landing at the 'The Cone,' the steamer was boarded by a body of about 1,000 Virginia troops, when the passengers were all landed and allowed to go on their way unmolested. About 150 of the troops were then placed on board the steamer, Captain Kirwan and fourteen of the crew being retained as prisoners.

"Leaving the shore, the steamer was run down as far as the mouth of the Rappahannock River, where the 'new

is satisfactory to record that this "artful dodger," variously known as Col. Richard Thomas, Zouave, and the "French lady," was caught in a second attempt. Having returned to Maryland he took passage on board the steamer May Washington, bound to Baltimore, but was detected before he was able to carry out his purpose of capturing her. He strove to outface his captors by a protest against the invasion of his rights as a passenger. This failing, he escaped from those who had seized him, and tried to hide himself from further pursuit by taking to a chest of drawers. He was, however, dragged out, and securely held until the arrival of the vessel at Baltimore, when he was thrust into Fort McHenry, and retained as a prisoner.*

One of the most formidable efforts of the enemy on the water, however, was made against the Federal blockading fleet off New Orleans. This en- Oct. 11.

captain' hailed three large brigs, which were lying off a few miles from Fredericksburgh. The vessels were immediately boarded by the privateer, and not having a sufficient force on board to offer any resistance, they were all then quietly delivered over to the party as prizes. The prizes, one of which was laden with coffee, a second with ice, and the third with coal, were run into Fredericksburgh, Virginia, and delivered into the possession of the Virginians, the steamer being kept at that port, together with her captain and crew.

"Captain Norris, the clerk of the St. Nicholas, together with five of the stewards, came passengers on board the Express, having been released at the 'The Cone,' who give the above particulars."

* This official report of the cutting out of the schooner Judah, while lying off the Pensacola Navy Yard, records a "brilliant exploit" of another character, executed by the Federal officers and sailors of our navy. Its dash and success, showing the greatest gallantry and skill on the part of our brave seamen in their true character, are more than a set-off to the impudent ingenuity of the artful captain of the enemy in disguise of the "French lady." Aug. 13.

"OFF FORT PICKENS, *Sept.* 15, 1861.

"SIR," wrote Captain Mervine to the Secretary of the Navy, "I have the honor to inform you that a boat expedition was fitted out from this ship on the night of the 13th instant, consisting of the first launch, and first, second, and third cutters, under the commands of Lieutenants Russell, Sproston, Blake, and Midshipman Steece, respectively assisted by Captain Reynolds of the marines, Assistant-Surgeon Kennedy, Assistant-Engineer White, Gunner Horton, and Midshipmen Forrest and Higginson. The whole force detailed consisted of about 100 men, officers, sailors, and marines. The object of the expedition was the destruction of a schooner which lay off the Pensacola Navy Yard, supposed to be fitting out as a privateer, and the spiking of a gun, in battery, at the southeast end of the yard.

"The movements of the schooner had been assiduously watched for several days and nights, and I deemed it so morally certain that she was intended for a privateer, that I determined the attempt should be made to destroy her, even in face of the fearful odds which would have to be encountered. Lieutenant Russell had charge of the expedition, and, with Lieutenant Blake, was to attack the vessel, while Lieutenant Sproston and Midshipman Steece spiked the guns.

"The attack was made on the morning of the 14th instant at half-past three o'clock. The schooner, named the Judah, was found moored to the wharf, under the protection of a battery and field piece, and to be armed with a pivot and four broadside guns. Her crew were on her, and prepared to receive our forces, pouring in a volley of musketry as the boat neared the vessel. A desperate resistance was made from the decks of the schooner, but her men were driven off on to the wharf by our boarders, where they rallied and were joined by the guard, and kept up a continued fire upon our men.

"In the mean time the vessel was set on fire in several places. That which finally consumed her was lighted in the cabin by Assistant-Engineer White and a coal-heaver, Patrick Driscoll, who went as a volunteer. She burned to the water's edge, and has since, while burning, been set free from her moorings, and has drifted down opposite Fort Barrancas, where she sunk.

"Of the party assigned to the spiking of the gun, only Lieutenant Sproston and Gunner Boreton were able, after considerable search, to find it, the party becoming separated in the darkness. No opposition was made to their landing. Midshipman Steece, with his command, had gone to the aid of those on the schooner, where he performed valuable service. Very fortunately only one man was found in charge of the gun, and he immediately levelled his piece at Lieutenant Sproston, but was shot down by Gunner Horton before he could obtain certain aim. Both pieces exploded simultaneously. The gun, which was found to be a 10-inch columbiad, was immediately spiked, and, bringing off its tompion, these two officers returned to their boat.

"The work proposed having thus been well and thor-

terprise, although undertaken by what was properly termed by the Confederates a portion of their regular navy, under the command of one of their commodores, was conducted with all the mystery and artifice of the more irregular of their nautical proceedings.

The enemy had extemporized a flotilla consisting of a steam-tug or "ram," the Manassas, mounted with one sixty-four pounder Dahlgren; the steamer Calhoun, with one twenty-four pounder Dahlgren; the steamer Ivy, with an eight-inch thirty-two pounder, rifled; the steamer Jackson, with two eight-inch columbiads; the steamer McRea, with a sixty-four pounder on a pivot, four eight-inch columbiads, and a twenty-four pounder, rifled; and the cutter Pickens, with an eight-inch columbiad and four twenty-four-pound carronades. The Manassas had been converted from the steam-tug Enoch Train into a "ram" of peculiar construction. She was double planked all over with wood of six feet in thickness. Her bow extended to a length of nine feet, made of the thickest and strongest oak timber. This, together with the whole surface of the vessel, was covered with iron plates, two inches thick. Her hull rose only two feet and a quarter above the water, and her deck was covered in with a slanting roof of heavy wood covered with iron plates. From her bow, below the water-mark, projected an iron borer, as thick as a man's arm, intended to pierce and sink any vessel she might oppose. Her lowness in the water rendered her but little exposed to shot, while her iron-mail was said to be impenetrable to the heaviest cannon-ball.

Captain Hollins, whose fame had hitherto rested upon his exploit at San Juan,

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oughly done in the short space of fifteen minutes, and the whole force of the enemy in the yard—reported by deserters as over 1,000 strong—being aroused, our boats pulled away, and rallying at a short distance from the shore, fired six charges of canister from their howitzers into the yard, with what result it is impossible to say. Three of the enemy are known to have been killed, and our officers are confident the number is much larger. The boats then returned to the ship, arriving there about daylight.

"But, sir, I am grieved to report that this brilliant affair was not unattended by loss on our side. I have to report as killed by shots from the cross-trees of the schooner, while the boats were approaching, boatswain's mate Charles H. Lamphere, and John R. Herring, seaman and captain of the howitzer, two of the best men in our ship, and marine John Smith—the first man to board the schooner, and who behaved most gallantly—who was, by a sad mistake, having lost his distinguishing mark, killed by one of our own men. We have wounded, probably mortally, seamen R. Clark and E. K. Osborn; severely, nine other seamen. Captain Reynolds received a severe contusion on his shoulder, and Midshipman Higginson had the end of his thumb shot off. Lieutenants Russell and Blake had narrow escapes, the flesh of each being grazed by one or more musket-balls.

"It is not an easy task to select individual instances of daring or bravery where all behaved so gallantly. The officers unite in giving great credit to the coolness and bravery with which they were supported by the men, and the latter have learned to look with new pride and confidence on the former. The marines, especially, seem to have sustained the reputation borne by their branch of the service, as they receive encomiums from all sides. Assistant-Surgeon Kennedy rendered valuable assistance in the care of the wounded. Assistant-Engineer White brought down from the cross-trees of the schooner a man who had been seen to fire upon the boats, killing him instantly. I inclose, herewith, a complete list of all engaged in the affair, with the names of the killed and wounded in each boat. I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"WILLIAM MERVINE,

"Flag Officer Commanding Gulf Blockade Squadron.

"P. S. By a strange inadvertency, my mind being so much engrossed with the expedition itself, I omitted to give credit to Captain Bailey, of this ship, for maturing the plan and taking charge of fitting out the expedition to the minutest detail. It is to his thoughtfulness that a great portion of its success must be ascribed. W. M."

where he had burnt to ashes an unresisting town, was the commodore of this flotilla.

The United States fleet, which he now sailed out to attack, was composed of the Richmond, 14 guns, the Vincennes, 21 guns, the Preble, 16 guns, and the small steamers Water Witch and Nightingale, of one gun each.

Choosing a dark night, Captain Hollins sailed from Fort Jackson with his formidable steam ram, his flotilla, and a number of fire-rafts. The enemy gave this account of the expedition:

"On Friday night last our fleet started from Fort Jackson, the Manassas leading the way. The night was intensely dark, and the Manassas ran into a vessel, striking her near the bow and cutting into her upward of twenty feet. Appalling shrieks were heard aboard the doomed ship; signal rockets were fired; the enemy beat to quarters, and a perfect iron hail fell upon and around the Manassas, during which her machinery became deranged. The Tuscarora and the Watson came up with five barges which had been cut loose and set adrift on the stream.

"When the morning came, our fleet commenced to pursue the retreating enemy, and a heavy cannonading began, which lasted till eight o'clock. Several shots struck the Richmond. The shots from the Yankees were badly aimed, as they did not touch one of our vessels. When the firing ended, the fleet returned to the city, with the prize schooner Joseph H. Toone, loaded with coal, and which had been deserted during the night. A large quantity of lumber, which had been intended for the construction of a fortification at the head of the Passes, was burned. The prizes captured were the Joseph H. Toone, and a launch belonging to the Federal steamer Richmond, which latter was laden with cutlasses. The vessel sunk was not the Preble, but the Vincennes. Three vessels of our expedition arrived on Saturday night."

Commodore Hollins exulted over his pretended victory in this dispatch:

"FORT JACKSON, *October* 12, 1861.

"Last night I attacked the blockaders with my little fleet. I succeeded, after a very short struggle, in driving them all aground on the Southwest Pass bar, except the Preble, which I sunk. I captured a prize from them, and after they were fast in the sand I peppered them well. There were no casualties on our side. It was a complete success.

"HOLLINS."*

* Hollins' statements, however, are positively contradicted in this official report of Captain Pope to the flag officer of the United States fleet:

"UNITED STATES STEAMER RICHMOND, SOUTHWEST PASS OF MISSISSIPPI RIVER, *Oct.* 13, 1861.

"SIR: I have the honor to make the following report: At 3.45 A.M., October 12, 1861, while the watch on deck were employed in taking coal on board from the schooner Joseph H. Toone, a ram was discovered in close proximity to this ship. By the time the alarm could be given, she had struck the ship abreast of the port fore channels, tearing the schooner from her fastenings and forcing a hole through the ship's side. Passing aft, the ram endeavored to effect a breach in the stern, but failed. Three planks in the ship's side were stove in about two feet below the water-line, making a hole about five inches in circumference. At the first alarm, the crew promptly and coolly repaired to their quarters, and as the ram passed abreast of the ship, the entire port battery was discharged at her, with what effect it is impossible to discover, owing to the darkness. A red light was shown as a signal of danger, and the squadron was under way in a very few minutes, having

The Confederates dwelt with great complacency upon the success with which various vessels had eluded the Federal blockade—boasting of the voyage of the steamer Bermuda, which sailed from Europe to Charleston with army supplies and returned with a cargo of cotton; of the escape of the Nashville and her arrival in England, after having burnt the Harvey Birch in the English Channel, and of the hitherto fortunate ventures of the Fingal, Isabel, Theodora, and others.

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slipped their cables. I ordered the Preble and Vincennes to proceed down the Southwest Pass, while I covered their retreat, which they did at about 4.50 A.M. At this time, three large fire-rafts, stretching across the river, were rapidly nearing us, while several larger steamers and a bark-rigged propeller were seen astern of them.

"The squadron proceeded down the river in the following order: 1st, the Preble; 2d, the Vincennes; 3d, the Richmond; 4th, the Water Witch with the prize schooner Frolic in tow. When abreast of the pilot settlement, the pilot informed me that he did not consider it safe to venture to turn this ship in the river, but that he believed he could pass over the bar. I accordingly attempted to pass over the bar with the squadron, but in the passage the Vincennes and Richmond grounded, while the Preble went over clear. This occurred about eight o'clock, and the enemy, who were now down the river with the fire steamers, commenced firing at us, while we returned the fire from our port battery and rifled gun on the poop, our shot, however, falling short of the enemy, while their shell burst on all sides of us, and several passed directly over the ship.

"At 9.30, Commander Handy, of the Vincennes, mistaking my signal to the ships outside the bar, to get under way, for a signal for him to abandon his ship, came on board the Richmond with all his officers and a large number of his crew, the remainder having gone on board the Water Witch. Captain Handy, before leaving his ship, had placed a lighted slow-match at the magazine. Having waited a reasonable time for an explosion, I directed Commander Handy to return to his ship, with his crew, to start his water, and, if necessary, at his own request, to throw overboard his small guns, for the purpose of lightening his ship, and to carry out his kedge with a cable to heave off by. At ten A.M. the enemy ceased firing, and withdrew up the river. During the engagement a shell entered our quarter port, and one of the boats was stove by another shell.

"I have this morning succeeded in getting this ship over the bar. The McClellan and South Carolina are using all exertions to get the Vincennes off. The Nightingale is hard and fast ashore to the end of the bar. I have succeeded in reducing the leak of this ship so that our small engines keep the ship free. This is only temporary, and the ship will have to go to some place and have three planks put in. I have received rifle guns and placed the thirty-two-pounder on the forecastle, and the twelve-pounder on the poop. Could I have possibly managed this ship in any other way than keeping her head up and down the river, I would have stopped at Pilot Town to give battle, but this was found too hazardous, owing to her extreme length. The attempt was made, but a broadside could not be brought to bear without running the ship ashore. I then concluded, as advised, to start for the bar, and trust to finding water enough to cross.

"In narrating the affair of the river, I omitted to state that the ram sunk one of our large cutters, and a shot from the enemy stove the gig. I am pleased to say that the Vincennes is afloat, and at anchor outside on my starboard quarter. Assistant-Surgeon Robinson, from the Vincennes, is ordered to temporary duty on board this ship. Assistant-Surgeon Howell, condemned by survey, will return in the McClellan. The master of the Nightingale will deliver fifty tons of coal to the McClellan. This, together with what I will take out, will, I trust, lighten her so that we can haul her off.

"Very respectfully, JOHN POPE, Captain.

"To Flag Officer WM. A. MCKEAN."

CHAPTER L.

Naval Resources of the United States.—Navy and Commercial Marine.—Tardy action of Government.—Action at last. —Naval Expeditions.—Blockade.—Expedition to Hatteras.—Rendezvous at Fortress Monroe.—The Fleet.—How composed.—The Troops.—How composed.—The Commanders-in-chief.—Life and Naval Career of Commodore Stringham.—Secrecy of the Object of the Expedition.—How disclosed.—The Object explained.—The Coast of North Carolina described.—Inlets and Sounds.—Hatteras Inlet.—Enemy's Fortifications.—Forts Hatteras and Clark.—Arrival of the Fleet off Hatteras.—Place for disembarkation selected.—The Landing of Troops.—Difficulties and Disasters.—The Troops Landed.—Their embarrassment.—Position of the war vessels.—The Monticello aground.—Fire from the Enemy.—Response from the Monticello.—Fort Clark abandoned by the Enemy.—Movement of the Troops on land.—Sufferings.—Renewed action of the war vessels.—Great effect of Bombardment.—A successful shot.—The day settled.—The White Flag raised.—Negotiations for surrender.—Disagreement.—Terms agreed to.—Surrender of the Enemy.—General Butler's Official Dispatch.—Official Reports of the Enemy.—Commodore Barron's account of the fight, and his surrender.

THE Federal Government, with a well-organized navy at its command and the enormous commercial marine of the North at its service, possessed a powerful means of carrying on the war, which the insurgent slave States, with their meagre naval resources, had great reason to dread; but, with its ships of war designedly scattered, as it was suspected, over the seas of the world, by an administration under the control of men conspiring to dissolve the Union, and suddenly confronted with an enemy whose hostility and power our statesmen persistently continued to underrate, was slow in deriving advantage from its superiority on the sea. Aroused at last to the necessity of exercising its full power in a war the formidable character of which could no longer be concealed, the Government brought to bear the powerful means of offence offered by its navy and the commercial marine. The men-of-war were recalled from remote foreign stations and employed in the blockade of the extensive coast of the insurgent slave States; merchant craft, sailing vessels, and steamers of all kinds were chartered and purchased, and fleets of gun-boats rapidly constructed.

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It was thus that the Federal Government was enabled, in addition to giving efficiency to the blockade, to commence a series of expeditions to the Southern coast. The first was that to Hatteras, off North Carolina, which will now be described.

Fortress Monroe having been made the rendezvous for the various vessels, the expedition sailed thence on the 26th of August. It was composed of two steam frigates, the Minnesota, Captain G. A. Van Brunt—the flag-ship of Commodore Stringham, who was the naval chief in command—and the Wabash, Captain Mercer; three gun-boats, the Pawnee, Captain Rowan, the Monticello, Commander Gillis, and

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the Harriet Lane, Captain Faunce; and two transports, the Adelaide and the George Peabody. To these were added several old hulks, to be filled with stones and sunk in the channels, and a number of surf and flat boats for landing the troops. The steam frigate Susquehannah subsequently joined the fleet. The troops, which for the most part embarked on the transports, were composed of 500 men of the Twentieth Regiment of New York Volunteers, Colonel Max Weber; 220 of the Ninth Regiment of New York Volunteers, Colonel Hawkins; 100 of the Union Coast Guard, Captain Nixon, and one company of the United States Artillery, Lieutenant Larned, making in all about 900 soldiers. To General Butler had been intrusted the military and to Commodore Stringham the naval command of the expedition. Of the former, the readers of this history have been duly informed; of the latter, a veteran naval commander, there is an honorable record of service which it is proper now to exhibit.

Silas H. Stringham was born at Newburg, in the State of New York, in the year 1796. His first naval service was as a midshipman on board the frigate President, Commodore Rodgers, in 1809. In 1830 he commanded the Falmouth, on the West Indian station. From 1835 to 1837 he held a command in the Mediterranean; at its close he was ordered to the Porpoise and sent in search of a pirate then cruising on our coast. In 1842 he commanded the Independence, attached to the home squadron, and in 1847 he took command of the Ohio, dispatched on special service to Brazil. He was subsequently placed in command at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, where he remained until the Mexican war, when he again took charge of the Ohio, and led the squadron in the successful bombardment of Vera Cruz and the capture of the Castle San Juan d'Ulloa. In 1852 he sailed in command of the Mediterranean squadron, and on his return in 1855 was appointed commandant of the navy yard at Charlestown, in Massachusetts. At the commencement of the war he was ordered to the chief command of the naval force blockading the coast of the hostile States. It was while on this service that he was called to conduct the first naval expedition.

Though studious efforts had been made to conceal the place of attack, the public at the North, and more especially the enemy at the South, had discovered it. The object of the expedition was to take possession of Hatteras and the other inlets on the coast of North Carolina, which the enemy had defended by various fortifications. These inlets are passages from the Atlantic Ocean to the sounds or lagoons shut in from the sea by those long stretches of sand beaches peculiar to the coast of North Carolina. The command of these sounds, of which the principal are Pamlico and Albemarle, was of eminent advantage to the enemy, as they afforded not only means of ready exit and entrance through the inlets to privateers and vessels desirous of eluding the Federal cruisers, but an interior communication by the Dismal

Swamp Canal with the Chesapeake. To secure the possession of these inlets, the principal ones had been protected by fortifications. Old Topsail Inlet, leading to Beaufort (N. C.), was defended by a granite fort, strongly built and mounted with forty guns. This was originally constructed at the expense of the Federal Government, but was seized by the insurgents of Carolina. Ocracoke Inlet, farther north, was also defended by a work built by the United States, termed Fort Morgan. Hatteras Inlet, some forty miles still farther north, near the cape whence it derives its name, had been but recently formed by the action of the sea on these ever-shifting sand beaches. This new channel, connecting the ocean with Pamlico Sound, and allowing the passage of vessels drawing fifteen feet of water, was much used by the enemy in their restricted commerce, and they had made great efforts to secure it. They had here constructed two forts, called Hatteras and Clark. The chief object of the naval expedition was to destroy or gain possession of them, and thus wrest the command of Hatteras Inlet from the enemy.

On the evening of the 27th of August, the fleet, with the exception of the Susquehannah, arrived off Hatteras, and the object of the expedition was officially announced to those engaged in it. Continuing to close in with the land, on the next morning all the vessels, with the exception of the Susquehannah, which did not arrive until later in the day, were in position to prepare for landing the troops. The place selected for the disembarkation was about three miles from Hatteras Inlet. The two hulks which had been towed from Fortress Monroe for the purpose, were now filled with troops, and the iron surf-boats and others began to convey them to the shore. In the mean time, the guns of the men-of-war were so directed as to cover their landing. The breakers were high and beating powerfully, so that the iron boats conveying the first two companies of soldiers were nearly capsized and thrown violently upon the beach, with the surf pouring in torrents over their sterns. The men were forced to leap out of the boats and wade breast-deep to the land. A boat from the Pawnee had been more successful and had succeeded on her first trip in landing her load of men high and dry, but on the second she capsized, turning every man into the water, but no one, fortunately, was drowned. The iron surf-boats it was found impracticable further to use, and every other boat which attempted to land was either upset or crushed by the breakers upon the shore. After, therefore, landing about 300 men, no other attempt was made on the first day to disembark the troops. Those landed consisted of two companies of the Twentieth New York Regiment, with Colonel Weber and Lieutenant-Colonel Harris ; a company of the Ninth New York, Captain Jardine ; a company of regular artillery, Captain Larned ; a detachment of marines from the men-of-war, commanded by Majors Doughty and Shuttleworth, some sailors from the Pawnee, under Lieutenants Crosby and Blue, and two

surgeons, Drs. King and Jones. This small force was provided with only two rifled howitzers, one of which had been disabled by the loss of a wheel in the course of the difficult landing. Much of the ammunition, moreover, had been damaged by the water, and no supply of provisions had been yet brought off from the ships. The troops were, however, formed into line, and organized as well as circumstances would allow, but, owing to their isolation, their small numbers, and their pitiable condition from the drenching in sea water to which they had been exposed, and their want of necessaries, were greatly embarrassed how to act.

In the mean time, the war vessels had taken up their position in front of the forts, and the Wabash, taking the lead, had opened fire upon Fort Clark. The naval cannonade was very heavy, and though the enemy's batteries responded at first with great spirit, they gradually relaxed their fire, and finally ceased altogether at about two o'clock in the afternoon. At this time, the Monticello, having a comparatively small draft of water, closed in with the shore and moved toward the entrance to the inlet, within fire of the other work of the enemy, Fort Hatteras. While in this position she got aground, and the Confederates opened a heavy fire upon her. The Monticello, however, responded with great spirit, and after firing fifty-five shells in fifty minutes, nearly silenced the fort. At the close, she fortunately succeeded in floating again, and moved out of range, but not until she had received seven eight-inch shot in her hull, though without serious damage to the ship or the loss of a single man.

In the mean time, the troops on shore having discovered, by means of their scouts, that Fort Clark had been abandoned, proceeded to take possession of it and hoist upon the ramparts the United States flag; but the ships of war not recognizing their own standard, again directed a heavy fire upon the fort, so that our men were obliged to evacuate it.

"In mistake," says a suffering campaigner, "the fire was thus kept up on our forces until they were compelled to retreat and leave there the stores, in the quartermaster's department, which they had found, and which they now so much needed, for they had become exhausted in their exertions to land the forces, and had then marched to the fort in wet clothes and without anything to eat since five A.M., and it was now about five P.M., and it became necessary to fall back to the landing. In doing so they captured some negroes who had been acting as cooks for the forces there, and other prisoners in arms. From these it was found that their forces were greater than ours, and that they were expecting reinforcements. No alternative was left but to be resigned to whatever fate was in store, and all tried to be as cheerful as possible. Some sheep and geese were found and 'acquired' (to use a secession phrase) by our troops, and dispatched very unceremoniously. Camp fires were then built, and our prey was roasted (or rather burned) on the bayonets and cut-

lasses, and on this the troops made their supper and breakfast. The manner in which it was served did not make it particularly inviting, but yet it was evidently very much relished in the absence of everything else. Night was now upon us, and bade fair to be stormy. Every now and again a little rain would fall and dampen our clothes, which had not become dry from the experience of the morning. Our pickets were posted around in different positions to prevent a surprise, and we bivouacked on the beach. It was an anxious night to all. While we were lying on the beach, discoursing the comfort that it would afford us to be taken prisoners and marched to Richmond, they were getting reinforcements into Fort Hatteras and were arranging to attack us, which would have resulted in our capture, for they outnumbered us, and they were on their own ground, and better organized than we were. Fortunately their pickets reported that we were moving forward in large numbers to attack them, and they waited until morning for our approach. We, however, were quite willing to remain in safety where we were, and when morning dawned we saw the vessels coming in again from sea, whither the high winds compelled them to retreat for the night, and we took up our march for Fort Clark, and at the same time the vessels advanced and opened such a hailstorm of shells as caused us to halt outside of Fort Clark, as it was necessary for our vessels to fire over that fort to reach Fort Hatteras. During the firing the troops took a position about half a mile from Fort Clark, and planted the rifled howitzer so as to command some steamers which were lying off Fort Hatteras, in the bay, either to land more troops or remove those in the fort, if they could no longer hold it. Happily for us they were within the range of our gun, and we compelled them to retire beyond their position and remain there, and thus we prevented any communication with the fort except by signals. While holding that position, the Pawnee by accident opened fire, and her shells fell so near the troops as to compel them to retire from their position and remain between the two fires until the white flag was hoisted on Fort Hatteras, when the troops advanced toward the fort and all firing ceased."

The men-of-war had, in the early morning, begun the bombardment, whose effective service was relieving the suffering campaigners on shore from their anxiety. The Susquehannah had opened the fire with an eleven-inch shell, which was immediately followed by destructive broadsides from the Minnesota and the Wabash, almost every shell falling and bursting within the work. About two hours subsequently the Harriet Lane and the Cumberland joined in, and greatly added to the severity of the fire. The enemy continued to resist pertinaciously until an eleven-inch shell, having made its way through a ventilator, exploded within the bomb-proof, in the middle of the battery, where the garrison had sought refuge from the shower of shot which our ships continued to pour upon them. This last shot settled the day, for

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it struck within their only cover and burst near the magazine. The enemy now gave up all hope and raised upon the ramparts the white flag of truce.

The fleet now ceased to fire, and General Butler, landing at the fort, demanded an unconditional surrender. To this Commodore Barron, who had commanded in the forts, objected, and proposed that the officers be allowed to march out with their side-arms, and that the men be permitted, after laying down their arms, to return to their homes. Butler, refusing these demands, insisted upon a surrender to which he was willing to grant only one condition, that the officers and men should be treated as prisoners of war. Barron no longer hesitated to comply, and articles of capitulation were drawn up on board the Minnesota, and signed by Commodore Stringham and General Butler on the part of the United States, and on that of the Confederates by Commodore Barron, Colonel Martin, and Major Andrews.

The official reports contain the most authentic and detailed narrative of the affair. Here is that of General Butler:

"United States Flag-Ship Minnesota, *August* 30, 1861.

"Major-General J. E. Wool, Commanding Department of Virginia:

"General: Agreeably to your orders, I embarked on the transport steamers Adelaide and George Peabody 500 of the Twelfth Regiment New York Volunteers, Colonel Weber commanding; 220 of the Ninth Regiment New York Volunteers, Colonel Hawkins commanding; 100 of the Union Coast Guard, Captain Nixon commanding; 60 of the Second United States Artillery, Lieutenant Larned commanding, as a force to operate in conjunction with the fleet, under command of Flag Officer Stringham, against the rebel forts at Hatteras Inlet.

"We left Fortress Monroe on Monday, at one o'clock P. M. The last ship of our fleet arrived off Hatteras Inlet about four o'clock Tuesday afternoon. Such preparations as were possible for the landing were made in the evening, and at daylight next morning dispositions were made for an attack upon the forts by the fleet and for the landing of the troops. Owing to the previous prevalence of southwest gales, a heavy surf was breaking on the beach. Every effort was made to land the troops, and after about 315 were landed, including 55 marines from the fleet and the regulars, both the iron boats upon which we depended were swamped in the surf, and both flat boats stove, and a brave attempt made by Lieutenant Crosby, of the United States Army (serving with the army as port captain at Fortress Monroe), who had volunteered to come down with the steam-tug Fanny, belonging to the army, to land in a boat from the war-steamer Pawnee, resulted in the beaching of the boat, so that she could not be got off. It was impracticable to land more troops because of the rising wind and sea. Fortunately, a twelve-pound rifled boat gun, loaned us by the flag-ship, and a twelve-pound howitzer were landed, the last slightly damaged. Our landing was

completely covered by the shells of the Monticello and the Harriet Lane. I was on board the Harriet Lane, directing the disembarkation of the troops, by means of signals, and was about landing with them at the time the boats were stove. We were induced to desist from further attempts at landing troops by the rising of the wind, and because, in the mean time, the fleet had opened fire upon the nearest fort, which was finally silenced, and its flag struck. No firing had opened upon our troops from the other fort, and its flag was also struck. Supposing this to be a signal of surrender, Colonel Weber advanced his troops, already landed, upon the beach. The Harriet Lane, Captain Faunce, by my direction, tried to cross the bar to get in the smooth water of the inlet, when fire was opened upon the Monticello (which had proceeded in advance of us) from the other fort. Several shots struck her, but without causing any casualties, as I am informed. So well convinced were the officers of both navy and army that the forts had surrendered at this time, that the Susquehannah had towed the frigate Cumberland to an offing. The fire was then reopened—as there was no signal from either—upon both forts. In the mean time, a few men from the Coast Guard had advanced up the beach, with Mr. Wiegel (who was acting as volunteer aid, and whose gallantry and services I wish to commend), and took possession of the smaller fort, which was found to have been abandoned by the enemy, and raised the American flag thereon. It had become necessary, owing to the threatening appearance of the weather. that all the ships should make an offing, which was done with reluctance, from necessity, thus leaving the troops upon shore—a part in possession of the small fort (about seven hundred yards from the larger one), and the rest bivouacked upon the beach, near the place of landing, about two miles north of the forts. Early the next morning the Harriet Lane ran in shore for the purpose of covering any attack upon the troops. At the same time a large steamer was observed coming down the Sound, inside the land, with reinforcements for the enemy, but she was prevented from landing by Captain Johnson, of the Coast Guard, who had placed the two guns from the ship and a six-pounder captured from the enemy in a small sand battery, and opened fire upon the rebel steamer.

"At eight o'clock the fleet opened fire again, the flag-ship being anchored as near as the water allowed, and the other ships coming gallantly into action. It was evident, after a few experiments, that our shots fell short. An increased length of fuse was telegraphed, and firing commenced with shells of fifteen seconds fuse. I had sent Mr. Fiske, acting aide-de-camp, on shore, for the purpose of gaining intelligence of the movements of the troops and of the enemy. I then went with the Fanny, for the purpose of effecting a landing of the remainder of the troops, when a white flag was run up from the fort. I then went with the Fanny over the bar into the inlet. At the same time the troops, under Colonel Weber, marched

up the beach, and signal was made from the flag-ship to cease firing. As the Fanny rounded in over the bar, the rebel steamer Winslow went up the channel, having a large number of secession troops on board, which she had not landed. We threw a shot at her from the Fanny, but she proved to be out of range. I then sent Lieutenant Crosby on shore to demand the meaning of the white flag. The boat soon returned, bringing Mr. Wiegel, with the following written communication from Samuel Barron, late captain in the United States Navy:

"MEMORANDUM.

"FORT HATTERAS, *August* 29, 1861.

"Flag Officer Samuel Barron, Confederate States Navy, offers to surrender Fort Hatteras, with all the arms and munitions of war. The officers allowed to go out with side-arms, and the men without arms to retire.

"S. BARRON,

"Commanding Naval Defence, Virginia and North Carolina."

"And also a verbal communication stating that he had in the fort 615 men, and 1,000 more within an hour's call, but that he was anxious to spare the effusion of blood. To both the written and verbal communications I made the reply which follows, and sent it by Lieutenant Crosby:

"MEMORANDUM.

"Benjamin F. Butler, Major-General United States Army, commanding, in reply to the communication of Samuel Barron, commanding forces at Fort Hatteras, cannot admit the terms proposed. The terms proposed are these: full capitulation, the officers and men to be treated as prisoners of war. No other terms admissible.

"Commanding officers to meet on board flag-ship Minnesota to arrange details.

"*August* 29, 1861."

"After waiting three quarters of an hour Lieutenant Crosby returned, bringing with him Captain Barron, Major Andrews, and Colonel Martin, of the rebel forces, who, on being received aboard the tug Fanny, informed me that they had accepted the terms proposed in my memorandum, and had come to surrender themselves and their command as prisoners of war. I informed them that, as the expedition was a combined one from the army and navy, the surrender must be made on board the flag-ship to Flag Officer Stringham, as well as to myself. We went on board the Minnesota for that purpose. On arriving there the following articles of capitulation were signed, which I hope will meet your approval:

"OFF HATTERAS INLET, UNITED STATES FLAG-SHIP MINNESOTA, *Aug.* 29, A.D. 1861.

"Articles of capitulation between Flag Officer Stringham, commanding the Atlantic Blockading Squadron, and Benjamin F. Butler, United States Army, commanding on behalf of the Government, and Samuel Barron, commanding the naval forces for the defence of North Carolina and Virginia, and Colonel Martin, commanding the forces, and Major Andrews, commanding the same forces at Fort Hatteras.

"It is stipulated and agreed between the contracting parties, that the forces under command of the said Barron, Martin, and Andrews, and all munitions of war, arms, men, and property, under the command of said Barron, Martin, and Andrews, be unconditionally surrendered to the Government of the United States in terms of full capitulation.

"And it is stipulated and agreed by the contracting parties on the part of the United States Government, that the officers and men shall receive the treatment due to prisoners of war.

"In witness whereof, we, the said Stringham and Butler, on behalf of the United States, and the said Barron, Martin, and Andrews, representing the forces at Hatteras Inlet, hereunto interchangeably set our hands, this 29th day of August, A.D. 1861, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-fifth year.

"S. H. Stringham, Flag Officer Atlantic Blockading Squadron.

"Benj. F. Butler, Major-General United States Army Commanding.

"S. Barron, Flag Officer, Confederate States Navy, Commanding naval forces Virginia and North Carolina.

"Wm. F. Martin, Colonel Seventh Light Infantry, North Carolina Volunteers.

"W. L. G. Andrews, Major Commanding Forts Hatteras and Clark.

"I then landed, and took a formal surrender of the forts, with all the men and munitions of war, inspected the troops, to see that the arms had been properly surrendered, marched them out, and embarked them on board the Adelaide, and marched my troops into the fort, and raised our flag upon it, amid the cheers of our men and a salute of thirteen guns, which had been shotted by the enemy. The embarkation of the wounded, which was conducted with great care and tenderness from a temporary wharf erected for the purpose, took so long that night came on, and so dark that it was impossible for the pilots to take the Adelaide over the bar, thereby causing delay. I may mention in this connection that the Adelaide, in carrying in the troops, at the moment that my terms of capitulation were under consideration by the enemy, had grounded upon the bar, but by the active and judicious exertions of Commander Stellwagen, after some delay was got off. At the same time, the Harriet Lane, in attempting to enter the bar, had grounded, and remained fast; both were under the guns of the fort. This, to me, was a moment of the greatest anxiety. By these accidents, a valuable ship of war and a transport steamer, with a large portion of my troops, were within the power of the enemy. I had demanded the strongest terms, which he was considering. He might refuse, and, seeing our disadvantage, renew the action. But I determined to abate not a tittle of what I believed to be due to the dignity of the Government; not even to give an official title to the officer in command of the rebels. Besides, my tug was in the inlet, and at least I could carry on the engagement with two rifled six-pounders well supplied with Sawyer's shells.

"Upon taking possession of Fort Hatteras I found that it had mounted ten

guns, with four yet unmounted and one large ten-inch columbiad, all ready for mounting. I append the official muster roll of Colonel Martin, furnished by him, of the officers and men captured by us.

"The position of the fort is an exceedingly strong one, nearly surrounded on all sides by water, and only to be approached by a march of 500 yards circuitously over a long neck of sand, within half-musket range, and over a causeway a few feet only in width, and which was commanded by two thirty-two pound guns, loaded with grape and canister, which were expended in our salute. It had a well-protected magazine and bomb-proof, capable of sheltering some 300 or 400 men. The parapet was nearly of octagon form, inclosing about two-thirds of an acre of ground, well covered, with sufficient traverses, and ramparts, and parapets, upon which our shells had made but little impression.

"The larger work, nearest this inlet, was known as Fort Hatteras. Fort Clark, which was about 700 yards northerly, is a square redoubt, mounting five guns and two six-pounders. The enemy had spiked these guns, but in a very inefficient manner, upon abandoning the fort the day before. I had all the troops on shore at the time of the surrender of the forts, but re-embarked the regulars and the marines. Finding it impossible, without a delay of the fleet which could not be justified under the state of facts at Fortress Monroe, and owing to the threatening appearance of the weather, I disembarked the provisions, making, with the provisions captured, about five days' rations for the use of the troops.

"On consultation with Flag Officer Stringham and Commander Stellwagen, I determined to leave the troops and hold the fort, because of the strength of the fortifications and its importance, and because, if again in the possession of the enemy, with a sufficient armament, the very great difficulty of its capture, until I could get some further instructions from the Government. Commodore Stringham directed the steamers Monticello and Pawnee to remain inside, and these with the men in the forts are sufficient to hold the position against any force which is likely, or indeed possible, to be sent against it. The importance of the point cannot be overrated. When the channel is buoyed out, any vessel may carry fifteen feet water over it with ease. Once inside, there is a safe harbor and anchorage in all weathers. From there the whole coast of Virginia and North Carolina, from Norfolk to Cape Lookout, is within our reach, by light draft vessels, which cannot possibly live at sea during the winter months. From it offensive operations may be made upon the whole coast of North Carolina to Bogue Inlet, extending many miles inland to Washington, Newbern, and Beaufort. In the language of the chief engineer of the rebels, Colonel Thompson, in an official report, 'It is the key to the Albemarle.' In my judgment, it is a station second in importance only to Fortress Monroe on this coast. As a depot for coaling and supplies for the blockading squadron, it

is invaluable. As a harbor for our coasting trade, or inlet from the winter storm, or from pirates, it is of the first importance. By holding it, Hatteras light may again send forth its cheering ray to the storm-beaten mariner, of which the worse than vandalism of the rebels deprives him. It has but one drawback—a want of good water—but a condenser, like the one now in operation at Fortress Monroe, at a cost of a few hundred dollars, will obviate that difficulty. * * *

"While all have done well, I desire to speak in terms of especial commendation, in addition to those before mentioned, of the steadiness and cool courage of Colonel Max Weber, whom we were obliged to leave in command of a detachment of 300 men on a strange coast, without camp equipage or possibility of aid, in the face of an enemy 600 strong, on a dark and stormy night; of Lieutenant-Colonel Weiss, who conducted a reconnoissance of 20 men; of the daring and prompt efficiency of Captain Nixon, of the Coast Guards, who, with his men, occupied Fort Clark during the first night, although dismantled, in the face of an enemy of unknown numbers. I desire to commend to your attention Captain Jardine, of the New York Ninth, who was left in command of the detachment of his regiment when the unfortunate casualty to the Harriet Lane prevented Colonel Hawkins from landing. Permit me to speak of the efficiency of the regulars under Lieutenant Larned, who worked zealously in aiding to land their comrades of the volunteers, overwhelmed with the rolling surf. I desire especially to make acknowledgments to Messrs. Wiegel and Durivage, volunteer aids, who planted the American flag upon Fort Clark, on the second morning, to indicate to the fleet its surrender, and to prevent the further wasting of shells upon it—a service of great danger from the fire of their own friends. I make honorable mention of young Fiske, who risked his life among the breakers, being thrown on shore, to carry my orders to the troops landed, and to apprise them of the movements and intentions of the fleet; also, my thanks for the valuable aid of Captain Haggerty, who was employed in visiting the prizes in the harbor while we were agreeing upon the terms of capitulation. Of the service to the country of the gentlemen of the navy proper, I may not speak, for one ought not to praise when he has no right to censure, and they will be appropriately mentioned, I doubt not, by the commander, who is capable of appreciating their good conduct. But I am emboldened to ask permission, if the Department shall determine to occupy the point as a permanent post, that its name be changed, by general order, from Fort Hatteras to Fort Stringham. But of those gentlemen who served under my immediate command, I may make honorable mention, as I have before done, of the zealous, intrepid, and untiring action of Lieutenant Crosby, who took an armed canal-boat (the steam-tug Fanny, from Fortress Monroe) to Hatteras Inlet, in order that the expedition might have the aid of a steamer of the lightest draft. Captain Shuttle-

worth, of the marine corps, deserves well for his loyalty and efficiency in his active detachment of marines. Much of the success of the expedition is due to the preparation of the transport service by Commander Stellwagen, and the prompt presence of mind with which he took the troops from their peril, when the Adelaide touched on the bar, is a rare quality in an officer in danger.

"Although Captain Faunce, of the Pawnee service, now in command of the Harriet Lane, was unfortunate enough to get his vessel on one of the numerous sand bars about the inlet, it happened, I believe, in consequence of a determination, creditable in him, to aid me by being near to cover the troops in landing. Captain Lowry, who had the George Peabody in charge, brought in his vessel with safety, with the troops, who were pleased with his care and conduct. He still remains at the inlet.

"In fine, General, I may congratulate you and the country upon a glorious victory in your department, in which we captured more than 700 men, 25 pieces of artillery, 1,000 stand of arms, a large quantity of ordnance stores, provisions, 3 valuable prizes, 2 light boats, and 4 stand of colors, one of which had been presented within a week by the ladies of Newbern, North Carolina, to the 'North Carolina Defenders.'

"By the goodness of that Providence which watches over our nation, no one of the fleet or army was in the least degree injured. The enemy's loss was not officially reported to us, but was ascertained to be 12 or 15 killed and 35 wounded. * * * I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant, BENJAMIN F. BUTLER,

"Major-General United States Army Commanding Volunteers."*

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* Extracts from the official reports of the enemy will complete the history of the capture of Hatteras.

"ON BOARD UNITED STATES SHIP MINNESOTA, *Sept.* 1, 1861.
"TO THE ADJUTANT-GENERAL OF NORTH CAROLINA:

* * * * * *

"I arrived at Fort Hatteras on the evening of the 28th August, in company with Commodore Barron, flag officer Confederate States Navy, in charge of the defences of Virginia and North Carolina, and found that during the day the enemy had attacked the forces under the command of Colonel Wm. F. Martin, as well as Forts Clark and Hatteras, under my command, and after a day of most severe and unceasing fighting, the Colonel had succeeded in concentrating all the forces within the walls of Fort Hatteras. Colonel Martin himself was utterly prostrated by the duties of the day, and after consultation with him, I proposed that we invite Commodore Barron, an officer of great experience, to take the general command and direct the succeeding operations. Commodore Barron consented, and assumed the command I then proceeded to examine our guns and munitions, and prepare the fort for the action of the coming morning.

"There were but two guns mounted on the side next to Fort Clark, both thirty-two pounders, and one gun on the corner next the bar, an eight-inch shell gun. During the night I tore away a traverse on the back face of the work, and brought another gun to bear in the same direction. The companies of my command, under Captains Cobden, Lamb, and Sutton, having been in action all the previous day, displaying great courage and devotion, being perfectly exhausted, I placed the batteries in charge of fresh troops, as follows: Nos. 2 and 3 of the channel battery under the command of Captain Thomas Sparrow, assisted by Lieutenants Shaw and Thomas; Nos. 4 and 5 of the same battery were under command of Lieutenant-Colonel George W. Johnston, assisted by First Lieutenant Mose and Second Lieutenant George W. Daniel; No. 6, facing the bar, and No. 7, facing Fort Clark, were placed in charge of Major Henry A. Gillion, assisted by Lieutenants Johnston and Grimes; No. 8, a gun mounted on a naval carriage, was commanded by Lieutenant Murdaugh, of the Confederate States Navy, assisted by Lieutenant Sharp and Midshipman Stafford.

"Captain Thomas H. Sharp had command of No. 1, but owing to the wrenches not fitting the eccentric axles, was unable to bring it into action. He staid by his gun during most of the engagement, but could not fire. Thus we had but three guns we could bring to bear (if the enemy

The enemy's officers and men captured at Fort Hatteras were conveyed to the North, and after being held for some time as prisoners of war, were exchanged.

took up his position of the previous day), viz., Nos. 6, 7, and 8.

"At 7.40 o'clock A. M. of the 20th, the enemy opened fire on us from the steam frigate Minnesota (48 guns), Wabash (48 guns), Susquehanna (15 guns), frigate Cumberland (24 guns), steamer Pawnee (10 guns), and Harriet Lane (5 guns), and a rifled battery of three guns erected in the sand hills three miles east of Fort Clark. Thus you will see they brought 78 guns of the most approved kind and heaviest metal to bear upon us—the shells thrown being 9-inch, 10-inch and 11-inch Dahlgren, Paixhan, and Columbiad; while from the position taken we were unable to reach them with the greatest elevation. The men of the channel battery were ordered to leave their guns and protect themselves as well as possible, the council of the commanding officers having decided that it was to be an action of endurance until our reinforcements came up. After a few shots had been fired, and it was ascertained that we could not reach them, our guns ceased fire, and only answered the fire of the enemy occasionally, to show that we had not surrendered. The shower of shell in half an hour became literally tremendous, as we had falling into and immediately around the works not less, on an average, than ten each minute, and, the sea being smooth, the firing was remarkably accurate. One officer counted twenty-eight shells as falling so as to damage us, in one minute, and several others counted twenty in a minute. At a quarter to eleven o'clock a council of the officers was held, and it was determined to surrender. A white flag was raised, and the firing ceased at eleven o'clock. Thus, for three hours and twenty minutes Fort Hatteras resisted a storm of shells perhaps more terrible than ever fell upon any other works. At the time the council determined to surrender, two of our guns were dismounted, 4 men were reported killed, and between twenty-five and thirty badly wounded. One shell had fallen into the room adjoining the magazine, and the magazine was reported on fire. It is useless to attempt a further description. The men generally behaved well. Nearly every commissioned officer, from the Commodore down, was more or less wounded, and fifty or sixty of the non-commissioned officers and men, who would not report to the surgeon.

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"W. S. G. ANDREWS, Major, etc."

Commodore Barron, after repeating what has been already recorded in the previous report, thus concludes his official account:

"I was requested," says Commodore Barron, "by Colonel Martin and Major Andrews, commanding the post, to assume command of the fort, to which I assented, Colonel Bradford volunteering to assist me in the duties of defence. In assuming this grave responsibility I was not unaware that we could be shelled out of the fort; but expecting the arrival from Newbern of a regiment of North Carolina volunteers at or before midnight (the fleet having put to sea, and appearances indicating bad weather), we designed an assault on Fort Clark, three quarters of a mile distant from Fort Hatteras, which had been taken possession of by a party landed from the shipping; but, unfortunately, the regiment did not arrive until the following day, after the bombardment had commenced, and when the time came that I deemed evacuation or surrender unavoidable, the means of escape were not at my command. On the next day, at 7.40 A.M., the fleet, consisting of the Minnesota, Wabash, Susquehanna, Cumberland, Pawnee, and Harriet Lane (other steamers being in company), took their positions and opened fire. In addition to the batteries of the ships, the enemy had during the night erected a battery of rifled field guns near to Fort Clark, which also opened upon us.

"During the first hour the shells of the ships fell short, we only firing occasionally to ascertain whether our shot would reach them, and wishing to reserve our very limited supply of ammunition till the vessels might find it necessary to come nearer in, but they, after some practice, got the exact range of their nine, ten, and eleven inch guns, and did not find it necessary to alter their positions, while not a shot from our battery reached them with the greatest elevation we could get. This state of things—shells bursting over and in the fort every few seconds—having continued for about three hours, the men were directed to take shelter under the parapet and traverses, and I called a council of officers, at which it was unanimously agreed that holding out longer could only result in a greater loss of life, without the ability to damage our adversaries, and, just at this time, the magazine being reported on fire, a shell having fallen through the ventilator of the 'bombproof,' into the room adjoining the principal magazine, I ordered a white flag to be shown, when the firing ceased, and the surrender was made upon the conditions of the accompanying 'articles of capitulation.'

"The personnel of this command are now 'prisoners of war' on board this ship (the Minnesota), where everything is done to make them as comfortable as possible under the circumstances, Flag Officer Stringham, Captain Van Brunt, and Commander Case extending to us characteristic courtesy and kindness. We are to be landed at Fort Hamilton, New York harbor. ° ° ° So far as ascertained, there were this day two killed, twenty-five or thirty wounded, and many others slightly wounded."

CHAPTER LI.

Effect of the Surrender of Hatteras upon the Enemy.—Fort Morgan, at Ocracoke Inlet, abandoned without a blow.—Reaction of sentiment of the Inhabitants of Hatteras.—Emphatic expression of Loyalty.—Convention of the Inhabitants of Hyde County.—Affirmation of Fidelity to the Union.—Convention at Hatteras.—A sweeping Ordinance.—Character of the Inhabitants of Hatteras.—Election for United States Congress.—Choice of Mr. Foster.—His claim to a seat not acknowledged.—Great hopes defeated.—Expedition to Chicamacomico.—Description of Chicamacomico.—Objects of the Expedition.—Roanoke Island.—Its relative position to contiguous Land and to the Sounds.—The advantage of the Position.—The Expedition.—How composed.—Its Start.—Trouble in Disembarkation. The Loss of the Fanny.—Success of the Enemy and their encouragement.—Expedition of the Enemy.—Landing of the Enemy upon Hatteras.—The Retreat of the Federalists.—Their Trials.—Rescue.—The Fleet.—Flight of the Enemy.—Naval Official Report.—Version of the Enemy.—Contradictory Accounts.—Comparative Losses.—The Enemy forced to Retreat.—Still in possession of Roanoke Island.

1861. THE successful expedition to Hatteras seemed momentarily to have wrought a very depressing effect upon the enemy. After the capture of Forts Clark and Hatteras, they almost despaired of holding those great barriers of sand, upon which North Carolina was dependent not only for the protection of its coast but for the liberty of its commerce. Soon after the Federal victory at Hatteras Inlet, the frigate Savannah sailed to Ocracoke Inlet to the south, and finding Fort Morgan abandoned, took possession of that strong work, without meeting with the least resistance.

The natives of that district of North Carolina suddenly evinced a strong feeling of loyalty, and emphatically expressed it by a course of political action as friendly to the United States as it was hostile to the Southern Confederacy. Oct. 12. A convention of the citizens of Hyde County was held and resolutions framed in which the members affirmed "voluntarily and deliberately" their loyalty to the Government of the United States, and expressed their "unalterable attachment to that constitution which is the basis of the Union and founded by their fathers." A committee was then formed to draw up a statement of grievances of the loyal inhabitants of North Carolina. A "declaration of independence" was the result. This document, modelled on the original Declaration of Independence, affected all the pomp of that stately document.

Subsequently a convention was held at Hatteras, with a professed rep- Nov. 18. resentation of forty-five counties of North Carolina. This imposing body unhesitatingly assumed the prerogative of the whole power of the State, and overthrowing its constituted authorities as being in league with the Southern Confederacy, provided for its government in allegiance to the United States by a sweeping "ordinance."

This movement, in connection with the

triumph of the Federal arms at Hatteras, seemed an augury of returning loyalty in North Carolina; but to those who knew the shiftless character of the inhabitants of the sand beaches of Hatteras—many of whom were known to be careless fishermen or unscrupulous wreckers—it was evident that the influence of their action would be small and their fidelity doubtful.

The convention assembled at Hatteras adjourned, subject to be convened by the President of the United States, and Mr. Lincoln was induced to issue a proclamation ordering an election to be held for the Second Congressional District, on Wednesday, 27th of November. The election accordingly took place, and a Mr. Foster was chosen a member of the House of the Representatives of the United States. This body, however, refused to admit his claims to a seat.

Brilliant as had been the first success of the expedition to Hatteras, the results proved less satisfactory than might have been anticipated. A series of attempts to improve the advantage of holding this important position proved abortive, in consequence of imprudence or ill-fortune. The expedition to Chicamacomico was the first of these small and unprofitable enterprises. This point is at the northernmost extremity of the great stretch of sand beach called Hatteras Island, upon the southwestern end of which are situated the two forts, Clark and Hatteras, which had been wrested from the enemy. Chicamacomico is about forty miles from these works, and Colonel Hawkins, in command of the Federal troops at the forts, determined to send a force in that direction, in order to watch the enemy, who had taken possession of Roanoke Island with 3,000 men, and to prevent their landing on Hatteras.* Roanoke Island is an important position, commanding the entrance from the sea through Oregon Inlet to Albemarle Sound, and the communication of the latter with Pamlico Sound. Between Roanoke Island and the northern end of Hatteras, where Chicamacomico is situated, there intervenes only a stretch of sand beach, about fifteen miles in length, insulated by two inlets from the sea—Loggerhead Inlet, which divides it on the south from

* The following description of Hatteras Island is taken from "Leslie's Pictorial History of the War:"

"A few words as to the character of Hatteras Island are necessary to an understanding of the operations of which it has been the theatre. Its length from Hatteras Inlet, where Forts Hatteras and Clark are situated, to Hatteras light-house is about thirteen miles; it then takes a northern direction, and extends to Loggerhead Inlet, a distance of twenty-seven miles, making the total length of the island about forty miles. Its width averages about one mile, although there are some parts which are above two miles wide, while at several points it is only about one-third of a mile. In a word, it is little more than a series of sand heaps, interspersed with clumps of dwarfed live oaks, with now and then a marsh filled with marsh grass. Other than these there is no green thing to be seen. The population may be as great as 500 souls, though no one appears to have any very distinct idea of the exact number. They live by fishing, oystering, piloting, and wrecking; or, as they innocently call it, 'plundering.' They are very ignorant, simple-minded, and in every respect as provincial as any class of human beings can well be. They live in rude houses, many of them mere huts, on the peaks of which at the present time, something designed to be a white flag, floats. Most of the inhabitants were born on the island, and many have never been away from it. Formerly there were no schools or churches; now there are schools, and a place of worship. There is a kind of spicy plant or shrub growing on the island called *yopon*, the leaves and sprigs of which the inhabitants gather and use in the place of tea and coffee. A bushel of the leaves they exchange for a bushel of corn, by which means they obtain their chief supply."

Hatteras, and Oregon Inlet, which separates it on the north from the beach which flanks Roanoke Island on the seaside. By the possession of Roanoke Island, the enemy could command not only these inlets to the sea, of which they might avail themselves for the passage of their privateers and trading vessels, and protect the approach to Carolina and Virginia by Albemarle Sound, but threaten even to wrest Hatteras Island from the Federal forces.

Colonel Hawkins, conscious of the importance of Roanoke Island, was anxious to thwart the purposes of the enemy, in seizing it. He accordingly sent the Twentieth Indiana Regiment —diminished in strength by three companies, which had been left at Fortress Monroe—to occupy Chicamacomico and throw up intrenchments, with the view of preventing a landing from the enemy at Roanoke Island, which is only fifteen miles distant.

The Indiana Regiment, under the command of Colonel Brown, embarked on board the gun-boats Putnam and Ceres, and sailing on the morning of September 29th, arrived on the same evening off Chicamacomico. In consequence, however, of the shallowness of the water, the vessels were obliged to anchor at a distance of three miles from land. The soldiers were not able to disembark until next morning, when being transferred to small boats they were safely landed. The regiment was destitute of everything except a small quantity of provisions, as all the supplies, camp equipage, intrenching implements, food and ammunition were to be sent next day by the steam-tug Fanny.

Sept. 29.

This vessel, however, with its important freight, had been detained at the forts a day beyond the appointed time, and did not sail until the 1st of October. In the evening of that day she made her appearance off the point, but while preparing to land her stores, three gun-boats hove in sight, and before their character could be ascertained, opened fire upon her. Ten persons, who had the good luck to be in the only boat which had put off for the land, escaped; all the rest, thirty-one soldiers and sailors, were captured, together with the tug-boat and its valuable freight. Property to the value of over $150,000 thus fell into the hands of the enemy. The loss, moreover, of the camp equipage, intrenching tools, and provisions of the Indiana Regiment, totally defeated the object of their enterprise.

The enemy, encouraged by their success in the capture of the Fanny, now ventured upon a more extensive enterprise. Organizing an expedition, consisting of six small steamers, a number of transports, cotton and flat boats, and some 2,000 or 3,000 men, they appeared off Chicamacomico, with the view of surprising and capturing the Indiana Regiment now encamped at that point. The armed vessels of the enemy began the attack by throwing shells into the Federal camp, and at the same time, under the cover of this fire, landed two bodies of men, one above and one below the encampment of the Indiana men, with the purpose of surrounding

Oct. 4.

them and cutting off their retreat. Colonel Brown, seeing that he could not defend himself against such odds, withdrew his men, and luckily succeeded during he night in eluding the vigilance of the detachment in his rear. Meanwhile, Colonel Hawkins had become aware of the imminent danger of his comrades, and had marched to their rescue with 500 men, supported by the frigate Susquehannah and the gun-boat Monticello.

The retreating troops were in the mean time exposed to trials which tested to the utmost their fortitude and powers of endurance.* While Colonel Hawkins had encouraged the retreating Indiana men with assurances that they would be reinforced by land, the naval force* secured

* The retreat is thus described by one of the sufferers: "Sorrowfully," says he, "we turned our backs on our camp and prepared for the long march to Hatteras light-house, where we expected reinforcement from Colonel Hawkins.

"This was about nine o'clock. The sun was shining on the white sand of the beach, heating the air as if it were a furnace. The men had neither provisions nor water. The haste in which they had rushed to repel the enemy had prevented this, and it was too late to go back to camp. Company F, Lieutenant Logan, was thrown forward in the advance, and Company K, Captain Reid, was detailed as a rear guard; and well he performed his duty, picking up the stragglers and keeping the enemy in check. Several times the enemy advanced in force, and he halted to give them battle, but they declined.

"It was a march I shall never forget. The first ten miles was terrible. No water, the men unused to long marches, the sand heavy, and the feet of the men sinking into it at every step, and a point below to be gained in order to join Company F, to prevent their being cut off. As the regiment pushed along, man after man would stagger from the ranks, and fall upon the hot sand, and, looking back, I saw our colonel trudging along with his men, having given up his horse to a sick soldier.

"But the most sorrowful sight of all was the islanders leaving their homes from fear of the enemy. They could be seen in groups, sometimes with a little cart carrying their provisions, but mostly with nothing, fleeing for dear life. Mothers carrying their babes, fathers leading along the boys, grandfathers and grandmothers straggling along from homes they had left behind. Relying on our protection they had been our friends, but in an evil hour we had been compelled to leave them. When will we learn that guns and men are necessary to enforce the laws? When shall we learn that our protection cannot be given, unless by gun-boats and batteries?

"We still toiled on, the heat most intense, and no water. Hunger was nothing in comparison with thirst. It was maddening. The sea rolling at our feet and nothing to drink. I started to take a scout to watch the movements of the enemy's vessels. I skirted the sound, for some ten miles. In every clump of bushes I would find men utterly exhausted. The enemy's vessels were now nearly opposite, steaming down the sound to cut off our retreat. I would tell them this, but they would say, 'They did not care, they would die there,' so utterly hopeless did they seem.

"Near sunset I caught sight of the army drawn up in line of battle on the beach about a mile distant. Soon joining them I found that the enemy were reported in force in front. After some delay the army marched by the right flank, skirmishers ahead, until we reached the narrow inlet about five miles above Hatteras light-house, and here our great danger was at once seen. The fleet of the enemy had drawn up in line, so as to sweep the beach and render a passage impossible, but had neglected to land their men. It was now near twilight The clouds in the west reflected the bright tints of the sun, and showed us the enemy in the foreground. In the east heavy gray clouds lowered, and our uniforms corresponding, hid us from their view, as we silently stole along, the roar of the surf drowning the footsteps of the men and the commands of the officers, yet every little while we would watch, expecting to see the flash of the enemy's cannon, or hear the report of the bursting shell in our little band. It was a narrow escape, and a providential one, and our colonel was affected to tears at the danger we had passed.

"At midnight we reached Hatteras light-house, having made a march of twenty-eight miles. Here we found water, and using the light-house as a fort, we encamped for the night, and woke up next morning feeling like sand-crabs, and ready, like them, to go into our holes, could we find them."

* The following official reports of the naval commanders are the simplest and probably most truthful records of their good services:

"United States Steam Frigate Susquehannah,
Off Hatteras Inlet, *Oct.* 6, 1861.

"Captain Lardner to Commander Goldsborough:

"Sir: Late in the afternoon of the 4th instant I received information that the enemy had landed in large force at Chicamacomico and Keneekut, and the Indiana Regiment posted there was in full retreat before them Also, that our three tugs in the inlet were aground or disabled. The Fanny had been captured the day before.

their safety by driving off the swarming assailants.

The account given by the enemy of this affair was of course as flattering to themselves as it was denunciatory of our troops. As in this work it is designed not only to record the events of the war, but to illustrate the spirit of those engaged in it, the subjoined account* of

I at once got under way with this ship and the Monticello, and anchored for the night close to the shore in Hatteras Cove. At daylight I found our troops in and about this light-house, and in distress for want of provisions, which they had been without for twenty-four hours. I supplied them with food, and at the request of the commanding officer, remained for their protection during the day. Learning that the enemy was in large force at Keneekut, I sent the Monticello to drive them off, which important service was performed by Lieutenant-Commanding Braine with great effect and good conduct. His report is inclosed.

"I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"J. L. LARDNER, Captain.

"To Flag Officer L. M. GOLDSBOROUGH, etc., etc."

"UNITED STATES SHIP MONTICELLO, OFF CAPE HATTERAS, Oct. 5, 1861.

"LIEUTENANT BRAINE TO CAPTAIN LARDNER:

"SIR: I have the honor to inform you, that, in obedience to your order of this morning, I stood through the inner channel of Hatteras Shoals, at half-past twelve P. M., and stood close along shore to the northward, keeping a bright look-out from aloft. At half-past one P. M. we discovered several vessels over the woodland Keneekut, and at the same time a regiment marching to the northward, carrying a rebel flag in their midst, with many stragglers in their rear; also two tugs inside flying the same flag. As they came out of the woods of Keneekut, we ran close in shore, and opened a deliberate fire upon them at a distance of three-quarters of a mile. At our first shell, which fell apparently in their midst, they rolled up their flag and scattered, moving rapidly up the beach to the northward. We followed them, firing rapidly from three guns, driving them up to a clump of woods, in which they took refuge, and abreast of which their steamers lay. We now shelled the woods, and could see them embarking in small boats after their vessels, evidently in great confusion, and suffering greatly from our fire.

"Their steamers now opened fire upon us, firing, however, but three shots, which fell short. Two boats filled with men were struck by our shells and destroyed. Three more steamers came down the sound and took position opposite the woods. We were shelling also two sloops. We continued firing deliberately from half-past one P. M. until half-past three P. M., when two men were discovered on the sea-beach making signals to us. Supposing them to be two of the Indiana Regiment, we sent an armed boat and crew to bring them off, covering them at the same time with our fire. Upon the boat nearing the beach they took to the water. One of them was successful in reaching the boat—private Warren O. Haver, Company H, 20th Regiment of Indiana troops. The other man—private Charles White, Company H, 20th Regiment Indiana troops—was unfortunately drowned in the surf.

"Private Haver informs me that he was taken prisoner on the morning of the 4th; that he witnessed one shot which was very destructive. He states that two of our shells fell into two sloops loaded with men, blowing the vessels to pieces and sinking them. Also that several officers were killed, and their horses seen running about the track. He had just escaped from his captors, after shooting the captain of one of the rebel companies. He states that the enemy were in the greatest confusion, rushing wildly into the water, striving to get off to their vessels. Private Haver now directed me to the point where the rebels were congregated, waiting an opportunity to get off. I opened fire again with success, scattering them. We were now very close, in three fathoms water, and the fire of the second shell told with effect. Six steamers were now off the point, one of which I recognized as the Fanny. At twenty-five minutes past five we ceased firing, leaving the enemy scattered along the beach for upward of four miles. I fired repeatedly at the enemy's steamers with our rifled cannon, a Parrot thirty-pounder, and struck the Fanny, I think, once; I found the range of this piece much short of what I had anticipated, many of the shot turning end over end, and not exceeding much the range of the smooth-bore thirty-two-pounder.

"I inclose herewith the memorandum of the amount of ammunition expended to-day. I am, respectfully, your obedient servant, Lieutenant D. L. BRAINE,

"Commanding United States steamer Monticello.

"To Captain J. L. LARDNER, Commanding United States steamer Susquehannah, off Cape Hatteras."

* "Colonel Wright left Camp Georgia, Roanoke Island, on Thursday, midnight, and arrived at Chicamacomico on Friday. Colonel Wright made the attack on the Federals at nine o'clock in the morning, by firing shell from two ten-pound howitzers from on board the transport Cotton Plant, when about one mile from the shore. As soon as the Colonel opened fire they began to retreat. The howitzers were commanded by Lieutenant J. R. Sturgis, with forty men. When the Colonel saw they were about to retreat, he embarked the guns of his three companies on board of a flat-boat, for the purpose of effecting a landing and putting chase after them. Company H, commanded by Captain Nesbit; Company E, commanded by Captain Griffin, and Company N, com-

the attack on Chicamacomico, with its minuteness of detail and spitefulness of commentary, will serve both objects.

manded by Captain Jones, were landed immediately, leaving the remaining portion of the Third Georgia Regiment and the North Carolina Regiment some four or five miles in the rear, on board the other vessels of the fleet. The three companies that landed consisted of 210 men, while the enemy, from their muster rolls, were about 1,200.

"When the Colonel landed, he had signaled the remaining portion of the Georgia Third to advance, and, when near shore, they commenced embarking in their flat-boats. Colonel Wright took but one of his howitzers with him, leaving the other on board the Cotton Plant, under command of Captain Carrsville, to cover his landing.

"After the three companies had effected a safe landing, the other howitzer was then brought on shore, and they then commenced the pursuit of the flying Yankees, and were joined by each company of the remaining portion of the Georgia Regiment as fast as they effected a landing. The two howitzers and ammunition were drawn through the deep sand by the men during the entire pursuit of twenty-five miles, having in the mean time encamped on Friday night at Keneekut, a distance of eighteen miles from the starting-point.

"The pursuit was continued early next morning, to within one mile of the Hatteras light-house. When about six miles from the starting-place, Colonel Wright, being on horseback, and considerably in advance of his command, overtook a party of thirteen Yankees, together with their adjutant. He made a gallant charge on them, when the adjutant shot his horse and commenced loading again, when the Colonel grabbed up a small Yankee, and presented him as a breast-work to ward off the adjutant's fire. With this he advanced on the adjutant with his repeater, and captured four, including the adjutant.

"As our forces continued to advance, they commenced taking prisoners - in all about forty—and killed seven or eight of the flying Hessians

"One of the North Carolina companies landed at the same time as the Georgians, and joined in the pursuit with great bravery, while the other portion of the North Carolina Regiment were ordered to hasten to the light-house, just below Keneekut, to intercept the retreat of the Federalists. Keneekut is eight miles above the light-house, toward Chicamacomico. They were unable to land, owing to the shoal water, though they did everything they could to accomplish that object. They got their guns on board the flat and shoved off, but got aground, and even waded in till they found themselves again getting into deep water. They sent a small boat to take the soundings, and found it impossible to land, owing to the formation of the flats.

"Colonel Wright continued in pursuit till he found the North Carolina regiments, under Colonel Shaw, unable to land, and ascertaining that the Yankees had been reinforced by 900 men from Hatteras, he withdrew his forces to the position he had occupied the night before. After getting back to this position, the Federal steamer Monticello took up position about half a mile from shore, and opened fire on them by broadsiders, with eleven-inch shell, and continued to shell them for five hours, without injury to any one except a slight bruise on one man's leg, who fell down in endeavoring to dodge a ball which rolled over his leg, and a slight scratch on another's face from the explosion of a shell.

"The Cotton Plant, under orders from Commander Lynch, now ran up the Chicamacomico, and took on board the entire forces which had got back to that point, together with the enemy's entire camp equipage, consisting of 300 tents, cartridge boxes, haversacks, canteens, cooking utensils, provisions, etc., together with their private wardrobe, which they were in too great haste to take with them. The entire expedition then returned to Roanoke Island, arriving on Sunday night at twelve o'clock.

"The Twentieth Indiana Regiment was drawn up on shore preparatory to giving our forces battle, probably to frighten them off, but seeing the determined action of our forces toward landing, the cowardly whelps took to their heels down toward Hatteras, leaving everything, even their private wardrobes, papers, etc. This example of gallantry was set them by their colonel, who put spurs to his horse, and was the swiftest of the whole pack.

"Our entire fleet, except the Cotton Plant, then moved their position to Hatteras light-house, in order to intercept the retreat of the Yankees, but it coming on dark before they could commence landing, and the want of sufficient boats to make an expeditious landing, the Yankees made their escape to the fort at Hatteras.

"The Georgia troops, from the Cotton Plant, having effected a landing, put out down the beach in pursuit of the flying Yankees, but they being entirely too fleet of foot for them, escaped to Hatteras light-house.

"At the time of the retreat of the Yankees, had it been high tide, they would not have escaped, as the sand was of such a nature as to utterly preclude the possibility of running, save below the high-water mark. Our men had to drag their field howitzers through this sand twelve miles —that is from Chicamacomico to Hatteras Light; and during the chase, one member of the Georgia Regiment died from exhaustion in pursuing the Yankees. His remains were brought to this city by the Junaluska.

"A sergeant-major of the Indiana Regiment shot the horse of Colonel Wright, of the Georgia Regiment, from under him, which appeared to be the only evidence of bravery evinced by the whole party. Colonel Wright captured this man, and for his bravery treated him very courteously."—*Norfolk Day-Book.*

Notwithstanding the exaggerated estimate by the enemy of their spirit, and of the want of it on the part of their an-

tagonists, they were forced, under the heavy bombardment of the Monticello and Susquehannah, to take to their boats and fly for their lives, from the island of Hatteras, which afterward remained in the undisputed possession of the United States. The Confederates, however, on returning to Roanoke Island, continued to hold that important position for some time, and did not finally yield it up until after a severe struggle.

CHAPTER LII.

The Difficulties of the Chronicler from the vastness of the field of War.—Necessity of frequent change of View.—A Napoleon wanted to conduct the War.—A Tacitus required to write its History.—To attempt to write the History now, presumptuous.—The Purpose of the Present Chronicler.—The Enemy's Position at Columbus, in Kentucky.—The Strength of Position and Fortifications.—Description of Belmont.—Encampment of the Enemy there.—Expedition from Cairo.—Objects.—Composition of the Expedition.—The Troops.—Gun-boats.—Landing of the Troops.—Operation of the Gun-boats.—Movements of the Troops.—Plan of attack upon Belmont.—Collision with the Enemy.—Retreat and Confusion of the Enemy.—Recklessness of the Federalists.—The Enemy Reinforced from Columbus.—The Fire from the Forts.—General Grant forcing his way to his Boats.—Fierce Struggle.—Action of the Gun-boats.—Successful Retreat of the Federalists.—Their losses.—The losses of the Enemy.—General Grant's Official Report.—Report of General McClernand.—The Enemy claim a victory at Belmont.—General Polk's Report.—President Jeff. Davis' Letter.—Exultation at the Result.

1861. During this gigantic conflict, extending over a territory of many thousands of miles, the chronicler is not only forced largely to expand his view, but frequently to shift it to remote points. He passes rapidly across a vast continent; he is at one moment on the sands of the Atlantic Ocean, and at another on the bluffs of the Mississippi River; he is now on the Chesapeake, in the East, and now on the prairies of the West; he has hardly reached the rocky passes of the Alleghanies before he is summoned to appear in the rice-fields of Carolina, the everglades of Florida, or the bayous of Louisiana. It is not merely the events of a single war which he is called upon to chronicle, but, as it were, a number of wars carried on simultaneously in various States, each of which has the territorial magnitude of a great nation. Though the conflict has but one motive, and we find an attempt to conduct it in accordance with a single plan, the scenes of the various struggles are so remote from each other, and their character so diversified by local circumstances, that to give unity to the action and history of the war would require the genius of a Napoleon for the one, and the genius of a Tacitus for the other. While resting in the hope that the former has been or will soon be found, to secure to our country the military triumphs essential to its future prosperity, it may be left to posterity to find the latter to record them. The attempt now to write the history of the late civil war as it

should be—and as it doubtless will be written in the future—would only result in disappointment to the reader, and in an exhibition of impotent presumption on the part of the historian. Our aim is the humbler one, that of merely chronicling events as they occur, with the wish of gratifying the hurried reader of the present, though not without the hope of supplying a useful record for the deliberate historian of the future.

This narrative must now be suddenly shifted from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, in order to record the events of another expedition. In this, although the navy bore a useful part, the more essential service was performed by the army.

At Columbus, in Kentucky, the Confederate General Polk had established his headquarters, where he had concentrated a large force composed of from 20,000 to 30,000, constructed an entrenched camp, erected strong works on the high bluffs on the river Mississippi, and mounted them with over 100 guns. Opposite to this strong position, on the Missouri, back of the river, lies the small village of Belmont. This place was also occupied by several Confederate regiments, forming a portion of the army under the command of Polk. General Grant, who commanded the Federal force at Cairo, determined to make an attempt to surprise and capture them. The enterprise seemed the more easy of accomplishment, from the position of the enemy's encampment at Belmont, where the banks of the Mississippi, being low and covered with trees, appeared to favor an unseen approach.

On the evening of November the sixth, the Seventh Iowa Regiment, Colonel Lanman, the Twenty-seventh Regiment, Colonel Buford, the Twenty-ninth, Colonel Fouke, the Thirtieth, Colonel Logan, and the Twenty-second, Colonel Dougherty, all of Illinois, with two companies of cavalry and Taylor's battery of six guns, making in all a force of 2,850 men, having embarked at Cairo on board the steamers Memphis, Aleck Scott, Chancellor Montgomery and Keystone, dropped down the Mississippi, escorted by the gunboats Tyler and Lexington. After reaching a point about eight miles below Cairo, the fleet came to anchor and remained until nearly daylight next morning. They now continued their way down the river until within four miles of Belmont, when they made for the shore, and the troops landing took up their march for the enemy's encampment. The two-gunboats in the mean time steamed on in the direction of Columbus with the view of engaging the batteries there, and thus diverting the attention of the enemy from the movement against Belmont.

Nov. 6.

The Federal troops on landing divided, and took different lines of march, in order to come upon the enemy from all sides, and surround them. Colonel Buford led his regiment, the Twenty-seventh Illinois, along a circuitous route, to the rear and from the south. Colonel Lanman, with the Seventh Iowa, and Colonel Fouke, with the Twenty-ninth Illinois, marched in the same direction and advanced from the west; while Col-

onel Dougherty, with the Twenty-second Illinois, and Colonel Logan, with the Thirtieth Illinois, approached from the north. Colonels Lanman and Dougherty, with their regiments, being in advance, came upon the enemy first, but found them on the alert, drawn up in line of battle in their camp and a cornfield which extended in the rear. Lanman and Dougherty commenced the attack, and drove their antagonists from the camp and the field back into the woods, where they were met by the divisions approaching in that direction. Being hotly received, the enemy were compelled to retrace their steps and fall back into their old position. Here they were again met by Lanman and Dougherty, but struggled spiritedly for two hours, when they were repulsed, and fled in confusion to the banks of the river.

The Federal troops exulting in their success, yielded recklessly to the excitement of victory. They scattered carelessly over the field, beyond the call and regardless of the command of their officers; some were busy examining the tents; some rifling the baggage, some supplying themselves with the arms which the fugitives had thrown down in their panic, and all were unmindful of the possibility of being caught while thus in disorder. In the mean time, General Pillow had crossed over from the Kentucky side with a large and fresh force, which he had thrown between the scattered Federalists and the boats, in order to cut off their retreat. At the same moment the guns of Columbus, opposite, began to pour in among them a shower of bomb-shells. General Grant finding his scattered troops thus hemmed in, called together and formed them as best he could, and made a desperate effort to reach the boats. He finally succeeded, but only after a terrible struggle with the enemy, through whose lines his men had to cut their way. The gun-boats in the mean time had come to the rescue, and by their fire kept the enemy at bay and covered the embarkation of our troops, which was finally effected, though a severe loss was sustained in the bloody struggle with Pillow's force.*

* The following is the official account of General Grant, the commander-in-chief at Cairo:

"HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT SOUTHEAST MISSOURI, CAIRO, *Nov.* 10, 1861.

"S. WILLIAMS, ASSISTANT-ADJUTANT-GENERAL, WASHINGTON, D. C.:

"SIR: On the evening of the 6th instant I left this place with 2,850 men, all armed, to make a reconnoissance toward Columbus. The object of the expedition was to prevent the enemy from sending out reinforcements to Price's army in Missouri, and also from cutting off two small columns that I had been directed to send out from this place and Cape Girardeau in pursuit of Jeff. Thompson.

"Knowing that Columbus was strongly garrisoned, I asked General Smith, commanding at Paducah, Ky., to make demonstrations in the same directions. He did so by ordering a small force to Mayfield, and another in the direction of Columbus, not to approach nearer, however, than twelve or fifteen miles. I also sent a small force on the Kentucky side with orders not to approach nearer than Elliot's Mills, some twelve miles from Columbus.

"The expedition under my immediate command was stopped about nine miles below here, on the Kentucky shore, and remained until morning. All this served to distract the enemy, and lead him to think he was to be attacked in his strongly fortified position. At daylight we proceeded down the river to a point just out of range of the rebel guns, and debarked on the Missouri shore. From here the troops were marched by a flank for about one mile toward Belmont, and then drawn up in line, one battalion having been left as a reserve near the transports. Two companies from each regiment, five skeletons in number, were thrown out as skirmishers to ascertain the position of the enemy.

"It was but a few moments before they met him, and

The loss of the national forces in this desperate engagement amounted to the large number of 607 men, of whom 84 were killed, 288 wounded, and 235 miss-

a general engagement ensued. The balance of my force, with the exception of the reserve, was then thrown forward, all as skirmishers, and the enemy driven, foot by foot, and from tree to tree, back to their encampment on the river's bank, a distance of over two miles. Here they had strengthened their position by felling the timber for several hundred yards around their camp, and making a sort of abatis.

"Our men charged through this, driving the enemy over the river banks and into their transports in quick time, leaving us in possession of everything not exceedingly portable.

"Belmont is on low ground, and every foot of it commanded by the guns on the opposite shore, and, of course, could not be held for a single hour after the enemy became aware of the withdrawal of their troops. Having no wagons with me I could not move any of the captured property, consequently gave orders for its destruction. Their tents, blankets, etc., were set on fire, and we retired, taking their artillery with us. Two pieces being drawn by hand, and one by an efficient team, were spiked and left in the woods, bringing two to this place.

"Before we got fairly under way, the enemy made his appearance again and attempted to surround us. Our troops were not in the least discouraged, but charged the enemy, and again defeated him.

"Our loss was about 85 killed, 150 wounded—many of them but slightly—and about an equal number missing. Nearly all the missing were from the Seventh Iowa Regiment, who behaved with great gallantry, and suffered more severely than any other troops. * * *

"All the troops behaved with great gallantry, much of which is to be attributed to the coolness and presence of mind of the officers, particularly the colonels. General McClernand was in the midst of danger throughout the engagement, and displayed both coolness and judgment. His horse was three times shot. My horse was also shot under me.

"To my staff—Captains Rawins, Lagone, and Hillyer, and volunteer aids, Captains Hatch and Graham—I am much indebted for the assistance they gave. Colonel Wester, acting chief engineer, also accompanied me, and displayed highly soldier-like qualities. Colonel Dougherty, Twenty-second Illinois Volunteers, was three times wounded and taken prisoner.

"The Seventh Iowa Regiment lost their lieutenant-colonel (killed), colonel and major severely wounded. * * * Surgeon Brinton was on the field during the entire engagement, and displayed great ability and efficiency in providing for the wounded and organizing the medical corps.

"The gun-boats Tyler and Lexington, Captains Walke and Stembell, United States Navy, commanding, con-

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voyed the expedition, and rendered most efficient service. Immediately upon our landing they engaged the enemy's batteries, and protected our transports throughout. * * *

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"U. S. GRANT, Brigadier-General Commanding."

The report of General McClernand, serving under General Grant, is here given with all its explicitness of detail, as the most authentic narrative of the battle of Belmont.

"GENERAL McCLERNAND'S REPORT.

"BRIGADE HEADQUARTERS, CAMP CAIRO, *Nov* 12, 1861.

"BRIGADIER GENERAL U. S. GRANT, COMMANDING DISTRICT SOUTHEASTERN MISSOURI:

"SIR: I have the honor to report the part taken by the forces under my command in the action before Columbus, Kentucky, on the 7th instant.

"These forces consisted of a portion of my own brigade, viz.: The Twenty-seventh Regiment, Colonel N. B. Buford; the Thirteenth Regiment, Colonel Philip B. Fouke; the Thirty-first Regiment, Colonel John A. Logan, including one company of cavalry under Captain J. J. Dollins. The strength of the Twenty-seventh Regiment was 720, rank and file; that of the Thirteenth, 500; that of the Thirty-first, 610—exclusive of 70 mounted men; being in all 1,900 men, rank and file. To this force you added, by your order of the 6th instant, Captain Delano's company of Adams County cavalry, 72 men, under Lieutenant J. R. Catlin, and Captain Ezra Taylor's battery of Chicago Light Artillery of six pieces and 114 men The total disposable force under my command was 2,086, rank and file—all Illinois volunteers.

"Having embarked on the steamer Scott, with the Thirteenth and Thirty-first regiments, on the evening of the 6th instant, I left Cairo at five o'clock, and proceeded down the Mississippi to the foot of Island No. 1, and lay to for the night on the Kentucky shore, eleven miles above Columbus, as previously instructed by you. Posting a strong guard for the protection of the boat, and those that followed to the same point, I remained until seven o'clock on the following morning. At that hour, preceded by the gun-boats Tyler and Lexington, and followed by the remainder of the transports, I proceeded down the river to the designated landing on the Missouri shore, about two and a half miles in a direct line from Columbus and Belmont. By half-past eight o'clock the rest of the transports had arrived and the whole force was disembarked, and, marching beyond a collection of cornfields in front of the landing, was formed for an advance movement, and awaited your order. Ordering Dollins' and Delano's cavalry to scour the woods along the road to Belmont and report to me from time to time, the remainder of my command followed—the Twenty-seventh in front, the Thirtieth next, supported by a section of Taylor's battery, succeeded

ing. The enemy's loss was computed as high as 1,000 in all, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. Their camp, moreover, was burned, and two pieces of

by the Thirty-first and the remainder of Taylor's battery, the Seventh Iowa, Colonel Lanman, and the Twenty-second Illinois, Colonel Dougherty, who had been assigned by you to that portion of the command.

"When the rear of the column had reached a road intersecting our line of march, about a mile and a half from the abatis surrounding the enemy's camp, the line of battle was formed on ground which I had previously selected. The Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth having formed too far in advance, were recalled to the position first assigned them —the Twenty-seventh on the right and the Thirtieth on the left. A section of Taylor's battery was disposed on the left of the Thirtieth, and 200 feet in the rear of the line, the Thirty-first in the centre, and the Seventh Iowa and Twenty-second Illinois forming the left wing, masking two sections of artillery.

"By this time Dollins' cavalry were skirmishing sharply with the enemy's pickets to the right and in advance of our line, and the enemy had shifted the heavy fire of their batteries at Columbus from our gun-boats to our advancing line, but without effect. With your permission I now ordered two companies from each regiment of my command to advance, instructing them to seek out and develop the position of the enemy, the Twenty-second Illinois and Seventh Iowa pushing forward similar parties at the same time.

"A sharp firing having immediately commenced between the skirmishing parties of the Thirtieth and Thirty-first and the enemy, I ordered forward another party to their support, rode forward, selected a new position, and ordered up the balance of my command—the Twenty-seventh—to pass around the head of a pond, the Thirtieth and Thirty-first, with the artillery, crossing the dry bed of the same slough in their front. On their arrival I re-formed the line of battle in the same order as before. It was my expectation that the Twenty-second Illinois and the Seventh Iowa would resume their former positions on the left wing, which would have perfected a line sufficient to inclose the enemy's camp, on all sides accessible to us, thus enabling us to command the river above and below them, and prevent the crossing of reinforcements from Columbus, insuring his capture as well as defeat.

The Thirtieth and Thirty-first, and the artillery, moving forward, promptly relieved the skirmishing parties, and soon became engaged with a heavy body of the enemy's infantry and cavalry. The struggle, which was continued for half an hour with great severity, threw our ranks into temporary disorder; but the men promptly rallied under the gallant example of Colonels Fouke and Logan, assisted by Major Berryman, acting assistant adjutant-general of my brigade; also by Captain Schwartz, acting chief of artillery; Captain Dresser, of the artillery; Lieutenant Babcock, of the Second Cavalry; and Lieutenant Eddy, of the Twenty-ninth Illinois Regiment, who had, upon my invitation, kindly joined my staff. Our men pressed vigorously upon the enemy and drove them back, their cavalry leaving that part of the field and not appearing again until attacked by Captain Dollins, on the river bank below their encampment, and chased out of sight, near the close of the contest.

"Advancing about a quarter of a mile farther, this force again came up with the enemy, who by this time had been reinforced upon this part of the field, as I since learn, by three regiments and a company of cavalry. Thus strengthened, he attempted to turn our left flank, but ordering Colonel Logan to extend the line of battle by a flank movement, and bringing up a section of Taylor's battery, commanded by First Lieutenant B. A. White, under the direction of Captain Schwartz, to cover the space thus made between the Thirtieth and Thirty-first, the attempt was frustrated. Having completed that disposition, we again opened a deadly fire from both infantry and artillery, and after a desperate resistance drove the enemy back the third time, forcing them to seek cover among thick woods and brush, protected by the heavy guns at Columbus.

"In this struggle, while leading the charge, I received a ball in one of my holsters, which failed of harm by striking a pistol. Here Colonels Fouke and Logan urged on their men by the most energetic appeals; here Captain Dresser's horse was shot under him, while Capt. Schwartz's horse was twice wounded; here the projectiles from the enemy's heavy guns at Columbus, and their artillery at Belmont, crashed through the woods over and among us; here again, all my staff who were with me displayed the greatest intrepidity and activity; and here, too, many of our officers were killed or wounded; nor should I omit to add that this gallant conduct was stimulated by your presence and inspired by your example. Here your horse was killed under you.

"While this struggle was going on, a tremendous fire from the Twenty-seventh, which had approached the abatis on the right and rear of the tents, was heard. About the same time the Seventh and Twenty-second, which had passed the rear of the Thirtieth and Thirty-first, hastened up, and, closing the space between them and the Twenty-seventh, poured a deadly fire upon the enemy.

"A combined movement was now made upon three sides of the enemy's works, and driving him across the abatis. we followed close upon his heels into the clear space around his camp. The Twenty-seventh was the first seen by me entering upon this ground. I called the attention of the other regiments to their approach, and the whole line was quickened by eager and impatient emulation. In a few minutes our entire force was within the inclosure.

"Under the skilful direction of Captain Schwartz, Captain Taylor now brought up his battery within 300 yards

artillery, a considerable number of Enfield rifles, and several hundred horses captured. On the day after the battle the enemy abandoned Belmont as un-

of the enemy's tents, and opened fire upon them. He fled with precipitation from the tents, and took shelter behind some buildings near the river, and into the woods above the camp, under cover of his batteries at Columbus.

"Near this battery I met Colonel Dougherty, who was leading the Seventh and Twenty-second through the open space toward the tents.

"At the same time our lines upon the right and left were pressing up the line of fire from our battery, which now ceased firing, and our men rushed forward among the tents and toward some buildings near the river. Passing over to the right of the camp I met with Colonel Buford, for the first time since his detour around the pond, and congratulated him upon the ardor of his men to be the first to pass the enemy's works.

"During the execution of this movement, Captain Alexander Bielaski, one of my aides-de-camp, who had accompanied Col. Buford during the march of the Twenty-seventh, separate from the main command, having dismounted from his horse, which had been several times wounded, was shot down while advancing with the flag of his adopted country in his hand, and calling on the men in his rear to follow him.

"Near him, and a few minutes afterward, Colonel Lanman fell, severely wounded in the thigh, while leading his men in a desperate charge.

"Galloping my horse down to the river, I found Captain Bozart, of Company K, Twenty-seventh Regiment, supported by squads of men who had joined him, sharply engaged with a detachment of the enemy, whom he drove into the woods above the camp. Here the firing was very hot. My own head was grazed by a ball; my horse was wounded in the shoulders, and his caparison torn in several places. Here, too, one of the enemy's caissons fell into my hands, and a capture of artillery was made by Captain Schwartz, a portion of the Seventh gallantly assisting in achieving this result.

"Having complete possession of the enemy's camp, in full view of his formidable batteries at Columbus, I gave the word for three cheers for the Union, to which the brave men around me responded with the most enthusiastic applause.

"Several of the enemy's steamers being within range above and below, I ordered a section of Taylor's battery, under direction of Captain Schwartz, down near the river, and opened a fire upon them and upon Columbus itself, with what effect I could not learn. The enemy's tents were set on fire, destroying his camp equipage, about 4,000 blankets, and his means of transportation. Such horses and other property as could be removed were seized, and four pieces of artillery brought to the rear.

"The enemy at Columbus, seeing us in possession of his camp, directed upon us the fire of his heavy guns, but, ranging too high, inflicted no injury. Information came at the same time of the crossing of heavy bodies of troops above us, amounting, as I since learn, to five regiments, which, joining those which had fled in that direction, formed rapidly in our rear with the design of cutting off our communication with our transports. To prevent this, and having fully accomplished the object of the expedition, I ordered Captain Taylor to reverse his guns and open fire upon the enemy in his new position, which was done with great spirit and effect, breaking his line and opening our way by the main road. Promptly responding to an order to that effect, Colonel Logan ordered his flag in front of his regiment, prepared to force his way in the same direction if necessary. Moving on he was followed by the whole force, except the Twenty-seventh and the cavalry companies of Captains Dollins and Delano. Determined to preserve my command unbroken, and to defeat the evident design of the enemy to divide it, I twice rode back across the field to bring up the Twenty-seventh and Dollins' cavalry, and also dispatched Major Brayman for the same purpose, but without accomplishing the object, they having sought in returning the same route by which they advanced in the morning.

"On passing into the woods, the Thirtieth, the Seventh, and Twenty-second encountered a heavy fire on their right and left successively, which was returned with such vigor and effect as to drive back the superior force of the enemy and silence his firing, but not until the Seventh and Twenty-second had been thrown into temporary disorder. Here Lieutenant-Colonel Wentz, of the Seventh, and Captain Markley, of the Thirtieth, with several privates, were killed, and Colonel Dougherty of the Twenty-second, and Major McClurken, of the Thirtieth, who was near me, were severely wounded. Here my body servant killed one of the enemy by a pistol shot.

"Driving the enemy back on either side, we moved on, occasionally exchanging shots with straggling parties, in the course of which my horse received another ball, being one of two fired at me from the corner of a field. Captain Schwartz was at my right when these shots were fired.

"At this stage of the contest, according to the admission of rebel officers, the enemy's forces had swelled, by frequent reinforcements from the other side of the river, to cover thirteen regiments of infantry, and something less than two squadrons of cavalry, excluding his artillery, four pieces of which were in our possession, and two of which, after being spiked, together with part of one of our own caissons, were left on the way for want of animals to bring them off. The other two, with their horses and harness, were brought off.

"On reaching the landing and not finding the detachments of the Seventh and Twenty-second, which you had left behind in the morning to guard the boats, I ordered

tenable. The enemy claimed to have gained a triumphant victory at Belmont, and exulted accordingly. "Accept for yourself," wrote Jefferson Davis to Gen-

Delano's cavalry, which was embarking, to the rear of the fields to watch the enemy. Within an hour all our forces which had arrived were embarked, Captain Schwartz, Captain Hatch, assistant-quartermaster, and myself being the last to get on board. Suddenly the enemy, in strong force (whose approach had been discovered by Lieutenant-Colonel John H. White, of the Thirty-first, who was conspicuous through the day for his dauntless courage and conduct), came within range of our musketry, when a terrible fire was opened upon him by the gun-boats, as well as by Taylor's battery and the infantry.

The engagement thus renewed was kept up with great spirit, and with deadly effect upon the enemy, until the transports had passed beyond his reach. Exposed to the terrible fire of the gun-boats and Taylor's battery, a great number of the enemy were killed and wounded in this, the closing scene of a battle of six hours' duration.

"The Twenty-seventh and Dollins' cavalry being yet behind, I ordered my transports to continue in the rear of the fleet, excepting the gun-boats; and after proceeding a short distance, landed and directed the gun-boats to return and await their appearance.

"At this moment Lieutenant H. A. Rust, adjutant of the Twenty-seventh, hastened up and announced the approach of the Twenty-seventh and Dollins' cavalry. Accompanied by Captain Schwartz and Captain Hatch, I rode down the river bank, and met Colonel Buford with a part of his command. Inferring that my transport was waiting to receive him, I went farther down the river and met Captain Dollins, whom I instructed to embark, and still farther met the remainder of the Twenty-seventh, which had halted on the bank where the gun-boat Tyler was lying to, the Lexington lying still farther down. The rest of the boats having gone forward, Captain Walker, of the Tyler, at my request, promptly took the remainder of the Twenty-seventh on board, Captain Stambell, of the Lexington, covering the embarkation.

"Having thus embarked all my command, I returned with Captains Schwartz and Hatch to my transports and re-embarked, reaching Cairo about midnight, after a day of almost unceasing marching and conflict.

"I cannot bestow too high commendation upon all whom I had the honor to command on that day. Supplied with inferior and defective arms, many of which could not be discharged, and others bursting in use, they fought an enemy in woods with which he was familiar, behind defensive works which he had been preparing for months, in the face of a battery at Belmont, and under his heavy guns at Columbus, and although numbering three or four to our one, beat him, captured several stands of his colors, destroying his camp and carrying off a large amount of his property, already mentioned. From his own semi-official account his loss was 600 killed, wounded, and missing, including among the killed and wounded a number of officers, and probably among the missing 155 prisoners, who were brought to this post.

"To mention all who did well would include every man in my command who came under my personal notice. Both officers and privates did their whole duty, nobly sustaining the enviable character of Americans and Illinoisans. They shed new lustre upon the venerated flag of their country by upholding it in triumph amid the shock of battle and the din of arms. The blood they so freely poured out proved their devotion to their country, and serves to hallow a just cause with glorious recollections. The success was that of citizen soldiers.

"Major Brayman, Captains Schwartz and Dresser, and Lieutenants Eddy and Babcock, all members of my staff, are entitled to my gratitude for the zeal and alacrity with which they bore my orders in the face of danger, and discharged all their duties in the field. Colonels Buford, Fouke, and Logan repeatedly led their regiments to the charge, and as often drove the enemy back in confusion, thus inspiring their men with kindred ardor, and largely contributing to the success of our arms. Colonel Logan's admirable tactics not only foiled the frequent attempts of the enemy to flank him, but secured a steady advance toward the enemy's camp. Colonel Fouke and his command, exposed throughout to a galling fire from the enemy, never ceased to press forward. His march was marked by the killed and wounded of the foe, mingled with many of his own men.

"Accomplishing a difficult circuit, Colonel Buford, active, eager, and emulous, was the first to throw his men within the enemy's defences. Captain Taylor and Lieutenant White managed the battery attached to my command with admirable skill and most successful effect. Captain J. J. Dollins, with his company of cavalry, displayed unsurpassed activity and daring. Having been early in the day detached from his regiment (the Thirty-first), he found his way in company of the Twenty-seventh to the enemy's camp on the lower side, charging his line with an impetuosity characteristic of himself and his brave followers.

"Our victory, though signal and extraordinary, cost many valuable lives. Of the Twenty-seventh eleven were killed, forty-two wounded, and twenty-eight are missing. Among the wounded was Lieutenant William Shipley, of Company A, a gallant and promising young officer, who has since died. Of the Thirtieth nine were killed, twenty-seven wounded, and eight are missing. Among the killed is Captain Thomas G. Markley, of Company D, a brave and valuable officer, who died true to his trust.

"Major Thomas McClerken, an accomplished and efficient officer, whose services were conspicuous on the field, was severely, and, I fear, mortally wounded. Of the

eral Polk, "and the officers and men under your command, my sincere thanks for the glorious contribution you have just made to our common cause."*

Thirty-first ten were killed, sixty-one wounded, and eighteen are missing; Captain John W. Rigby, of Company E—a veteran and faithful officer—being among the wounded; also Captain Wm. A. Looney, of Company C, who was severely injured while leading his company into a desperate encounter with a detachment of the enemy. Of Dollins' cavalry one was killed and two wounded. Of Taylor's company of light artillery five were wounded, among whom was First Lieutenant Charles W. Everett.

"In closing this report, unavoidably somewhat imperfect, I cannot forbear bearing my testimony to the gallantry and good conduct of every arm of your whole force. Each did well, and I share in the just pride which their valor has inspired in you as their successful commander.

"I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

"JOHN A. MCCLERNAND,

"Brigadier-General Commanding."

* General Polk, in his official report, thus simply recorded the event:

"HEADQUARTERS FIRST DIVISION WESTERN DEPARTMENT,
COLUMBUS, KY., *Nov.* 7, 1861.

"TO GENERAL HEADQUARTERS, THROUGH GENERAL A. S. JOHNSTON:

"The enemy came down on the opposite side of the river, Belmont, to-day, about 7,500 strong, landed under cover of gun-boats, attacked Colonel Tappan's camp. I sent over three regiments under General Pillow to his relief, then at intervals three others, then General Cheatham.

"I then took over two others in person, to support a flank movement which I had directed. It was a hard-fought battle, lasting from 10.30 A.M. to 5 P.M. They took Beltzhoover's battery, four pieces of which we recaptured. The enemy were thoroughly routed. We pursued them to their boats seven miles, then drove their boats before us. The road was strewn with their dead and wounded, guns, ammunition, and equipments. Our loss considerable; theirs heavy. L. POLK,

"Major-General Commanding."

OFFICIAL REPORT OF NATIONAL LOSSES.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
Seventh Iowa Regiment	26	75	119
Twenty-second Illinois Regiment	26	70	25
Twenty-seventh Illinois Regiment	10	42	29
Thirtieth Illinois Regiment	9	28	42
Thirty-first Illinois Regiment	10	62	10
Taylor's Chicago Battery	—	8	—
Dollins' Illinois Cavalry	1	4	—
Delano's Illinois Cavalry	1	2	—
On Gun-boat Tyler	1	2	—

RECAPITULATION.

Killed	84
Wounded	288
Missing	235
Total casualties	607

CHAPTER LIII.

The Enemy emulating the United States Expeditions.—The Fire Zouaves under "Billy Wilson" at Santa Rosa.—Bitter Hostility against them.—Preparations of the Enemy.—Landing of General Anderson at Deer Point.—Attack upon the Encampment of the Zouaves.—The Zouaves surprised and forced to retreat.—The Enemy rifle and fire the Encampment.—The Zouaves, reinforced from Fort Pickens, return to the charge.—The Enemy forced to retreat, and suffer greatly in making for their boats. Comparative Losses.—Enemy's account of the affair.—Colonel Brown's Report.—A characteristic Report from "Billy Wilson."—Personal Trophies.—Wilson reported killed.—Exhibition of his Head and Hair in Pensacola.—The Ladies of Secessia wearing bits of Wilson's Flag.—Long inactivity on both sides.—Bombardment of the Enemy's works near Pensacola.—Purpose of the attack.—The Federal vessels preparing.—Getting into position.—Great enthusiasm.—Fire opened.—Engagement with Fort McRae.—Difficulties from shallowness of the water. -The Richmond obliged to retire.—The Niagara continues the fight.—The Enemy's Flag down and up again.—Guns of Fort McRae silenced.—End of first day.—The results summed up.—Bombardment renewed.—The men-of-war not in action.—Warrington set on fire.—A steamer disabled.—The second day's work summed up.—Damage to Fort Pickens.—Close of the action.—A second Bombardment.—The result.

1861. THE enemy, apparently desirous of emulating the imposing naval expeditions of the Federalists, ventured in their turn to make an assault upon Santa Rosa Island, opposite to Pensacola. Here the Fire Zouaves, recruited in the city of New York, and commanded by that civic notability, Colonel "Billy Wilson," had lately arrived and encamped about a mile from the Federal Fort Pickens. The object of the enemy was to surprise and capture those robust fellows, against whom a bitter hostility had been engendered at the South by their supposed unscrupulous designs. The secessionist leader, General Anderson, had mustered some fifteen hundred men, who volunteered their services from the various camps in the neighborhood of Pensacola. Embarking his force at Oct. 9. night upon several steamers, launches, and small boats, he landed about two o'clock in the morning at Deer Point Santa Rosa Island, four miles above the encampment of the Wilson Zouaves. Anderson immediately advanced, dividing his troops into three columns, each taking a different direction. Meeting first with the picket guards and driving them back, they soon came upon the encampment itself, which the several divisions of the enemy surrounded and began to attack. The Zouaves were taken by surprise, and although they fought well, were forced to fall back and seek the cover of the two batteries, Lincoln and Totten, situated on either side of the island, about 400 yards from Fort Pickens. The enemy having soon rifled the encampment, set fire to the tents and barracks. In the mean time, the Zouaves, as they were retreating, were met by a reinforcement of regulars sent out from Fort Pickens, and the combined force returned to the charge. The enemy, as soon as they discovered their danger, made for the boats with great speed and in much confusion. Followed closely,

and fired upon by a succession of volleys as they were embarking and making sail, they suffered greatly. One of their launches loaded with men being completely riddled by bullets, sunk, and it was estimated that they lost 150 men in all. Twenty-two were killed, five wounded, thirty-three were left on the island, and others were drowned or carried away to the mainland. The Federal loss in all, although the enemy claimed to have killed a hundred men, was computed to amount to thirteen killed, thirty wounded, and nineteen taken prisoners.

The enemy seemed little satisfied with the result, and recorded it with less than their usual exultation:

"Our men," wrote one of their chroniclers,* "retired in great confusion, and the line was a confused mass, moving without orders, and almost without object. We expected every moment to be shelled by Pickens and the fleet, which could have swept the island and not left a man. Fortunately for us they had sent out several companies to intercept our boats and cut off our retreat. These lay behind the sand hills and embankment, and fired upon our disorganized masses. Several attempts were made to rally into line, but without effect. The island is alternate marshes, ravines, and hills, with occasional long sandy plains. Whenever we met these squads we had to carry the place by storm, yet their advantage was too manifest.

"They could hide behind sand hills, completely protecting themselves from our bullets, and fire into our disorganized body for several minutes before we could come upon them. Several times we met these hostile squads and mistook them for friends, occasioning us heavy loss. One time, I remember in particular, we were assailed by a body of Zouaves who stood in a swamp; as they commenced firing we gave the watchword, and were answered 'friends.' I thought perhaps they had forgotten the reply, yet they continued to shoot down the men around me at a fearful rate. I noticed them more closely, and could perceive the peculiarity of their dress, and could tell by the whiz of their bullets that they were armed with rifles that were not like ours.

"We then turned upon them and soon cleaned out the company. This was the severest tug of all, and we suffered severely before we discovered their complexions. In the spot I fought from I saw some seven or eight of our men fall within five feet of me, while several others fell around. This was about the last skirmish we had, yet straggling bodies fired for miles, doing but little damage. Scattered as we were for such a distance, and exhausted as were our men, they could have completely cut us off with cavalry or flying artillery had they had either. It took a long time for us to re-embark. As we were huddled together in open scows, they fired upon us after we were out of reach, and shot several of our men. Their large Enfield rifles carry a ball a great distance, and elevate my musket as I would, the bullet fell short of the beach, while their balls fell among us or passed just over our heads. Here

* Atlanta *Intelligencer*.

Brigadier-General Anderson was wounded very severely, though he had passed all danger on the island, and that, too, far in the rear of the enemy.

"It was wonderful that our soldiers should have fallen into such disorder and been so given up to excitement. Our men were as brave and daring as it was possible for soldiers to be, and in the presence of the enemy acted with as much gallantry as the occasion warranted. One cause of the confusion of ranks was the strange land we had to climb over, and the deep bogs we had to wade. I should rather attempt to scale the ruggedest peak of the Rocky Mountains than to make a forced march on Santa Rosa Island. It is impossible for the best drilled troops in the world to keep in line in such a place. Another thing that prevented, was that the advanced bodies were less tired than the rear, and marched too fast. Again, one section just in front of us had their captain killed and a lieutenant wounded, and came crowding back into our ranks.

"I scarcely know whether we achieved a victory or suffered a defeat. We did the duty which we went to perform, and did it well; yet we shot down our own friends in numbers. Indeed, I think as many of our own men were shot by friends as by foes. Night skirmishing is a dangerous business, especially in an unknown country, as was the island of Santa Rosa."

Colonel Brown, the commander of Fort Pickens, in his official report, which follows, gives a clear and authentic statement of the whole affair:

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF FLORIDA,
FORT PICKENS, *Friday, Oct.* 11, 1861.

"COLONEL: I briefly reported to you on the 9th instant, that the rebels had landed on this island, partially destroyed the camp of the Sixth Regiment New York Volunteers, and had been driven off by our troops.

"I now report in detail the results of the attack. For the better understanding of the several movements, it may be well to state that the enemy landed about four miles from this port. The place may be recognized on the map by three ponds and a mound; that the island there is about three-fourths of a mile wide; that a short distance below it narrows to some two hundred yards, then widens again, and at camp the distance across is about five-eighths of a mile; that a succession of three or four sand ridges run on the sea parallel with the coast along the island, and low swampy ground interspersed with sand hillocks; some bushes and a few trees extend along the harbor side, both shores being a sandy beach.

"Wilson's camp is near the sea-coast, and a short mile from the fort. The two batteries spoken of in his report, and to which he retreated—batteries Lincoln and Totten—are, the first on the harbor, and the other on the Gulf side, about 400 yards from Fort Pickens.

"About two o'clock on the morning of the 9th instant I was awakened by the officer of the day, who reported that a picket driven in had reported the landing of sixty men on the point. Having little confidence in the correctness of this report, I directed that no alarm should

be made, and shortly after he reported that the alarm was false. About half-past three o'clock he again reported that volleys of musketry were heard at the camp of the Sixth Regiment New York Volunteers. I immediately ordered the roll to be beaten, Major Vodges to take two companies and proceed to the spot, and Major Arnold to man the guns on the ramparts on the space.

"About half an hour after this time the firing was heavy, and the light of the burning camp seen. I sent a staff officer to communicate with Major Vodges, who returned very soon and said he had fallen in with a large body of the enemy on the inside shore, and could not find the Major. I immediately ordered Major Arnold to proceed to support Major Vodges, with two companies, and at the same time sent an order to Colonel Wilson to advance and attack the enemy. I also dispatched a staff officer on board the steamer McClellan, with orders for him to take position opposite the landing-place, and open on the enemy; unfortunately at the same time directing him to go to the Potomac, lying near, and ask for some men to assist him in case landing was necessary. Captain Powell directed him to tow his ship to the scene of action, which so delayed him that he did not arrive until after the enemy had vacated. Captain Powell acted from the best of motives, and, under ordinary circumstances, from correct principles, but the result was unfortunate, as the McClellan could have driven the rebel steamers away, and we must have made prisoners of most of the invaders.

"At the request of Major Arnold, late in the morning I sent forward a light field gun, which, however, did not reach until the affair was over.

"As I propose only briefly to allude to the volunteers, I respectfully refer you to the official report of the colonel of the regiment. The picket of this regiment, and the guards, sustained its principal, if not entire loss, and behaved well. Captain Daly's company, on duty with the regulars, did good service, and the captain is spoken of by Major Arnold in terms of high approbation. He had two men killed. Captain Bailey's company was at a battery, and was not called out; he was performing his appropriate duty during the fight. Major Vodges, with Companies A, First Artillery, and E, Third Infantry, proceeded behind the Spanish fort, about a mile from this fort, when, from the obscurity of the night, he found himself and command completely intermingled with the enemy. He was immediately recognized and made prisoner, the command devolving on Captain Hildt, of the Third Infantry, who disengaged his command from their perilous position and opened a heavy fire on the enemy, and finally, with great gallantry, forced them to retreat—he being ably supported by Lieut. Zeeley, my assistant adjutant-general, who volunteered for the occasion—with a loss of ten killed.

"Major Arnold at this moment came up, and, the enemy retreating, followed on. During this time, Major Power and Lieutenant Jackson, whom I had successively sent on to push forward the

Zouaves, succeeded in getting some collected, and Colonel Wilson also advanced, the enemy precipitately retreating.

"Major Arnold, Captain Robertson, and Lieut. Shipley's companies promptly followed and attacked, and as they were embarking, the other companies arriving upon the ground successively, Captain Robertson opened a heavy fire at short musket range on the crowded masses, and Lieutenant Shipley, some fifteen minutes later, joined him, and their fire must have been very effective. This was continued so long as they were within range. When they got beyond it, the Major ordered the men to cease firing, and to give them three cheers, to which there was no response. During the time of this occurrence, Major Power came up with two small companies of Zouaves, and subsequently Colonel Wilson, with a portion of his regiment.

"When it is considered that less than 200 regulars with some 50 volunteers pursued five times their number four miles and expelled them, under a heavy fire, from the island they had desecrated, it will, I trust, be considered an evidence of their having gallantly performed their duty. The plan of attack of the enemy was judicious, and, if executed with ordinary ability, might have been attended with serious loss; but he failed in all save the burning of one half of the tents of the Sixth Regiment, which, being covered with bushes, were very combustible, and in rifling the trunks of the officers. He did not reach within 500 yards of the batteries, the guns of which he was to spike, nor within a mile of the fort he was to enter pell-mell, the fugitives retreating before his victorious arms. I have now in my possession nine spikes taken from the bodies of the dead, designed for our guns.

"Our loss is, of regulars, four killed, twenty-six wounded—most very slightly, and eight missing, among whom is Major Vodges; of the Sixth Regiment New York Volunteers, ten killed, six wounded, and sixteen missing.

"The enemy's loss, as known to us, is fourteen killed, including one captain, seven wounded, including one lieutenant—two have since died—and five officers and twenty-two enlisted men, prisoners; and, as he was known to have carried off some of his dead, and probably most of his wounded, those in our hands being severely so, and unable to be removed, and as the heaviest loss is supposed to have been in the boats at the re-embarkation, it was probably three times as great in killed and wounded as I have named.

"I close, with the agreeable duty of naming to you the officers engaged, who so faithfully performed their duty. I mention Major Vodges first—who unfortunately was taken prisoner before a gun on our part was fired—to say that, as second in command, and my executive officer, he has efficiently and industriously performed his duty during the whole time of my command, and his services have been very valuable. Major Arnold, who succeeded to the command after the capture of his superior, conducted the affair with great gallantry, prudence, and ability; he speaks in the highest terms of Captains Robertson and Heildt, and

Lieutenants Shipley and Seeley, and, indeed, of all the others whose names I give: Major Power and Lieutenant Reese, of the Engineers; Lieutenants Duryea, Langdon, Jackson, and Taylor, of the United States Army, and Captain Dole, of the New York Volunteers; and it gives me great pleasure to append the names of non-commissioned officers and privates named by their company commanders for distinguished good conduct, and to recommend them to the favorable notice of the Government. The following are the companies of Majors Vodges and Arnold who participated in the battle, and (with a very few exceptions of individuals) to whom the greatest praise is due: Company A, First Artillery, Company H, Second Artillery, and Companies C and E, Third Infantry.

"I estimated the force of the enemy at 1,200 or 1,500, having closely observed them through a fine telescope as they retreated. The two steamers, and a large barge of equal size, and five or six launches, were all crowded with troops, and the almost unanimous estimate of the officers is 1,600, from personal observation. I am, Colonel, very respectfully, yours, HARVEY BROWN,

"Colonel Commanding.

"COLONEL E. D. TOWNSEND, Assistant Adjutant-General, Washington, D. C."

The official report of "Billy Wilson" is too characteristic to be omitted. He thus wrote to General Arthur, of the State of New York:

"SIR: We have had our first fight. It was a terrible one for the enemy. We lost nine men; wounded, seven; missing, ten—out of what force I had with me. You must know my companies are scattered about. I have with me five companies, numbering 360, of which 50 were sick, 47 detailed on service at the fort, and about 70 on guard that night. We have to watch a mile of the beach and three-fourths of a mile in front of our encampment. The island is three-fourths of a mile wide at this point. We had 133 men to turn out.

"On the morning of the 9th instant (October), at half-past three o'clock, the enemy attacked us in three columns, commencing by attacking with small parties of twenty or thirty men every sentinel. Two companies charged the picket tent, the three bodies numbering in all 2,000 men, simultaneously firing volleys of musketry into the hospital and guard-house. We were out and formed in quick time. The sentinels, the guard, and officers came running in. They had fought retreating, until overpowered, killing quite a number of them. Several of our pickets were killed and wounded. Private W. Scott deliberately waited until one column was within ten feet of him, and then shot the commanding officer, Captain Bradford. In an instant after we were formed, fronting, as I supposed, the enemy. It was so dark that I could not discover a man ten feet off. We were fired into from three sides. I had just sent out Captain Harelton with his company to the front as skirmishers, and Captain Duffy with twenty men to the left flank, to endeavor to find out the whereabouts of the enemy and draw their fire, when, bang! we got it from all

sides. By companies and file I wheeled my men into line and returned the fire. At this moment a blaze arose—the tents were all on fire; the quartermaster's and commission store or building was also on fire, all at one time. The distance from the camp to the commission building is an eighth of a mile. We could then see our enemy for the first time, in dense masses in the centre of our camp, and extended along the ridge. Companies were seen moving across the ridges endeavoring to surround us. A large body of men were also drawn up fronting the camp, firing into our camp, and setting fire to everything. We retired behind the first ridge toward the sea, halted, and faced the enemy. I had but sixty men with me; I sent out for the rest of my men and officers, but could not find them. Stragglers came in and reported that Lieutenant-Colonel Creighton, Captains Harelton, Huherer, Hotrel, and Lieutenant Silloway had retired toward the fort. On hearing this, I said to my few men, 'We will be cut off; they are trying to surround us; we are too few to fight so many;' and they gradually, being in good order, moved toward the beach on the first battery, where we rested a few moments. We then, as daylight appeared, marched in chase of the enemy. Until this time I had heard no news of my men, nor of the regulars. I then learned from Major Towen that several companies were in chase of the enemy. We hurried up, some seven miles, and arrived a few moments too late at the place where the enemy were getting slaughtered by our men, while they were endeavoring to embark. There were three steamboats and three barges. The enemy lost in killed and wounded about 500 men. General Anderson led them on. Their war-cry was, 'Death to Wilson! No quarter to Wilson's Zouaves!' Five thousand dollars was the reward for him, dead or alive. All our loss is about 20 killed, 15 wounded, and 20 prisoners.

"Our new clothes are all destroyed. I have lost everything I had; my men also. They burned us out completely. Our papers and books are burned. My commission is safe. I sent to the post-office the day before the fight. My men did well. They have smelt gunpowder—now they are all right. We commence the fight to-morrow. They have 12,000 men. They are exhibiting my head and hair in Pensacola. The reward is already claimed; also an old flag, which I nailed to a flag-staff on the Fourth of July, which has been hanging there ever since; nothing left, however, but the stars. The ladies have cut it up in pieces and have it pinned on their bosoms as a trophy. Every one in Pensacola has my sword and uniform. I must have had a large quantity of hair, plenty of swords and uniforms. They say if I was to be taken alive, I was to be put in a cage and exhibited.

"Yesterday five Americans and two ladies escaped from Pensacola and gave us all the news of how they describe the terrible victory. We lay upon our arms every night. I have slept but little this week. I don't feel well. We will want 800 uniforms. Your obedient servant,

"William Wilson, Col. Com'g."

After this daring but unsuccessful attempt of the enemy at Pensacola, the antagonists, though confronting each other so closely, remained quiet in mutual defiance for a long time.

Nov. 22. On the 22d of November, however, the silence was broken by a combined bombardment, from the Federal vessels of war and Fort Pickens, of the enemy's works on the mainland surrounding the harbor of Pensacola. The object of the attack was generally to do as much damage as possible to the enemy, but especially to draw their fire, in order to test the range of their guns, as an attempt was to be made to destroy the navy yard at Pensacola and its fortress. The United States steamer Niagara, the Richmond, and the Montgomery, under the general command of Flag-Officer McKean, were the three national vessels, then off Fort Pickens, which took part in the engagement. On the day before, every preparation was made for action. To protect the machinery of the steamers, bags of coal were placed around such portions of it as might be exposed to shot, and all the usual preliminaries arranged. Orders were issued to the vessels to move at daylight next morning and take such a position as to be able to engage Fort McRae and the water and sand batteries in front of it. It was agreed between Captain McKean and Colonel Brown, that the latter should begin the attack by opening fire on the enemy's little steamers, as they passed on their usual daily route from the city of Pensacola to the navy yard, and endeavor to sink them, so as to prevent the transportation of reinforcements.

At sunrise the men-of-war were all ready. The boats had been hoisted out and moored alongside, the shot and shell brought up from below, and "steam got up," ready for a move. The chaplain offered up the usual morning prayer and implored the blessing of God upon the enterprise. The flag-officer addressed a few direct words to his officers and men, urging upon them "strict obedience to all orders, coolness, judgment, and precision in firing." The crew responded with three hearty cheers, and impatiently awaited the order for weighing anchor and moving to take part in the action.

At about half-past nine o'clock the enemy's little steamers were seen coming down from Pensacola, and were anxiously watched until they made fast to the dock at the navy yard. At this moment, just twelve minutes to ten o'clock, Fort Pickens opened fire. The crews of the men-of-war greeted the sound of the cannon with a loud hurrah, and the order being given to weigh anchor, the work was done with a "will." As it was necessary, in order to bring the guns of the Niagara within range, to run into water so shoal, that even in a smooth sea there would be only twenty inches under the keel, great caution had to be used in working her in. She was forced to seek a position in which she would be able, in case of a blow, to move at once into deeper water.

The Richmond, in the mean time, came under the stern of the Niagara, and was

ordered by the commodore—on board of the latter, his flag-ship—to move in until within range of the forts and open fire. This she did immediately, and was at once hotly engaged. The Niagara continued cautiously to steam on until she also came within range, as was supposed, when she dropped her anchor. The enemy's guns at Fort McRae and the water battery were in the mean time firing, but their shots fell short of the Niagara. This steamer being moored, fired her first shot from an eighty-four-pound rifled gun, which appeared to tell. On discharging an eleven-inch cannon, its shot was seen to fall short. Several subsequent attempts proving equally ineffectual, a boat was sent out to sound, and it being found that the steamer could move still closer in, the anchor was hove, and the Niagara brought a fourth of a mile nearer to the forts.

"We now again," wrote one of the officers of the Niagara, "opened fire from our broadside guns, and this time to some purpose. Almost every shot told, and there must have been a fearful scattering of pieces, as our shell exploded over their heads. I do not think there was ever any target practice in the navy that can show such a record of effective shots. The rebels were constantly throwing shot at us, and seemed to be either increasing the charge of powder or else getting more elevation, for their shots gradually came nearer, though it was not until late in the afternoon that we were struck. By twelve o'clock both the Richmond and Niagara, together with the guns bearing from Fort Pickens and battery Scott, were playing into Fort McRae and its surrounding batteries. We averaged one shell every three minutes, and as the Richmond had more guns, though smaller, and more than our number of guns were being served from Santa Rosa, there were about two shells each minute being fired at this point.

"About one o'clock a firing commenced from a masked battery which disclosed itself in the woods along the shore, and about a mile south of McRae. They seemed to have a particular spite against us by the pertinacity with which they fired at us; but finding that they could not reach us, they turned their attention to the Richmond, which was nearer in shore. Many of their shot came very close to the latter, and had they been well directed would have done a great deal of damage. Only one took effect, however, and I regret to record that this killed one man and wounded seven. The man killed was captain of the gun, and was in the act of taking aim when struck. The wounded were but slightly hurt. The battery of the Richmond was now brought to bear upon the hidden rebels, but I do not think it did much execution, as most of her shot were seen to fall short. About five o'clock she hauled out."

The Niagara continued the engagement, and her fire seemed to have great effect. A wooden barrack in the rear of Fort McRae was set on fire, and the flag-staff of the fort shot away, bringing down the enemy's flag, which, however, was soon raised again. The firing continued on both sides until six o'clock.

when the guns of Fort McRae no longer responded. The Niagara continued to pour shot and shell into the silenced batteries, when it becoming too dark to fire with any certainty of aim, she hauled off and anchored out of range. She had suffered little during the engagement, having received but two shots in her sides, one of which passed through the lieutenants' room, scattering everything within. The Niagara had fired the large number of 180 shells, some of which were filled with sand for the purpose of rendering them more effective in breaching the walls. The effect of this heavy bombardment was supposed to have been the dismounting of the heaviest gun of Fort McRae, and silencing the rest.

Thus closed the first day, during which Fort Pickens had been as active with its guns as the men-of-war. "My fire," says Colonel Brown, "was incessant, from the time of opening until it was too dark to see, at the rate of a shot for each gun every fifteen or twenty minutes, the fire of the enemy being somewhat slower. By noon the guns of Fort McRae were all silenced but one. * * We reduced very perceptibly the fire of Barrancas, entirely silenced that in the navy yard and in one or two other batteries, the efficiency of our fire at the close of the day not being the least impaired."

Nov. 23. Early on the next morning the bombardment was renewed from Fort Pickens. The steamers not being able to get within range, owing to the shallowness of the water, were prevented from taking any effective part in the engagement. "My fire this day," wrote Colonel Brown, "was less rapid, and I think more efficient, than that of yesterday. Fort McRae, so effectually silenced yesterday, did not fire again to-day. We silenced entirely one or two guns, and had one of ours disabled by a shot coming through the embrasure.

"About three o'clock, fire was communicated to one of the houses in Warrington, and shortly afterwards to the church steeple, the church and the whole village being immediately in rear of the rebel batteries, they apparently having placed them purposely directly in front of the largest and most valuable buildings. The fire rapidly communicated to other buildings along the street, until probably two-thirds of it was consumed; and about the same time fire was discovered issuing from the back part of the navy yard, probably in Wolcott, a village to the north, immediately adjoining the yard as Warrington does on the west. Finally, it penetrated to the yard, and as it continued to burn brightly all night, I concluded that either in it or in Wolcott many buildings were destroyed. Very heavy damage was also done to the buildings of the yard by the avalanche of shot, shell, and splinters showered unceasingly on them for two days, but as they were nearly fire-proof, being built of brick and covered with slate, I could not succeed in firing them, my hot shot and shells not having any power of igniting them.

"The steamer Time, which was then lying at the wharf, was abandoned on the first day and exposed to our fire,

which probably entirely disabled her. The fire was again continued till dark, and with mortars, occasionally, until two o'clock the next morning, when the combat ceased."

Colonel Brown thus briefly sums up the damage sustained by Fort Pickens: "The fort, though it has received a great many shot and shell, is, in every respect, save the disabling of one gun-carriage and the loss of service of six men, as efficient as it was at the commencement of the combat."

The most serious damage done by the enemy was suffered by the Richmond on the first day of the engagement. A shot struck her on the water-line, and penetrating the side, dropped in the purser's room, and, in spite of her steam pumps, she made water so fast that it was found necessary to send her to Key West for repairs. An accident occurred in Fort Pickens which was more fatal than any of the direct blows of the enemy. One of the men was trying to empty a shell which had fallen in the fort, by knocking it against another. An explosion followed, which discharged another shell, and resulted in instantly killing five soldiers and wounding seven more.

After this heavy bombardment—which, notwithstanding it lasted two days, did little damage to either side—the old state of quiet ensued between the enemy about Pensacola and our forces on Santa Rosa Island, but was again disturbed at the opening of the new year (January 1, 1862) by a fire from Fort Pickens upon one of the enemy's steamers. The Confederate commander, General Bragg, responded from his batteries, and the bombardment was continued on both sides for a whole day. Next morning the enemy renewed his fire, but it not being responded to, no further engagement took place. Little damage was done to either antagonist.

CHAPTER LIV.

The effect of the Defeat at Bull Run upon Public Opinion at the North.—Popular Indignation.—Indiscriminate censure.—The Innocent confounded with the Guilty.—Frank confession of the Commander-in-Chief.—Injustice to General McDowell.—Vicarious suffering.—Who were to blame?—Graceful resignation of a victim of popular Prejudice.—A new Candidate for Public Fame.—General McClellan appointed to the chief command on the Potomac.—His journey to Washington.—Modesty.—The single speech.—Arrival at the Capital.—Immediate attention to Business.—Improved Police and better Discipline.—Checks to secession in Washington.—Regulation of the Press.—The Department of McClellan defined.—Organization.—Fortifications on the Potomac.—Their extent and strength.—Safety of Washington secured.—Maryland Tranquillized.—General Dix at Baltimore.—General Banks on the Potomac.—"All is quiet on the Potomac."—Skirmishes.—The affair at Bolivar.—Success of the Unionists.—Supposed change in the position of the Enemy.—Position of Banks' Division.—Strengthening of the Enemy's right, and supposed drawing in of their left.—The cause of the attack at Ball's Bluff.—Prudence of McClellan.—Reconnoissance of Drainesville.—Leesburg.—Reported evacuation of the two places.—Instructions of McClellan.—Stone's notification of his movement across the Potomac, and the disaster at Ball's Bluff.

1861. AFTER the reckless attack and consequent defeat of the Federal forces at Bull Run, the country was suddenly awakened from the delusion in which it had indulged as to the all-conquering might of its own undisciplined troops and the inferiority of those of the Confederates. The people naturally turned against those who had designedly or ignorantly excited their hopes. The "On to Richmond" cry was drowned in a flood of popular indignation. Public opinion is seldom discriminating, and often not only confounds the innocent with the guilty, but visits the sins of the latter upon the former. This was emphatically the case in the popular verdict in regard to the battle at Bull Run. The penitent whimperings of the instigators of that movement were readily listened to and their sins forgiven, while the innocent actors in it were forced to submit to the rigors of an unsparing penance.

The veteran Commander-in-chief forestalled popular censure by his frank confession, that he had been the greatest coward of all, in having yielded, in opposition to his own judgment, to the impulse of public sentiment. General McDowell, who had led the army to that fatal battle-field merely in obedience to a military superior, suffered most in reputation. The public censure was chiefly directed against him, and there lingered a prejudice against McDowell, which, by consigning him to a subordinate position, thus deprived the country of the services of one of its ablest and most patriotic leaders.

To appease the popular anger at the defeat at Bull Run, the sacrifice of a victim became necessary, and the unfortunate general was made to atone vicariously for the ignorant excitement of the multitude, the artful provocations of an unscrupulous press, the partisan

schemes of designing politicians, the facile concurrence of a dependent administration, and the confessed weakness of the commander-in-chief. For all these combined were the causes of the fatal movement, and upon their authors the popular indignation should have been heaped, and not upon the head of the brave and skilful McDowell.

Fortunately for the country, there were those who, in their devotion to its interests, were willing to come to its rescue, though at the risk of sacrificing reputation more dear to a soldier than his life. A successor was found to the sacrificed McDowell, who yielded with graceful resignation to his substitute, and with patriotic submissiveness became his subordinate. The successful campaign of General McClellan in Western Virginia had won for him great renown, and
July 22. when the Government selected him to command our army on the Potomac, the people welcomed the choice with acclamation.

The young General hurried rapidly to his post of duty, and, modestly disclaiming those expressions of applause which the American people so bountifully bestow even in advance, kept aloof from the crowd eager to exalt and idolize him. In his native Philadelphia, however, he could not escape the importunate multitude, but even while yielding so far as to address them, the brevity of his speech, and its deprecation of unearned favor, proved his distaste for indiscriminate applause.

"My friends and old townsmen," he said, "I thank you for your reception, and might reply, if this were not a time for action, and not for speech. Your applause, as I take it, is intended for my brave soldiers in Western Virginia. I am going to fulfil new duties, and I trust that your kindness will give me courage and strength. Good-bye."

As soon as General McClellan reached Washington, he immediately assumed command on the Potomac, **July 26.**
and began a rigorous course of organization and discipline, by which, it was hoped, the unformed mass of raw recruits might be converted into a powerful army of orderly soldiers. His first act was to enforce a rigid system of military police. The indulgent Mansfield having been transferred to a command at Fortress Monroe, General Porter was appointed provost marshal, and the capital soon ceased to be scandalized by the debauchery of idle officers filling the hotels, and vagrant soldiers roaming the streets.

General McClellan thus indicated in an "order" his determination to reform the prevailing abuse: **July 30.**

"The General commanding the division has with much regret observed that large numbers of officers and men stationed in the vicinity of Washington, are in the habit of frequenting the streets and hotels of the city. This practice is eminently prejudicial to good order and military discipline, and must at once be discontinued.

"The time and services of all persons connected with this division should be devoted to their appropriate duties with their respective commands. It is there-

fore directed that hereafter no officer or soldier be allowed to absent himself from his camp and visit Washington, except for the performance of some public duty, or the transaction of important private business, for which purposes written permits will be given by the commanders of brigades. The permit will state the object of the visit. Brigade commanders will be held responsible for the strict execution of this order."

The severe scrutiny which ensued as to the loyalty of many employed in the public offices, and of the citizens, male and female, of Washington, in which city it was suspected there was much active sympathy with the enemy, was supposed to have been suggested by the newly-appointed General. The representatives, in the capital, of the newspaper press throughout the North, were especially invited by General McClellan to "consult" with him, and the result of the conference was the unanimous decision, that the following "suggestions" be transmitted to the editors of all the newspapers in all the loyal States and in the District of Columbia:

"1st. That all such editors be required to refrain from publishing, either as editorial or correspondence, any description, from any point of view, of any matter that might furnish aid and comfort to the enemy.

"2d. That they be also requested and earnestly solicited to signify to their correspondents here and elsewhere their approval of the foregoing suggestion, and to comply with it in spirit and letter."

It was, moreover, resolved that the Government be respectfully requested to afford the representatives of the press facilities for obtaining and immediately transmitting all information suitable for publication, particularly touching engagements with the enemy.

By a general order, the extent of General McClellan's command was defined. His military control was greatly enlarged beyond that of any serving under the veteran Scott, still the commander-in-chief.

"There will be added," are the terms of the order, "to the Department of the Shenandoah the counties of Washington, Alleghany, in Maryland, and such other parts of Virginia as may be covered by the army in its operations. And there will be added to the Department of Washington the counties of Prince George, Montgomery, and Frederick. The remainder of Maryland, and all of Pennsylvania and Delaware, will constitute the Department of Pennsylvania, headquarters Baltimore. The Department of Washington and the Department of Northeastern Virginia will constitute a geographical division under Major-General McClellan, United States Army, headquarters Washington."

The organization of the large army on the Potomac—which had rapidly increased after the battle of Bull Run, under the inspiring influence of the new and trusted leader—now absorbed the interest of General McClellan. He devoted himself with ceaseless activity to the work. His staff was appointed, and new appointments and promotions to generalships and other ranks rapidly made. The

whole army was divided into brigades and divisions, and chiefs selected to command them. An attempt was made to secure efficiency of officers, by establishing commissions to examine into their military knowledge. A large number of resignations followed, some of which were voluntary, from self-confessed, and many compulsory in consequence of proved, incompetence.

The fortifications on the Potomac, under the eye and direction of McClellan, were so rapidly extended and perfected, that the chief engineer, Brigadier-General Barnard, was enabled to state in his report that the defences of Washington "consisted of about forty-eight works, mounting over 300 guns, some of which are of very large size," and, to add, "that the actual defensive perimeter occupied is about thirty-five miles, exceeding the length of the famous, and hitherto the most extensive—fortified by extemporized field-works—lines of Torres Vedras by several miles." Dec. 7.

With the great increase of the national forces and the extension and completion of the defensive works on the Potomac, there was no longer any fear for the safety of Washington. Maryland, too, remained tranquil and loyal. General Dix had succeeded General Banks in the command of this department, and was pursuing, with the same good effect, his predecessor's policy of awing the secessionists and encouraging the friends of the Union. General Banks, superseding General Patterson, had been transferred to the upper Potomac, whither we shall follow him, to record the only military movements which for many months called for a variation in the oft-repeated dispatch, "All is quiet to-day on the Potomac."

Occasional skirmishes occurred along the whole line of the Potomac. Of these the most important occurred at Bolivar Heights, in the neighborhood of Harper's Ferry. The enemy held this position with a force estimated at 3,000 men, under the command of Colonel Ashby. The Federal troops, consisting of portions of the Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania, the Thirteenth Massachusetts, and the Third Wisconsin Regiments, numbered a little more than 1,000 men. The enemy attacked the three companies belonging to the Massachusetts Regiment—commanded by Major J. P. Gould—which were garrisoning Harper's Ferry; these having been reinforced, drove back the secessionists, but in turn were forced to retire. Colonel Geary now hastened, from his post at Point of Rocks, on the opposite side of the river, with more troops and some artillery, and succeeded in forcing the enemy from their position on the commanding Heights of Bolivar with great loss. Their leader, Ashby, was killed, and some hundred or more of their men either lost their lives or were severely wounded. A thirty-two pound columbiad was taken from them with other trophies. The Unionists were reported to have lost only thirteen men in the engagement. Oct. 16.

The enemy, in shifting the position of their forces, having strengthened their

centre at Manassas and extended their right toward the creeks and rivers below Alexandria, were supposed to have drawn back their left, which had been resting on Drainesville and Leesburgh above Washington. It was from these points or their neighborhood that Maryland had been for a long time threatened, and it had evidently been the intention of the enemy to cross the Potomac somewhere in this direction and approach the capital by a flank movement. To provide against such a movement, a large force had been concentrated on the Maryland side of the river. This was the division under the command of Major-General Banks, stationed on a line extending from Great Falls to Harper's Ferry. Banks commanded in person from Great Falls to Edward's Ferry, with his headquarters near Darnestown, twenty-two miles above Washington. General Stone held with his brigade the position between Edward's and Conrad's ferries, and Colonels Lander and Geary and others with their regiments completed the line from the latter point to Harper's Ferry.

When the enemy began to change their position on the Potomac—a movement which had become manifest from their retiring from Munson's Hill and the immediate neighborhood of Alexandria, and from the strengthening of their right on Acquia Creek and the other streams toward the mouth of the Potomac, where they had laboriously constructed a series of powerful batteries—it was supposed that they had entirely changed their plans. It appeared evident that they had given up all hope of crossing the upper Potomac, and it was concluded that they had withdrawn the main force which they had so long retained in that direction. This presumption led to the fatal encounter at Ball's Bluff.

General McClellan, although he undoubtedly was of the opinion that the force on the enemy's left had been greatly diminished in the course of the change in their line of operations, seemed to have acted with a prudence that it would have been well if some of his subordinates had emulated.

Drainesville, lower down and on the same side of the Potomac, had been, like Leesburgh, a point of concentration for the forces of the enemy's left. The troops at both places were supposed to have been greatly diminished. In order to ascertain the fact in regard to Drainesville, General McClellan ordered General McCall to make a reconnoissance in force in that direction. McCall succeeded in reaching Drainesville without any show of resistance, and moreover learned that Leesburgh had been also evacuated. **Oct. 19.** At the same time, General McClellan, anxious to ascertain more accurately the state of things at Leesburgh, ordered General Stone to be on the watch in that direction. His instructions were conveyed in this dispatch:

"General McClellan desires me to inform you that General McCall occupied Drainesville yesterday, and is still there. **Oct. 20.** Will send out heavy reconnoissances to-day in all directions from

that point. The General desires that you keep a good look-out upon Leesburgh, to see if this movement has the effect to drive them away. Perhaps a slight demonstration on your part would have the effect to move them.

"A. V. Colburn,
"Assistant Adjutant-General.
"Headquarters of the Army of the Potomac,
October 20, 1861."

General McClellan, probably not expecting that the enemy would be found in any considerable force, or if they were, not intending to give them battle, had recalled General McCall, who, after
Oct. completing the object of his recon-
21. noitring expedition, returned to his former camp at Longley, nearer the centre of the Federal line on the Virginian side of the Potomac. In the mean time General Stone having received the dispatch of General McClellan, dated the 20th of October, answered it from Poolsville on the same day, as follows:

"Made a feint of crossing at this place, this afternoon, and at the same time started a reconnoitring party toward Leesburgh from Harrison's Island. The enemy's pickets retired to intrenchments. Report of reconnoitring party not yet received. I have means of crossing 125 men once in ten minutes at each of two points. River falling slowly.

"C. P. Stone, Brigadier-General."

This dispatch conveyed the first information to headquarters of that movement across the Potomac which resulted in the fatal disaster of Ball's Bluff.

CHAPTER LV.

General Stone's movements across the Potomac.—Edward's Ferry.—Harrison's Island.—The Reconnoissance toward Leesburgh.—Conclusions of General Stone.—His determination.—A Demonstration made.—Troops thrown across the Potomac.—A gallant Reconnoissance.—Movements of Colonel Devens.—Report of no Enemy to be seen.—Orders of Stone.—Disobedience of them.—General Baker arrives at the Headquarters of Stone.—His orders.—Colonel Devens attacked by the Enemy at Ball's Bluff.—Baker to the Rescue.—Crossing of the Potomac.—The Difficulties for want of proper means.—Criminal Neglect.—The fatal consequences.—The struggle at Ball's Bluff.—Defeat.—Fatal disaster.—General Stone's movements on the Left.—General McClellan's orders in the emergency.—Fresh Troops ordered across the Potomac.—Banks ordered to advance.—McClellan at Edward's Ferry.—A bridge for crossing the Potomac secured.—Troops withdrawn from the Virginia shore.—The losses at Ball's Bluff.—The causes of the disaster.—Who was to blame.—What General Stone says for himself.—Exultation of the Enemy.—Death of Baker.—His Life and Character.—The causes of his popularity.—His obscure origin.—His early destitution.—His spirited efforts for support.—His aspirations.—An emigrant to the West.—A lawyer.—A member of Congress.—Colonel in the War with Mexico.—On the Isthmus of Panama.—In California.—Oregon.—Colonel of California Regiment.—Promotion offered, but refused.—Eloquence.

General Stone, in accordance with the
1861. instructions he had received from General McClellan, and as he stated to him in his dispatch, made a feint of crossing the Potomac at Edward's Ferry, and sent a reconnoitring party, consisting of four companies of the Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment, then stationed

at Harrison's Island, situated between Edward's and Conrad's ferry, and lying about midway of the two banks of the river Potomac. This reconnoitring party crossed from the island to the Virginian shore, and after penetrating the country to within a mile of Leesburgh, returned without having met even a picket guard, although they reported they had discovered an encampment of thirty tents, in a wood near the town. Presuming upon the reports thus brought back, General Stone seems to have concluded that the enemy was no longer in force at Leesburgh, and doubtless believed that there was now an opportunity, if any troops were left in that place, to carry out the suggestion of McClellan thus given to him: "Perhaps a slight demonstration on your part would have the effect to move them." He determined to cross the river for that purpose. Accordingly, having proceeded in person to Edward's Ferry, he prepared to throw across at that point a considerable force to make the main attack upon the enemy, while at Conrad's Ferry above, he ordered a feint to be made, and from Harrison's Island, between the two places, the small force there was directed to cross into Virginia and destroy the encampment reported to have been seen near Leesburgh. Colonel Devens, in command of the Massachusetts men, accordingly crossed from the island and proceeded to carry out this purpose. At the same time, to distract the attention of the enemy from this movement from Harrison's Island, and in order to reconnoitre in the direction of Leesburgh from Edward's Ferry, General Stone sent from this point across the river two companies of the First Minnesota Regiment, and a company of thirty-one of the Van Alen cavalry, under the command of Major Mix, accompanied by several staff officers. They were ordered to advance along the road to Leesburgh until they arrived in the vicinity of a battery known to be hidden there. "This reconnoissance was most gallantly conducted, and the party proceeded along the Leesburgh road, nearly two miles from the ferry, and when near the position of the hidden battery came suddenly upon a Mississippi Regiment, about thirty-five yards distant, received its fire, and returned it with their pistols. The fire of the enemy killed one horse, but Lieutenant Gouraud seized the dismounted man, and drawing him on his horse behind him, carried him unhurt from the field. One private of the Fourth Virginia cavalry was brought off by the party a prisoner, and being well mounted and armed, his mount replaced the one lost by the fire of the enemy."*

Oct. 21.

Colonel Devens, in the mean time, had got his four companies of Massachusetts men across the stream from Harrison's Island, and had reached the position of the reported camp near Leesburgh. He sent back word that no such camp could be found, and that the scouts of the previous day who had reported its existence had been deceived by the uncertain light, and had mistaken the open spaces between the trees for tents. Devens having at the same time discovered a place

* General Stone's official report.

of supposed security in a wood for his small force, proceeded to make an examination of the country between his position and Leesburgh, with the result, as he reported, that "thus far he could find no enemy."*

"Immediately on the receipt of this intelligence, brought me by Lieutenant Howe, who accompanied both parties (of the 20th and 21st), I ordered," says General Stone, "a non-commissioned officer and ten cavalry to join Colonel Devens for the purpose of scouring the country near him while engaged in his reconnoissance, and giving due notice of the approach of any force, and that Lieutenant-Colonel Ward, with his battalion of the Fifteenth Massachusetts, should move on to Stuart's Mills, half a mile to the right of the landing-place of Colonel Devens, and see where, in a strong position, he could watch and protect the flank of Colonel Devens on his return, and secure a second crossing more favorable than the first, and connected by a good road with Leesburgh. Captain Candy, assistant adjutant-general, and General Lander accompanied the cavalry to serve with it.

"For some reason never explained to me," adds General Stone, "neither of these orders was carried out."

General Baker now presented himself at headquarters, stating that his California Regiment was at Conrad's Ferry, and that the rest of his brigade was ready to march. General Stone at once directed him to Harrison's Island, and to assume the command there. The written orders Baker received were as follows:

"Edward's Ferry, *October* 21, 1861.

"Colonel E. D. Baker, Commander of Brigade:

"Colonel: In case of heavy firing in front of Harrison's Island, you will advance the California Regiment of your brigade, or retire the regiments under Colonels Lee and Devens, now on the Virginia side of the river, at your discretion, assuming command on arrival.

"Very respectfully, Colonel,

"Your most obedient servant,

"Charles P. Stone,

"Brigadier-General Commanding."

This, the next dispatch from headquarters, came on the same day:

"Headquarters Corps of Observation,
Edward's Ferry, *Oct.* 21, 11.50.

"E. D. Baker, Commanding Brigade:

"Colonel: I am informed that the force of the enemy is about 4,000 all told. If you can push them, you may do so, as far as to have a strong position near Leesburgh, if you can keep them before you, avoiding their batteries. If they pass Leesburgh and take the Green Spring Road, you will not follow far, but seize the first good position to cover that road. Their design is to draw us on, if they are obliged to retreat, as far as Goose Creek, where they can be reinforced from Manassas and have a strong position.

"Report frequently, so that, when they are pushed, Grover can come up on their flank. Yours, respectfully and truly,

"Charles P. Stone,

"Brigadier-General Commanding."

* General Stone's official report.

Before General Baker, in obedience to his first order, could throw any of his force across the river to the Virginia bank, Colonel Devens, who had formed his four companies in line on Ball's Bluff, in a cornfield surrounded by a dense wood, had been already assailed. An irregular skirmishing fire was the only result until the arrival of more troops, which the enemy were evidently awaiting that they might reap a bloodier harvest. At about noon three companies of the Massachusetts Regiment had crossed, followed by 600 of the California Brigade, two companies of the Tammany Regiment, accompanied by howitzers and one rifled cannon under the direction of Lieutenant Bramhall, of the Ninth New York.

The crossing of the two branches of the river, formed by Harrison's Island, and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, which runs along the Maryland shore, though easily made with proper means of transport, was exceedingly slow, in consequence of the small number of boats and their bad condition, and caused the defeat of the whole enterprise. The entire means of transportation, even at Edward's Ferry, where General Stone commanded in person and proposed to throw across the river his main force, consisted only of "two shaky scows, and one ship's yawl into which fifteen persons might perhaps be crowded. The consequence was, that General Stone was only able to throw a very small portion of his force into Virginia, when there was a pressing need for all."

The means of transport from the Maryland shore to Harrison's Island and thence to the Virginia shore were equally deficient. To cross the canal, recourse was had to the expedient of placing a canal boat lengthwise between the banks. The only provision for crossing thence to Harrison's Island, over a swift channel two hundred yards in width, were two scows or flat-bottomed boats, holding thirty persons each. It was found impossible to transport by this inadequate means more than a hundred and twenty soldiers an hour. From Harrison's Island again to the Virginia shore, the only means of transportation consisted of a scow and a yawl or life-boat. The stream on this side is narrow, being only a hundred yards wide, but its current is rapid, and the Virginian bank is ten feet high, clayey and slippery, while it is backed by the wooded bluff known as Ball's Bluff, from eighty to a hundred and fifty feet in height.

General Baker having been ordered with his brigade to reinforce the remaining Massachusetts men, reached the river bank as the latter were crossing. "The reinforcements from the Massachusetts regiments were using the boats to cross, and the rate at which troops went over was painfully slow," says a careful chronicler.* "By and by a scow capable of holding forty persons was discovered in the canal, and with infinite pains dumped over into the river. Late in the morning Wistar's [lieutenant-colonel of California First Regiment] battalion began to cross in this, and, finally, getting the other boats, had all landed on Harri-

* New York *World*.

son's Island in the early afternoon. The transit of the Virginia channel was still slower. Here there were only the scow and life-boat. The current was very swift, and, as on the Maryland side, each boat had to be pushed up stream a dozen rods with setting-poles in order to hit the landing on the opposite side. The men worked heroically, but the last of the California battalion did not reach the Virginia heights until four o'clock P. M. At that time a smart conflict had been continuing for two hours, while skirmishing shots had been exchanged since breakfast. Large numbers of our killed or wounded on the heights were brought down the bluff and passed over to the island in the returning boats. There was a farm-house on the island, directly in the line of our transit, round which the troops made a detour in crossing. Long before Wistar's battalion had all passed to the Virginia side, this house was turned into a hospital, every room being occupied by our sufferers.

"Meanwhile Baker had accompanied the first half of Wistar's command to the opposite shore, had visited the battle-field, conferred with Devens and Lee, seen at a glance the prospects of the day, and come down again to the bank of the river. The Virginia channel was so narrow that commands could be shouted from the island to the shore. Rittman, the senior captain of Wistar's battalion, was in command on the island, superintending the transit on the Virginia side.

"Baker shouted to Rittman to send word to General Stone that the enemy were pressing him in force; that he was in need of instant assistance, but would endeavor to hold his ground till Gorman could effect a junction. Rittman dispatched an orderly to headquarters with this statement. General Stone says that it failed to reach him. If it had, it would in any event have reached him too late.

"We may now leave the island, the twin river branches, and ascend the slippery banks and the precipitous wooded bluff, by a winding blood-stained path, to the fire and carnage of the deathful opening above. By some appropriate chance the enemy did not make his concerted onset, his final and fatal charges, until the greater portion of our reinforcements had reached the field, and Baker, taking command, and knowing that no further help could reach him, was disposing his little column in brave battle order. Brave, but less strategic, since he retained the position which he found Devens, Lee, and Coggswell had chosen before him (that, perhaps, into which Devens, returning, had been forced), he refused to imitate the Indian warfare of the tree-sheltered and skulking foe. The field was a parallelogram, seventy-five yards wide by two hundred in length. At the distant front, and down the right and left, a thick, dark forest skirted its sides. Behind, the bluff fell steeply off to the river. About a hundred feet from the edge occurred the only interruption to the dead level of this arena, a gentle roll stretching in front of our lines, certainly not more than a yard in height, yet

affording some little cover for both artillery and infantry. A spur of the field, shaped like a cow's horn, extended a dozen rods into the woods on the left, half way between the enemy's front and our own. Directly on the left, and near where the winding path led our forces to the fight, a ravine fell slightly off, its opposite bank ascending to the thicket of woods which thus totally surrounded the field.

"At near four o'clock, then, Baker took the action in hand, looking around him to note the position of affairs. No enemy was anywhere visible in rank, but from the woods in the extreme front a galling irregular fire poured out upon our men. The latter were ranged in no very exact order from right to left, the wings partially covered by the thicket; portions of the centre lying close to the edge of the hill, while others boldly stepped forward, delivered their fire at the woods, returned to load, and advance again and again. It was not certain that we were doing much execution, but not a moment passed unmarked by the fall of some of our gallant boys. Baker told Devens and Lee to keep their Massachusetts men on the right and stretched along the centre; placed Wistar and the Californians in charge of the left, and gave the artillery in charge of Colonel Coggswell, whose Tammany companies were also located in the centre.

"Here also was placed the one piece which alone proved of the slightest use to us in the battle. A James' rifled cannon, throwing a thirteen-pound shell, passed over to the Virginia shore in the afternoon, manned by nine or ten of the Rhode Island marines, to whose battery (B) it belonged. As there was no commissioned officer of the company present, the brave Lieutenant Bramhall, of the battery attached to the New York Ninth Regiment, volunteered to act as captain of the gun. Arriving on the Virginia shore, his men dismounted the gun, took the carriage to pieces, and with ropes dragged gun, wheels, and ammunition up the precipice, getting in position on the field at a quarter past four. The other guns carried over were two little mountain howitzers, belonging to Ricketts' (regular battery), one placed on each flank of our line, and apparently entirely neglected throughout the battle.

"Some disposition having thus been made of our forces (which, as I shall hereafter show, at no one time mustered over 1,300 men), the more serious business commenced; not, however, till General Baker had received another message from General Stone, stating that 4,000 rebels had marched against the former from Leesburgh at two and a quarter P. M. This he showed to Wistar, who said that if they moved so long ago, the distance being only two miles, they must now be close at hand. Baker said: 'It's an ugly business.' A quick consultation was held. Evidently no retreat could be effected in safety. The fire was growing hot in front. A retrograde movement would undoubtedly call forth a rush in force from the woods, and at the river bank there were only two boats, carrying sixty persons, to

take a column of thirteen hundred men over a swift channel one hundred yards in width. Oh, yes; retreat was impossible! All that could be done—all that our noble officers, with their leader, could or dared think of—was the chance of maintaining their ground until Gorman could force his way to their aid from Edward's Ferry on the left, with the alternative, in probable default of his success, of sacrificing their commands at as great loss to the enemy as their desperate courage could inflict.

"The real battle commenced on the left. Baker threw the whole responsibility of that wing upon Wistar. The latter did not like the appearance of the adjacent wood region, and threw forward companies A and D of his battalion to 'feel' them. Captains Markoe and Wade, the former well ahead, accordingly advanced on their hazardous duty; passed through the forest to the cow's-horn projection of the field, crossed it, and had arrived within ten paces of the farther thicket, when a murderous fire blazed out upon them. The poor fellows gallantly sprang through it upon their assailants, and were in a moment fighting in the woods. Not half of them ever came back. But the rebels, taking this as a signal for the commencement of the action, now bestirred themselves in force, and, with hideous yells, fired a terrific volley along their whole front. Only the sheeted flash showed itself from those fronting forests; the foe still clung to cover; but the infernal hail of bullets rattled against our whole line, and many brave souls were loosed by that first fiery revelation of the enemy's strength. Our reply was instant and extended. In a second both ends of the field were clouded with smoke, the day's skirmishing was over, and the contest that was to rage so hotly for an hour had fiercely commenced.

"We are all tired of accounts of the petty conflicts which have marked this war, in which forces have engaged at long distances, and the so-called 'murderous' fire and 'desperate attacks' have resulted in three or four chance losses and the success of no one in particular. But I say that this contest, on the Northern side, was most heroically fought, and in a true sacrificial spirit. There is nothing like it in our history. See what was crowded into that terrible hour! Our little band was pent up in a narrow and defenceless slaughter pen. The enemy was in force in front; he began to creep down the treacherous sides of the inclosure; his sharpshooters climbed the trees everywhere, picking out the stateliest and gallantest forms for the death they so unerringly dealt us. Our lines thus received a scathing fire from the front, from above, and a cross-fire at angles right and left. All they could do in reply was to aim steadily and swiftly at the places whence the loudest yells and deadliest volleys proceeded. But they dropped everywhere, and were borne by dozens to the gory skiffs below. On the right the Massachusetts men were more than decimated by the regular, unavoidable shower of bullets. But against our left, where Wistar commanded, the rebels.

confident of their force and the effect of their deadly fire in front, began to make venturesome charges, each one repelled by the gallant fire of the Californians, but each one getting nearer our lines than the last. On the fourth charge they actually flanked our left and sprang forth, savage and eager, from the thicket beyond the ravine. Down this they were about to plunge, showing a bravery not part of their usual tactics, and our fellows lifted their muskets for a volley. 'Hold!' cried Wistar to his men; 'not a man of you must fire;' and he dashed at the piece of one; 'wait till they reach the bottom of the ravine; then we'll have them.' So they charged down the hill, only to meet the most effective volley fired on our side during the day. When the smoke rose, their front ranks lay fallen in the hollow of the valley of death; the rear had broken and fled in disorder through the forest. The fifth charge—but this brings me to the main feature of the field, a splendid central picture, which will furnish a theme for American poets and painters long after the feebler tints and groupings of this tumult shall have faded out.

"Lieutenant Bramhall had posted his gun near the centre of our line, and opened fire to the best advantage possible. When he mounted the piece he had with him eight artillerists, three riders, a corporal and sergeant. In ten minutes five of these were shot down; in the end all but two were killed, wounded, or missing. Lieutenant Bramhall himself was severely wounded, but stood by his gun. Colonel Coggswell saw the necessity of the case, informed Colonels Wistar and Lee, Adjutant Harvey (of Baker's brigade), and Captain Stewart (of General Stone's staff, present on the field), and those five distinguished officers and determined men manned the piece themselves. Coggswell and Harvey, understanding the business, would load while Lee and Wistar were giving orders to their commands and spurring them into the fight; then Wistar and Stewart would wheel the gun forward to position; Coggswell would take aim and give the word to Harvey, who held the percussion lanyard. In this way and by these men a dozen of the twenty rounds used were fired, doing more effect than all our musketry volleys. When the enemy was making his fifth charge on the left, the cannon had just been loaded and was pointed at the woods in front. Captain Beiral, of the Californians, who was with his company supporting the piece, exclaimed to Coggswell, 'Look to the left! look to the left!' Coggswell saw the dark column of the rebels sweeping across the spur of the field, wheeled the terrible gun around, and discharged it square at their centre. The shell opened a lane through the charging force, a score of traitors falling to fight no more, and the column shut itself up on the main body behind.

"But the end was fast approaching. Our thinning forces were assailed by four times their number. From every side death stormed upon their unsheltered bodies. Half their line officers were wounded or killed. The undaunted lead-

ers were also falling. Ward, lieutenant-colonel of the Fifteenth, had received a frightful wound; Coggswell was shot through the wrist; Lee, Devens, Harvey, and Stewart were still fighting sadly and in vain; a ball shattered Wistar's sword-arm—he dropped the weapon, picked it up with his left hand, and General Baker himself restored it to the scabbard. Alas, that the chivalric leader should never again do such kindly service for a brother-in-arms! The yelling enemy began to break from the wood and through the smoke upon our confused lines. The crisis had come. There was some hand-to-hand fighting; a few of the grey-coats got entangled with our own forces; we took a prisoner and passed him to the rear; they took a dozen, and made charge after charge. Just then a body of men appeared, pressing down from the left. The General ordered the troops around him to stand firm, and cried, 'Who are those men?' 'Confederate troops, you d—d Yankees!' was the reply; and they rushed almost within bayonet distance. One huge red-haired ruffian drew a revolver, came close to Baker, and fired four balls at the General's head, every one of which took effect, and a glorious soul fled through their ghastly openings. Captain Beiral seized the slayer by the throat and blew out his brains—the hero and the traitor falling within the same minute, and face to face. In a second the enemy swarmed over the spot. 'For God's sake, boys!' cried Adjutant Harvey, in his hot English way, 'are you going to let them have the General's body?' An angry howl was the answer, and a dozen of our fellows charged, with set teeth and bayonets fixed, upon the rebels, who recoiled from the shock and surrendered their priceless trophy. This was passed down the bluff and safely conveyed to the island. But now our lines were hopelessly disordered. The rebels came through both field and woods in final force. Coggswell saw that the day was lost, and that the desperate, impossible retreat had come. So he ordered our men to retire for embarkation, and the field was yielded to the foe.

"Large numbers of the Northern troops had anticipated his order; for an hour the shore had been lined with stragglers and wearied men. Still, the reinforcing business had not ceased from the island, and during the fiercest of the action the two boats, which were bringing away the dead and wounded, returned from each trip laden with the residue of the Tammany and Massachusetts regiments. A distressing event occurred which I have not seen elsewhere recorded. The life-boat proved a death-boat soonest of the two, swamping, from some cause, while conveying to the battle-field the last twenty members of the Tammany companies. Nearly all the occupants were drowned, and only one boat remained for the use of our overpowered and retreating forces.

"Down the hill they came, in every direction and without order, hotly followed by the rebels to the very edge of the descent. Then the pursuers paused, too cautious to meet the chance of vol-



leys from Harrison's Island, but throwing a plunging fire upon the retiring loyalists, and aiming ruthlessly at the hundreds trying to swim the rapid river channel. Why should I describe that final scene?—the tumult and agony of that headlong descent, the clamor and crowd along the shore, the rush into one wretched skiff, already over-laden with wounded men, which forced it beneath the surface and brought the horror of death by water upon men who had already so fairly faced the battle-field. I recoil from thinking of those who, struck down by the fire from above, slipped in their own blood upon the clayey river bank; of those who wasted too feeble strength in swimming half way across the cruel stream; of the shouts for help where no help came. But I record with satisfaction the determination of Beiral and his few associates, who dragged their cannon to the edge of the hill, rolling it over and beyond the enemy's reach. And what more gallant than the stubborn refusal of the beleaguered colonels to surrender while the rebels were decimating their commands from the bluff above? Led by Coggswell and Lee, several organized companies charged up at their tormentors, once and again returning dangerous volleys from our side. At all events, they kept the enemy at bay till long after nightfall closed upon the scene. All who could escape to the island had escaped, and midnight was close at hand before the two colonels and the other field officers still on the shore saw that their duty was accomplished, and surrendered themselves and the remnant of their commands to the enemy."

General Stone, in the mean time, remained at Edward's Ferry, unaware of the disastrous issue of the conflict of General Baker with the enemy at Ball's Bluff. "While these scenes were being enacted on the right," says General Stone in his official report, "I was preparing on the left for a rapid push forward to the road by which the enemy would retreat, if driven, and entirely unsuspicious of the perilous condition of our troops. The additional artillery had already been sent, and when the messenger, who did not leave the field until after three o'clock, was questioned as to Colonel Baker's position, he informed me that the Colonel, when he left, seemed to feel perfectly secure, and could doubtless hold his position in case he should not advance. The same statement was made by another messenger half an hour later, and I watched anxiously for a sign of advance on the right, in order to push forward General Gorman. It was, as had been explained to Colonel Baker, impracticable to throw General Gorman's brigade directly to the right by reason of the battery in the woods, between which we had never been able to reconnoitre.

"At four P.M., or thereabouts, I telegraphed to General Banks for a brigade of his division, intending it to occupy the ground on this side of the river near Harrison's Island, which would be abandoned in case of a rapid advance, and shortly after, as the fire slackened, a messenger was waited for on whose tidings should be given orders either for the

advance of General Gorman to cut off the retreat of the enemy, or for the disposition for the night in the position then held.

"At five P.M. Captain Candy arrived from the field and announced the melancholy tidings of Colonel Baker's death, but with no intelligence of any further disaster. I immediately apprised General Banks of Colonel Baker's death, and I rode quickly to the right to assume command. Before arriving opposite the island, men who had crossed the river plainly gave evidence of the disaster, and on reaching the same I was satisfied of it by the conduct of the men then landing in boats.

"The reports made to me were that the enemy's force was 10,000 men. This I considered, as it proved to be, an exaggeration. Orders were then given to hold the island and establish a patrol on the tow-path from opposite the island to the line of pickets near the Monocacy, and I returned to the left to secure the troops there from disaster and make preparations for moving them as rapidly as possible."

General McClellan had now heard of the disaster, and telegraphed from headquarters the order to hold Harrison's Island and the Virginia shore opposite to Edward's Ferry at all hazards. Troops were accordingly ordered again to cross the river at the latter point, though without any more adequate means of trans-
Oct. portation being provided. By next
22. morning some 4,400 infantry had reached the opposite shore, together with a section of Ricketts' battery and a detachment of Van Alen's cavalry. Harrison's Island had been entirely evacuated before daybreak, a flag of truce having in the mean time gone to the enemy on Ball's Bluff and come back with boat-loads of the dead and wounded, gathered from that fatal field.

McClellan having previously ordered Gen. Banks to advance, now rode himself to Edward's Ferry. His first operation was to construct a bridge of boats across the river, and he was about throwing to the opposite side large reinforcements, when he discovered that the enemy were being rapidly strengthened by great numbers of men from Manassas, and on the following day he ordered all the troops to be withdrawn from the Virginia shore.

In this disaster the Federal loss in wounded, drowned, killed, and taken captive amounted to about a thousand out of the nineteen hundred men engaged. The enemy's loss was estimated at less than four hundred, and their whole force engaged at nearly four thousand strong.

As the disaster at Ball's Bluff was unquestionably due to a reckless disregard of ordinary prudence, the commanding general was very naturally anxious to be acquitted of the blame. It is therefore with a desire to allow General Stone a fair hearing, that the following account in the official report of his interview with General Baker and his instructions is given at length.

"General Baker having arrived at Conrad's Ferry with the First California Regiment, at an early hour proceeded (Monday, 21st October) to Edward's

Ferry and reported to me in person, stating that his regiment was at the former place and the three other regiments of his brigade ready to march. I directed him to Harrison's Island to assume the command, and in a full conversation explained to him the position as it then stood. I told him that General McCall had advanced his troops to Drainesville, and that I was extremely desirous of ascertaining the exact position and force of the enemy in our front, and of exploring as far as it was safe on the right toward Leesburgh and on the left toward the Leesburgh and Gum Spring road. I also informed Colonel Baker that General Gorman, opposite Edward's Ferry, should be reinforced, and that I would make every effort to push Gorman's troops carefully forward to discover the best line from that ferry to the Leesburgh and Gum Spring road, already mentioned; and the position of the breast-works and hidden battery, which prevented the movement of troops directly from left to right, was also pointed out to him. The means of transportation across, of the sufficiency of which he (Baker) was to be judge, was detailed, and authority given him to make use of the guns of a section each of Vaughan's and Bunting's batteries, together with French's mountain howitzers, all the troops of his brigade and the Tammany Regiment, besides the Nineteenth and part of the Twentieth regiments of Massachusetts Volunteers, and I left it to his discretion, after viewing the ground, to retire from the Virginia shore under the cover of his guns and the fire of the large infantry force, or to pass over the reinforcements in case he found it practicable, and the position on the other side favorable. I stated that I wished no advance made unless the enemy were of inferior force, and under no circumstance to pass beyond Leesburgh or a strong position between it and Goose Creek, on the Gum Spring—*i. e.*, the Manassas road. Colonel Baker was cautioned in reference to passing artillery across the river, and I begged if he did do so, to see it well supported by good infantry. The General pointed out to him the position of some bluffs on this side of the river, from which artillery could act with effect on the other, and, leaving the matter of crossing more troops or retiring what were already over to his discretion, gave him entire control of operations on the right. This gallant and energetic officer left me about nine A.M., or half-past nine, and galloped off quickly to his command."

The enemy were very exultant on the occasion of this success. Colonel Evans, their commander, was made a general, and his victory magnified by exaggerated reports. His force engaged was said to be only 2,500 infantry against an enemy of "10,000 men with five batteries of artillery." "One man to four, with a strong artillery force helping the four!" "History," said they, "shows few feats of arms so splendid! Henceforth the name of General Evans will take its place on the roll of heroes, and his unconquerable troops have achieved a deed that will make their memories glorious for generations to come."

By the death of General Baker the

country lost one of its most popular favorites. The events of his life and the qualities of his character were such as to commend him especially to popular regard. His humble origin—his successful struggle with the trials of poverty—his elevation to a distinguished position by the force of his own talents in spite of every social and educational disadvantage—his eager enterprise and self-reliance, which led him to seek with the pioneers of the West the freer scope of a new country unrestrained by the formalities and unrestricted by the prejudices of a long-established society—his knowledge of the sentiments and habits of the laborious classes—his fervid rhetoric—his readiness to take up arms for the defence of his adopted country—and finally the gallant sacrifice of his life in its behalf, combined to endear the memory of Baker to the heart of the American people.

Edward D. Baker was born in England, but came with his parents, who were Quakers, to this country when an infant. They chose Philadelphia for their home, but surviving their arrival but a short time, their son was left an orphan. Destitute of friends and fortune, he was at an early age left to his own unaided efforts for a support. He learned the trade of a weaver, and supported a younger brother and himself until he was twenty years of age. Not satisfied, however, with this humble condition, he determined to try his fortune in the far West. He accordingly started on foot, taking his brother with him, in search of the promised land. They walked across the Alleghany Mountains and traversed the States of Ohio and Indiana, then partially a wilderness, until they finally reached the Wabash. Descending this river in a canoe, they landed in an uncleared region of Illinois. With the rapid influx of immigrants, the place they had chosen for their new home soon became a prosperous settlement, and the elder Baker, the subject of this biography, conscious of his talents, sought a wider scope for them in the study of the law. On being admitted to the bar, he acquired eminence as a lawyer, and with increasing aspirations for distinction, became a politician. In 1845 he was elected, by the Whigs of Illinois, one of the representatives of the State to the Federal Congress, where his singular readiness as a speaker and aptitude for business made him conspicuous. On the declaration of war with Mexico he returned to Illinois, and raising a volunteer regiment, of which he became the colonel, he at once led it to the Rio Grande. During a temporary cessation of active hostility Baker returned to Washington, where he had an opportunity of expressing his opinion on the policy of the war and giving his vote. This accomplished, he returned to his command, and accompanied the army of Scott on its triumphant march from Vera Cruz to the capital of Mexico, showing himself a valiant officer in the various conflicts in which he shared. At the battle of Cerro Gordo, when General Shields was disabled by a shot, Baker succeeded to the temporary command of the brigade of New York regiments, which he skilfully led, to the end of that fierce conflict.

After the war, Baker was again elected to Congress, and served until the completion of his term in 1850. Seeking a fresh field of enterprise, he followed the rush of emigration to the gold fields of California, but was induced to remain at Panama, where he formed a contract with the Panama Railroad Company, to prepare the Isthmus for the contemplated railway. He accordingly assembled four hundred laborers, and having equipped them, set to work. After having surveyed and cleared a considerable portion of the track, he was taken ill with the Panama fever, and was obliged to forfeit his contract and return home.

In 1852, Baker went with his family to California, in the hope of retrieving his health and fortune, both greatly impaired by his enterprise on the fatal Isthmus of Panama. He established himself in San Francisco, and soon secured a high position as a lawyer. His fame as an orator continued to increase with every occasion for the display of his eloquence. On the death of Broderick, the United States senator from California, who had fallen in a duel, Baker delivered the funeral eulogy. Those who heard it were greatly impressed with its rhetorical power, which is said to have wrought such an effect upon his immense audience, that each listener broke forth in sobs and cries.

Baker was again, by his restless spirit of adventure, stirred to another change. He removed to Oregon, where his fame had preceded him, and being at once accepted as worthy of the highest honors of the State, he was chosen, in 1860, United States senator for six years. In the Senate, as in the lower house, he was acknowledged as a leader, and in the conflict with the disunionists of the South was one of the most eloquent defenders of the Union. When war became unavoidable, he raised a regiment of Californians and led them to the anticipated field of battle on the Potomac. He was soon after placed in command of a brigade as acting brigadier-general, and would have enjoyed that rank, and the still higher one of major-general, had he not, with remarkable devotion to the State of Oregon, refused the proffered honors. These he could not have accepted without resigning his senatorship, which he preferred to hold and thus continue in the service of Oregon.

This extract from his last speech in the Senate, in answer to Senator Breckinridge's ill-concealed attempts to thwart the action of the Federal Government and further the interest of the Southern Confederacy, of which he subsequently became an open adherent, will illustrate the style of General Baker's rhetoric:

"I tell the senator that his predictions, sometimes for the South, sometimes for the Middle States, sometimes for the North-east, and then wandering away in airy visions out to the far Pacific, about the dread of our people, as for loss of blood and treasure, provoking them to disloyalty, are false in sentiment, false in fact, and false in loyalty. The senator from Kentucky is mistaken in them all. Five hundred million dollars! What then? Great Britain gave more than two

thousand millions in the great battle for constitutional liberty, which she led at one time almost single-handed against the world. Five hundred thousand men! What then? We have them; they are ours; they are the children of the country. They belong to the whole country; they are our sons, our kinsmen; and there are many of us who will give them all up before we will abate one word of our just demand, or retreat one inch from the line which divides right from wrong.

"Sir, it is not a question of men or money in that sense. All the money, all the men, are, in our judgment, well bestowed in such a cause. When we give them, we know their value. Knowing their value well, we give them with the more pride and the more joy. Sir, how can we retreat? Sir, how can we make peace? Who shall treat? What commissioners? Who would go? Upon what terms? Where is to be your boundary line? Where the end of the principles we shall have to give up? What will become of constitutional government? What will become of public liberty? What of past glories? What of future hopes? Shall we sink into the insignificance of the grave—a degraded, defeated, emasculated people, frightened by the results of one battle, and scared at the visions raised by the imagination of the senator from Kentucky upon this floor? No, sir; a thousand times, no, sir! We will rally, if, indeed, our swords be necessary—we will rally the people, the loyal people of the whole country. They will pour forth their treasure, their money, their men, without stint, without measure. The most peaceable man in this body may stamp his foot upon this senate chamber floor, as of old a warrior and a senator did, and from that single tramp there will spring forth armed legions. Shall one battle determine the fate of an empire, or a dozen? The loss of one thousand men or twenty thousand men, one hundred million dollars or five hundred million dollars? In a year's peace, or ten years at most of peaceful progress, we can restore them all. There will be some graves reeking with blood, watered by the tears of affection. There will be some privation: there will be some loss of luxury? There will be somewhat more need for labor to procure the necessaries of life. When that is said, all is said. If we have the country, the whole country, the Union, the Constitution, free government—with these there will return all the blessings of well-ordered civilization; the path of the country will be a career of greatness and of glory such as, in the olden time, our fathers saw in the dim visions of years yet to come, and such as would have been ours now, to-day, if it had not been for the treason for which the senator too often seeks to apologize."

CHAPTER LVI.

Drainesville.—Description of the place.—Position of General McCall's Division.—Its relations to the rest of the Army of the Potomac.—Change of the Enemy's Line.—Repeated Collisions.—Audacity of the Confederates. Attack on Unionists.—McCall resolved to Punish. Orders to General Ord.—Movements of his Brigade. Movement of General Reynolds. —Engagement of General Ord with the Enemy.—A Union Victory.—A successful Forage. Strength of the Enemy.—Exaggerations. Comparative Losses.—Retirement of Union troops.—The Enemy confess their Disasters — A resolute Secessionist in the agonies of death.—The Enemy more cautious.— General Jackson at Winchester.—Lander at Romney.—The Enemy strengthen and extend their Fortifications on the Potomac. The River Communication with Washington Blockaded. —General Magruder active at Yorktown.—Hampton Burned.—The Movements of the Union troops in preparation for an Attack. A Cruel Work thoroughly done.—Magruder retires to the security of his Intrenchments.—Progress of Loyalty in Maryland. —Judicious Military Administration of General Dix.—Union Success in the Maryland Elections.—A valuable Accession to the Union.—Accomack and Northampton restored to the Federal Authority.—General Dix's Operations.—Resignation of General Scott.—Proceedings on the occasion.

1861. OUR army on the Potomac had soon an opportunity of redeeming the fatal blunder at Ball's Bluff, by a successful engagement with the enemy at Drainesville. This place is situated in Fairfax County, Virginia, opposite to Coon's Ferry and Great Falls on the Maryland bank of the Potomac, about seventeen miles distant from Washington, in a north-westerly direction. General McCall held the command of the division in this quarter, with his main encampments at Langley's and Prospect Hill, a few miles to the north of the chain bridge, on the Virginia side of the Potomac, and near the Leesburgh road, running not far from the river. McCall's division thus formed the extreme right of the line under the immediate command of McClellan, and was, as it were, the point of junction between the main body of our army opposite Washington and the forces under Banks on the upper Potomac.

The lines of the enemy having closed in the form of a semicircle around McClellan's position in Virginia, were thus brought very near to his right and his left. This was especially the case in regard to the former, where General McCall was in command, whose troops were thus frequently brought into collision with parties of the enemy during their respective foraging expeditions.

The Confederates having become very bold in their movements, General McCall determined to punish them. The immediate provocation was the advance of their picket guards to within four or five miles of the national line, the seizure of two "good Union men," and the plunder and threatening of others. McCall having discovered that the enemy held a reserve force near Drainesville, whenever they were making these provoking incursions, gave orders to Brigadier-General Ord to move with his

brigade "to surround and capture their party, and at the same time to collect a supply of forage from the farms of some of the rank secessionists in that vicinity." At the same time Brigadier-General S. J. Reynolds with the First Brigade was directed to move on to Difficult Creek, in the direction of Leesburgh, in order to support General Ord, in case the enemy should come from the latter place, where they were in force, to the rescue of Drainesville.

General Ord, in accordance with his orders, moved with his force—consisting of the Sixth, Ninth, and Twelfth Pennsylvania regiments, the Bucktail Rifles, five companies of the First Pennsylvania cavalry, and Captain Easton's battery of four guns. The engagement which ensued is thus succinctly described by General McCall:

Dec. 20.

"At half-past ten o'clock A.M., on the 20th, I received a dispatch from General Ord, written on the march, informing me that the guide had learned on the way that there was a full brigade, but without artillery, at Hendon's Station, 500 infantry and cavalry at Hunter's Mills, and 200 infantry between Drainesville and the Potomac. I immediately mounted my horse, and with my staff and an escort of cavalry moved rapidly forward to overtake, if possible, General Ord's brigade. I stopped a few moments with Brigadier-General Reynolds at Difficult Creek, and having directed him to be in readiness to move forward rapidly in case he should be required to support General Ord, I rode on. When within about two miles of Drainesville, I heard the first gun fired by the enemy. It was soon answered by Easton's battery, which imparted to me the fact that the enemy had artillery with them. A rapid ride soon brought me to the field, where General Ord was hotly engaged. I found Easton's battery judiciously placed, and in full blast upon the enemy's battery about 500 yards in front, on the Centreville road. Here I stopped to observe the practice of our battery, while one of my staff rode off to ascertain where General Ord was.

"While here, admiring the accuracy of the shot and shell thrown by this battery upon the battery of the enemy, a force of infantry and cavalry made their appearance from cover on the enemy's right, moving in a direction to turn our left. Colonel McCalmont, whose regiment was on the left, was notified of this movement; but a few shell from our battery, skillfully thrown into their midst, checked their advance, and drove them back ingloriously to cover.

"Not hearing anything of General Ord, I set out in search of him on our right, where brisk firing was at the time going on. Here was the Ninth Infantry, Colonel Jackson, who had gallantly met the enemy at close quarters, and nobly sustained the credit of his State.

"By this time Captain Sheets, of my staff, reported that he found General Ord near the centre of the front. Proceeding there, I found the Rifles and a party of the Sixth Infantry Pennsylvania Reserve, engaged under a brisk fire with the enemy. Having met General Ord, we moved forward, and the position

where the enemy's battery had been placed was soon gained, and here we had evidence of the fine artillery practice of Easton's battery. The road was strewed with men and horses, two caissons—one of them blown up—a limber, a gun-carriage wheel, and a quantity of artillery ammunition, small-arms, and an immense quantity of heavy clothing, blankets, etc.

"The battle was now over, and the victory won. With my consent, General Ord made an advance of about half a mile, but nothing further was to be seen, as the enemy, in full flight, had pressed beyond our reach."

The total loss of the Nationals was but seven killed, sixty-one wounded—including a lieutenant-colonel and four captains—and three missing. The foraging object of the expedition was no less triumphantly achieved. Sixteen wagon-loads of "excellent" hay and twenty-two of corn were secured.

The enemy's force consisted, as reported by General McCall, of the First Kentucky Regiment, about eight hundred strong, the Tenth Alabama, nine hundred strong, a South Carolina regiment, a Virginia regiment, and probably several others. The commander-in-chief of the enemy, General J. E. B. Stuart, in his report to General Beauregard, gives the following as the composition of his force:

"Eleventh Virginia Volunteers, Col. S. Garland, Jr.; Sixth South Carolina Volunteers, Lieutenant-Colonel Secrest; Tenth Alabama Volunteers, Colonel J. H Harvey; First Kentucky Volunteers, Colonel Thomas H. Taylor—making an aggregate force of 1,600 infantry; Sumter Flying Artillery, four pieces, Captain A. S. Cutts; 1,000 North Carolina Cavalry, Major Gordon."

While Stuart thus apparently diminished his own force, he seemed desirous of exaggerating that of McCall's, by giving currency to the rumor that "he had fifteen regiments of infantry, several batteries, and seven companies of cavalry." In his report, General Stuart confessed to a loss of forty-three killed, a hundred and forty-three wounded, and eight missing, and consoled himself for his defeat by calling it "a glorious success."

It is true General McCall did not think it prudent to hold the ground he had won, but drew back his troops to their old encampment; but the enemy, notwithstanding their boasting report, were fain, at last, to acknowledge that the "heavy skirmish" at Drainesville had "resulted disastrously."* One brave fellow, even in the agonies of death, acknowledged the defeat, while he consoled himself with exulting over a previous success. "We whipped you at Manassas," he cried out to our victorious soldiers, "but you have the best of us to-day."

The enemy, although they had so long threatened the seizure of Washington and the invasion of Maryland, were evidently not much disposed to venture beyond their intrenched lines on the south of the Potomac. A defiant demonstration, however, was made on their extreme left by General Jackson, with ten

* Richmond *Dispatch*.

thousand men, in the course of which he damaged the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, compelled the evacuation of Hancock, and seemed to threaten an advance into Maryland. Subsequently, he withdrew to Winchester, and General Lander, who had been watching his movements, took possession of Romney.

The enemy laboriously extended their works of defence, and added to their strength. The result was shown by the fortifications they erected on the right bank of the lower Potomac—a series of formidable batteries, which extended from Accomack Creek, near Mount Vernon, to the Chesapeake Bay. These were connected with the enemy's centre at Manassas by the forts on the Occoquan River, and stretched from headland to headland, at the mouths of the numerous streams, which, after seaming the Virginia shore, pass into the Potomac. They thus were enabled, as it were, to blockade the river communication with Washington; but the navigation, though it was greatly impeded by the heavy guns of the enemy, was by no means entirely checked, and the national vessels continued to pass and repass, and with but little damage.

Beyond a frequent but generally ineffective fire from these numerous batteries on the lower Potomac, the enemy in that quarter generally showed great reserve in commencing offensive operations. General Magruder, however, who commanded a force of the enemy at Yorktown, would occasionally exhibit an activity which kept the national troops at Fortress Monroe and in the neighboring encampments on the alert. Hampton, in consequence, which had been early seized by General Butler, was abandoned as of no immediate strategic importance, and because it exposed an occupying force to danger without a compensating benefit.

Magruder, informed that it was the intention of General Butler again to occupy Hampton, with the view of making it the winter quarters of his troops, determined upon thwarting that purpose, by the cruel expedient of burning the town. He, at the same time, hoped to take the Federalists at a disadvantage, and accordingly advanced with a large force, estimated at seven thousand infantry, with the addition of two hundred cavalry and eight pieces of artillery, and made a demonstration in the neighborhood of the Federal encampment at Newport News. Information of this movement was at once dispatched to General Phelps, in command at this latter place, and thence conveyed to Fortress Monroe. Measures were now taken to prepare for the enemy in case they should venture upon an offensive movement. The garrison at Fortress Monroe and the fleet were got ready for action, and the troops from the various encampments at Newport News and elsewhere mustered for defence.

The enemy, in the mean time, having set out late in the day, had occupied Hampton with an advanced guard in the afternoon. Thence they marched forward to the bridge leading out of the town toward Newport News. The Federalists had made ready to receive them. Aug. 7.

"At ten o'clock P.M.," wrote a chron-

icler* then at Fortress Monroe, "General Butler, after visiting Camp Hamilton, went to Hampton Bridge and instructed the force posted there to hold the position, and resist any attempt either to destroy or pass the bridge. About twenty-five feet of the planks had been taken up, and the timbers cut away on the Hampton side. At that point our force, consisting of a detachment of Max Weber's riflemen, erected a barricade. When General Butler left, everything was quiet in the village, and there was no appearance of anything unusual. Shortly after a rebel force came to the bridge, and commenced a vigorous attack on our force there. A sharp contest ensued, which resulted in loss to the enemy and their retreat. The rebels then commenced to fire the town. Fire was first set to the buildings nearest to the bridge. Those who committed this act of vandalism were, to a considerable extent, former leading citizens of Hampton and owners of property, and consequently among the greatest sufferers. They distributed themselves through the village, went to the residences of the few remaining white inhabitants, and warned them to prepare for the event that was at hand. No other reason was given than that they had orders to burn the village, and that it would be done. No time was given to remove furniture or other effects, and scarcely enough to allow the terrified people to dress and escape to the street."

The reports of the enemy testified to the thoroughness of the cruel work.

* New York *Tribune*.

"The town," says one, "was burned to the ground on Wednesday night (August 7), by the order of General Magruder. The expedition for its destruction was composed of the Mecklenburg Cavalry, Captain Goode; Old Dominion Dragoons, Captain Phillips; York Rangers, Captain Sinclair; Warwick Beauregards, Captain Custis; and six companies of the Fourteenth Virginia Regiment; the whole force being under the command of Colonel James J. Hodges, of the Fourteenth. The town was most effectually fired. But a single house was left standing. The village church was intended to be spared, but caught fire accidentally, and was consumed to the ground. Many of the members of the companies were citizens of Hampton, and set fire to their own houses."

General Magruder, finding that any further advance had been checked by the alertness of General Butler, retired after the destruction of Hampton to his intrenched position at Great Bethel, which he subsequently abandoned, and kept within the more secure limits of Yorktown.

Maryland, in the mean time, under the judicious military administration of General Dix, who had succeeded General Banks in that department, was daily revealing its latent loyalty, or becoming more discreet in its manifestations of disaffection. The elections throughout the State had resulted in large majorities in favor of the "Union" candidates. In the choice of Governor, Bradford the loyal competitor received 39,731 votes, while his antagonist, Howard, the candidate of

the "Peace Party," as the disaffected of Maryland now termed themselves, obtained only 8,987. The congressional and legislative elections were equally triumphant for the Unionists, who, encouraged by the formidable display of Federal might, no longer hesitated openly to profess sentiments of loyalty.

General Dix was enabled, also, by a mere demonstration of the great force at his command, to secure a valuable accession to the Federal authority. This consisted of Accomack and Northampton, the two counties of Virginia which constitute the lower end of the peninsula, formed by the Chesapeake Bay on the west and the Atlantic Ocean on the east. Though geographically continuous with the State of Delaware, and entirely severed by the whole breadth of the Chesapeake Bay from Virginia, the counties of Accomack and Northampton belong to the domain of the latter State. Their inhabitants, moreover, if not sympathizing with the secession of the parent State, had submitted to the authority of the Southern Confederacy. A Confederate force held Drummondtown, the county seat of Accomack. Intrenchments had been raised, the roads obstructed by fallen trees, the light-houses on the coasts extinguished, and a general defiance offered to the authority of the United States. As the counties of Accomack and Northampton, from their territorial position, had been included within the Department of Baltimore, commanded by General Dix, it devolved upon him to make the effort to restore them to the Federal jurisdiction.

General Dix accordingly mustered a force of 5,000 troops, composed of the Second Delaware, the Seventeenth Massachusetts, the Fifth New York, Twenty-first Indiana, Tenth Wisconsin, and Sixth Michigan regiments, and giving the command to General Lockwood, of Delaware, ordered them to advance through that State into the two Virginia counties.

General Dix anticipated their march, by the issue of a conciliatory proclamation, which was distributed among the inhabitants of Accomack and Northampton.[a]

[a] PROCLAMATION TO THE PEOPLE OF ACCOMACK AND NORTHAMPTON COUNTIES, VA.—The military forces of the United States are about to enter your counties as a part of the Union. They will go among you as friends, and with the earnest hope that they may not, by your own acts, be forced to become your enemies. They will invade no rights of person or property. On the contrary, your laws, your institutions, your usages will be scrupulously respected. There need be no fear that the quietude of any fireside will be disturbed, unless the disturbance is caused by yourselves.

Special directions have been given not to interfere with the condition of any persons held to domestic service; and, in order that there may be no ground for mistake or pretext for misrepresentation, commanders of regiments and corps have been instructed not to permit any such persons to come within their lines. The command of the expedition is intrusted to Brigadier-General Henry H. Lockwood, of Delaware, a State identical, in some of the distinctive features of its social organization, with your own. Portions of his force come from counties in Maryland bordering on one of yours. From him, and from them, you may be assured of the sympathy of near neighbors, as well as friends, if you do not repel it by hostile resistance or attack. Their mission is to assert the authority of the United States; to reopen your intercourse with the loyal States, and especially with Maryland, which has just proclaimed her devotion to the Union by the most triumphant vote in her political annals; to restore to commerce its accustomed guides, by re-establishing the lights on your coast; to afford you a free export for the products of your labor, and a free ingress for the necessaries and comforts of life, which you require in exchange; and, in a word, to put an end to the embarrassments and restrictions brought upon you by a causeless and unjustifiable rebellion.

If the calamities of intestine war, which are desolating

This politic proclamation had been sent to the people of Accomack and Northampton the day before the arrival of General Lockwood, who landed in the former county on the 17th of November. His reception was by no means unfriendly, and he marched to Drummondtown without opposition, the enemy, numbering about 3,000 men, who held that place, having abandoned their works of defence and disbanded on his approach. Having effected what was necessary to re-establish the Federal authority, and left a force to secure it, General Lockwood returned in a few weeks with the rest of his troops.

Nov. 16.

To preserve the continuity of this narrative of the military operations of the army of the Potomac, the record of an event of profound interest to the country, though in time it preceded much already related, has been postponed until now. We refer to the resignation of General Winfield Scott, the veteran commander-in-chief. On the 31st of October the secretary of war, Mr. Cameron, received this letter from General Scott:

Oct. 31.

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY, WASHINGTON, *October* 31, 1861.

"THE HON. S. CAMERON, SECRETARY OF WAR:

"SIR: For more than three years I have been unable, from a hurt, to mount a horse or to walk more than three paces at a time, and that with much pain. Other and new infirmities, dropsy and vertigo, admonish me that repose of mind and body, with the appliances of surgery and medicine, are necessary to add a little more to a life already protracted much beyond the usual span of man. It is under such circumstances, made doubly painful by the unnatural and unjust rebellion now raging in the Southern States of our so lately prosperous and happy Union, that I am compelled to request that my name shall be placed on the list of army officers retired from active service. As this request is founded on an absolute right, granted by a recent act of Congress, I am entirely at liberty to say it is with deep regret that I withdraw myself in these momentous times from the orders of a President who has treated me with much distinguished kindness and courtesy; whom I know, upon much personal intercourse, to be patriotic without sectional partialities or prejudices; to be highly conscientious in the performance of every duty, and of unrivaled activity and perseverance; and to you, Mr. Secretary, whom I now officially address for the last time, I beg to

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other districts of Virginia, and have already crimsoned her fields with fraternal blood, fall also upon you, it will not be the fault of the Government. It asks only that its authority may be recognized. It sends among you a force too strong to be successfully opposed a force which can not be resisted in any other spirit than that of wantonness and malignity. If there are any among you, who, rejecting all overtures of friendship, thus provoke retaliation, and draw down upon themselves consequences which the Government is most anxious to avert, to their account must be laid the blood which may be shed, and the desolation which may be brought upon peaceful homes. On all who are thus reckless of the obligations of humanity and duty, and on all who are found in arms, the severest punishment warranted by the laws of war will be visited.

To those who remain in the quiet pursuit of their domestic occupations, the public authorities assure all they can give-- peace, freedom from annoyance, protection from foreign and internal enemies, a guarantee of all constitutional and legal rights, and the blessings of a just and parental Government. JOHN A. DIX,
Major-General Commanding.

HEADQUARTERS, BALTIMORE, *Nov.* 13, 1861.

acknowledge my many obligations for the uniform high consideration I have received at your hands, and have the honor to remain, sir, with high respect, your obedient servant,

"WINFIELD SCOTT."

This communication was transmitted to the President, and by him laid before a cabinet council convened for the purpose of considering it. The request of the veteran General was, of course, complied with, as the motive which impelled it, that of age and infirmity, could not be courteously resisted.

This resignation having thus been accepted, General McClellan was at once notified that he had been selected as the successor of the late Commander-in-chief. The President, accompanied by every member of the cabinet, now visited General Scott at his own residence, and read to him the following order:

"On the 1st day of November, A.D. 1861, upon his own application to the President of the United States, Brevet Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott is ordered to be placed, and hereby is placed, upon the list of retired officers of the army of the United States, without reduction in his current pay, subsistence, or allowances.

"The American people will hear with sadness and deep emotion that General Scott has withdrawn from the active control of the army, while the President and unanimous cabinet express their own and the nation's sympathy in his personal affliction, and their profound sense of the important public services rendered by him to his country during his long and brilliant career, among which will ever be gratefully distinguished his faithful devotion to the Constitution, the Union, and the flag, when assailed by parricidal rebellion. ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

The aged General stood up, and with him rose the President and the members of the cabinet. Deeply affected by the occasion, Scott feelingly said:

"President, this hour overwhelms me. It overpays all services I have attempted to render to my country. If I had any claims before, they are all obliterated by this expression of approval by the President, with the remaining support of his cabinet. I know the President and his cabinet well. I know that the country has placed its interests in this trying crisis in safe keeping. Their counsels are wise; their labors are as untiring as they are loyal, and their course is the right one."

After these few words, overcome by emotion and tottering from the effects of a wound received in battle, and from the infirmities that accompany age, the veteran General sank to his seat, saying: "President, you must excuse me. I am unable to stand longer to give utterance to the feelings of gratitude which oppress me. In my retirement, I shall offer up my prayers to God for this Administration, and for my country. I shall pray for it with confidence in its success over all enemies, and that speedily."

The President and each member of his cabinet now bade farewell to the General, after an assurance from Mr. Lincoln that provision would be made for the members of his staff. On the next day, the Secretary of War Nov. 1.

thus officially answered General Scott's letter of resignation:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, *Nov.* 1, 1861.

"GENERAL: It was my duty to lay before the President your letter of yesterday, asking to be relieved, under the recent act of Congress. In separating from you I can not refrain from expressing my deep regret that your health, shattered by long service and repeated wounds received in your country's defence, should render it necessary for you to retire from your high position at this momentous period of our history. Although you are not to remain in active service, I yet hope that while I continue in charge of the department over which I now preside, I shall at times be permitted to avail myself of the benefits of your wise counsels and sage experience. It has been my good fortune to enjoy a personal acquaintance with you for over thirty years, and the pleasant relations of that long time have been greatly strengthened by your cordial and entire co-operation in all the great questions which have occupied the department and convulsed the country for the last six months. In parting from you, I can only express the hope that a merciful Providence, that has protected you amid so many trials, will improve your health and continue your life long after the people of the country shall have been restored to their former happiness and prosperity.

"I am, General, very sincerely, your friend and servant,

"SIMON CAMERON, Sec. of War.

"LIEUT.-GEN. WINFIELD SCOTT, Present."

General McClellan, in his order assuming the command of the armies of the United States, paid a graceful tribute to his veteran predecessor:

"In the midst of the difficulties which encompass and divide the nation, hesitation and self-distrust may well accompany the assumption of so vast a responsibility, but confiding as I do, in the loyalty, discipline, and courage of our troops, and believing as I do, that Providence will favor ours as the just cause, I can not doubt that success will crown our efforts and sacrifices. The army will unite with me in the feeling of regret that the weight of many years, and the effect of increasing infirmities, contracted and intensified in his country's service, should just now remove from our head the great soldier of our nation, the hero who, in his youth, raised high the reputation of his country in the fields of Canada, which he sanctified with his blood; who in more mature years proved to the world that American skill and valor could repeat, if not eclipse, the exploits of Cortez in the land of the Montezumas; whose whole life has been devoted to the service of his country; whose whole efforts have been directed to uphold our honor at the smallest sacrifice of life; a warrior who scorned the selfish glories of the battle-field when his great qualities as a statesman could be employed more profitably for his country; a citizen who in his declining years has given to the world the most shining instance of loyalty in disregarding all ties of birth and clinging still to the cause of truth and honor. Such has

been the career and character of Winfield Scott, whom it has long been the delight of the nation to honor, both as a man and a soldier. While we regret his loss, there is one thing we can not regret—the bright example he has left for our emulation. Let us all hope and pray that his declining years may be passed in peace and happiness, and that they may be cheered by the success of the country and the cause he has fought for and loved so well. Beyond all that, let us do nothing that can cause him to blush for us; let no defeat of the army he has so long commanded embitter his last years, but let our victories illuminate the close of a life so grand.

"GEORGE B. McCLELLAN,
"Major-General Commanding U. S. A."

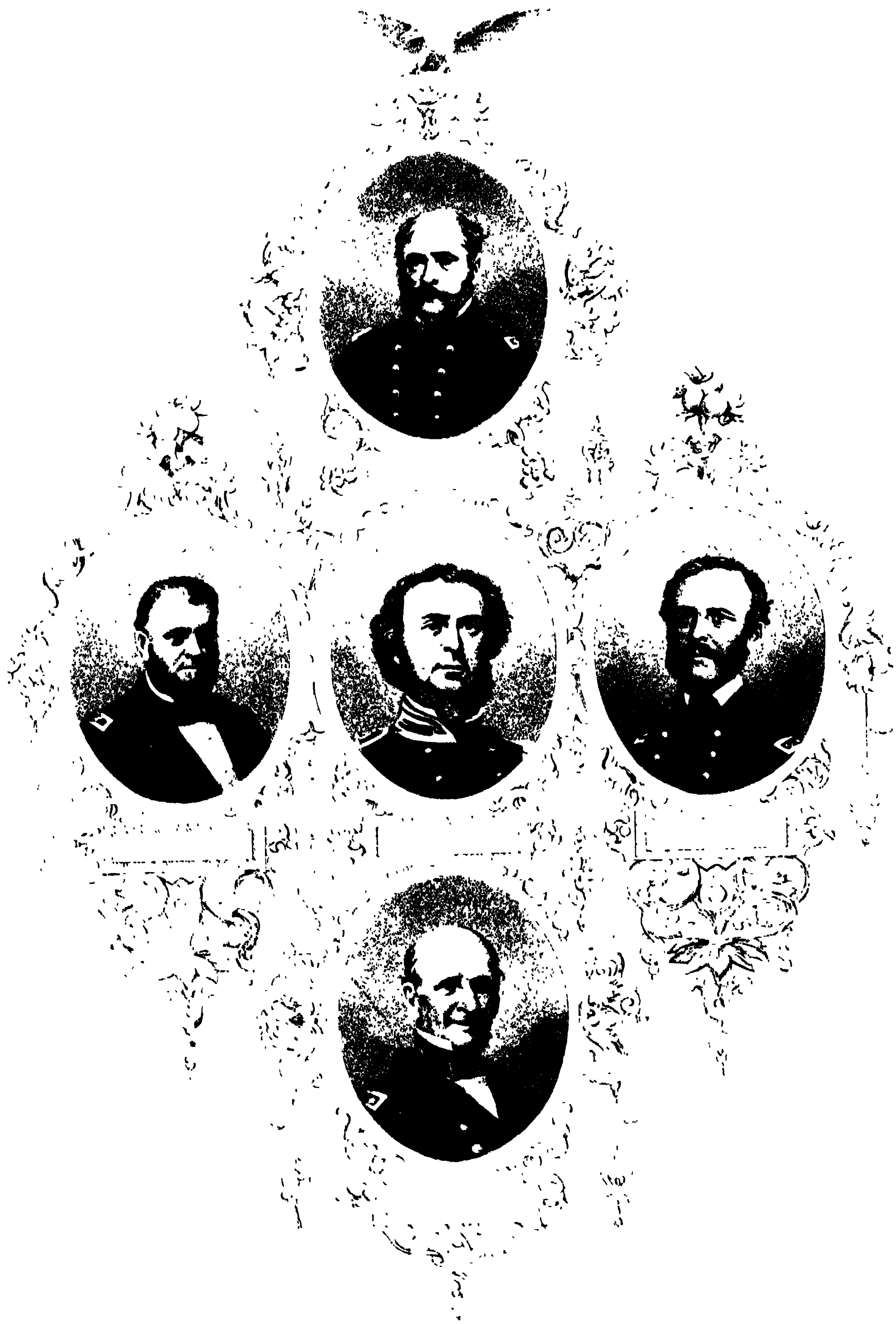
CHAPTER LVII.

The development of the Naval Resources of the United States.—Great Naval Expeditions.—The first Naval Expedition.—Rendezvous in Hampton Roads.—Life of Commodore Dupont.—The composition of the Naval and Military portions of the Expedition.—Life of General Sherman.—Sailing of the Expedition.—Favorable auspices.—Eagerness of the Public Interest.—Destination and object of the Expedition.—A great storm.—Its effects.—Port Royal.—Description of Port Royal and neighboring coasts.—Preparations of the Enemy for defence.—The Forts described.—The victory of Dupont.—Official Reports.

1861. THE great naval resources of the Northern States were being rapidly applied to the use of the war power of the Government. Though its organized navy had been always small in proportion to the commercial importance of the nation, and though it had been temporarily rendered almost powerless by the traitorous action of men who had been intrusted with its control, there existed in the trading marine of the Northern people a resource of naval might which was destined to exert a most important influence in the great conflict with the South.

The magnitude of this resource became manifest in the large naval expeditions which were sent to the coasts of the enemy. One of the most extensive and important of these, after several months of laborious preparation, sailed from Hampton Roads on the 29th of October. Oct. 29. The number of vessels amounted to seventy-seven, of which sixteen were armed naval vessels, twenty-three steam transports, twenty-six sailing vessels, and twelve steamboats, such as steam-tugs, ferry-boats, and other small craft.*

* WAR VESSELS.—1. Steam frigate Wabash, flag-ship, 3,200 tons, 40 guns, carrying Flag Officer Commodore Samuel F. Dupont; Captain Charles H. Davis. GUN-BOATS.—2. Augusta, Captain E. G. Parrot; 3. Curlew, Captain Geo. H. Cooper; 4. Florida, Captain J. R. Goldsborough; 5. Georgia, Captain ———; 6. Isaac Smith, Captain J. W. A. Nicholson; 7. Mohican, Captain S. W. Gordon; 8. Ottawa, Captain Thomas H. Stevens; 9. Pawnee, Captain R. H. Wyman; 10. Pembina, Captain P. Crosby; 11. Pen-



Commodore Samuel F. Dupont, the naval commander-in-chief of this formidable expedition, was born at Bergen Point, in New Jersey, in 1803. His origin, as the name indicates, is French, his father having emigrated from France to the United States in 1799. An uncle established the mills near Wilmington, Delaware, where the famous "Dupont powder" is fabricated, and the works are still carried on by members of the Dupont family. The subject of this sketch received from President Madison his warrant as a midshipman in the United States navy, December 19th, 1815. His first cruise was in the Franklin, a seventy-four-gun ship, in the year 1817. After various and almost constant active service, in 1845 he commanded the frigate Congress, on a cruise in the Pacific. Being in the bay of San Francisco, in Upper California, at the moment when the war with Mexico began, Captain Dupont was transferred to the command of the Cyane. His first duty was to transport Colonel Fremont and his adventurous band of trappers and Indians to San Diego, the little harbor of which Dupont was thus the first to enter with a United States man-of-war. He continued during the conflict with Mexico to cruise on the California coast, and his good services in aiding the military operations on land, gained him a high tribute of praise.

After Captain Dupont's return from the Pacific in October, 1848, he remained on land in various employments at several of our naval dépôts until 1857, when he sailed to China in command of the Minnesota. Having again returned to the United States, he was, in 1860, placed at the head of the navy yard in Philadelphia. His latest and crowning command was that of the great naval expedition, the operations of which are about to be related.

Commodore Dupont has the repute of being one of the most able and energetic, as well as faithful, of our naval

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guin, Captain T. A. Budd; 12. Pocahontas, Captain P. Drayton; 13. R. B. Forbes, Captain H. S. Newcomb; 14. Seminole, Captain J. P. Gillies; 15. Seneca, Captain Daniel Ammen; 16. Unadilla, Captain N. Collins.

Steam Transports.—1. Ariel, Captain Terry; 2. Atlantic, Captain ——; 3. Baltic, Captain Comstock; 4. Ben. Deford, Captain ——; 5. Cahawba, Captain Baker; 6. Coatzacoalcos, Captain Bocock; 7. Daniel Webster, Captain Johnson; 8. Empire City, Captain Baxter; 9. Ericsson, Captain Cowles; 10. Locust Point, Captain French; 11. Marion, Captain Philips; 12. Matanzas, Captain Leesburg; 13. Ocean Queen, Captain Seabury; 14. Oriental, Captain Tuzo; 15. Parkersburg, Captain ——; 16. Philadelphia, Captain Barton; 17. Potomac, Captain Hilliard; 18. Roanoke, Captain Couch; 19. Star of the South, Captain Kearnley; 20. Union, Captain ——; 21. Vanderbilt, Captain Lefevre; 22. Winfield Scott, Captain Litchfield; 23. Osceola, Captain Morrill.

Steam-tugs.—1. O. M. Petit; 2. Mercury.

Ferry-boats.—1. Commodore Perry; 2. Ethan Allen; 3. Stepping Stone.

Steamboats.—1. May Flower; 2. Belvidere; 3. Governor; 4. Baltimore; 5. Philadelphia; 6. Peerless; 7. Pilot Boy.

Sailing Vessels.—1. Ship Great Republic; 2. Ship Ocean Express; 3. Ship Golden Eagle; 4. Ship Zenas Coffin; 5. Bark J. A. Bishop; 6. Brig Belle of the Bay; 7. Brig Ellen P. Stewart; 8. Schooner S. F. Abbott; 9. Schooner E. D. Allen; 10. Schooner Aid; 11. Schooner J. M Vance; 12. Schooner M. E. Clark; 13. Schooner D. Jones; 14. Schooner E. English; 15. Schooner J. Frambes; 16. Schooner G. Barthol; 17. Schooner Western Star; 18. Schooner Saratoga; 19. Schooner S. J. Bright; 20. Schooner G. M. Neil; 21. Schooner David Faust; 22. Schooner R. S. Misler; 23. Schooner G. Chester; 24. Schooner J. Satterthwaite; 25. Schooner Snowflake; 26. Schooner Arden Reid.

Recapitulation of Vessels.—Naval vessels, 16; Steam-tugs, 2; Ferry-boats, 3; Steam transports, 23; Sailing vessels, 26; Steamboats, 7; Total, 77.

The Vandalia, from the blockading squadron off Savannah, joined at Port Royal.

officers. In all the higher departments of his profession his conscientious principle, ability of organization, and scientific skill have been fully tested, and proved to be equal to every trial. His services in the Ordnance Department; his counsels in the organization of the Naval School at Annapolis; his co-operation in the establishment of the lighthouse system; his aid in revising the navy regulations; his conscientious discharge of the delicate duty, as a member of the Naval Retiring Board, of removing inefficient officers; his endeavors to substitute for flogging some less degrading punishment; and his continued zeal for the elevation of the character both of the sailors and their officers, have shown Dupont to be a man who can rise beyond the mere technical routine of his profession, and reach the nobler sphere of social and patriotic duty. His able conduct of the great naval expedition has confirmed the estimate of his character held by his most partial admirers.

The military portion of the great expedition was hardly less imposing than that of the naval. Fifteen thousand troops* embarked on board the transports, carrying with them immense supplies of provisions, munitions of war, horses, and engineering implements. The chief command of this force was given to Brigadier-General T. W. Sherman, whose previous career is thus briefly sketched:

Thomas W. Sherman was born in Rhode Island, graduated at the West Point Military Academy in 1836, standing number eighteen in a class of forty-six cadets, and was appointed second lieutenant in the Third United States Artillery in July, 1836. In March, 1837, he became assistant commissary of subsistence, and in the same month of the following year was promoted to a first lieutenancy. Just at the breaking out of the troubles with Mexico he was promoted to a captaincy, his commission bearing date May 28, 1846. He served with distinction previously in the Florida wars, and accompanied General Taylor to Mexico, rendering himself conspicuous for the zeal and efficiency with which he performed his duty. He was brevetted major for his gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Buena Vista, February 23, 1847. After the close of the Mexican war he had been on duty in various parts of the country, always rendering efficient service. In August, 1857, while on duty at the Minnesota Agency, in the Indian country, he was

* LAND FORCES.

The division of the army accompanying the expedition under command of Brigadier-General T. W. Sherman, consisted of three brigades and several unattached regiments, as follows:

FIRST BRIGADE.—General Egbert L. Viele. New Hampshire Third, Colonel E. W. Fellows; Maine Eighth, Colonel Lee Strickland; New York Forty-sixth, Colonel Rudolph Rosa; New York Forty-seventh, Colonel Henry Moore; New York Forty-eighth, Colonel James H. Perry.

SECOND BRIGADE.—General Isaac Ingalls Stevens. Pennsylvania Fiftieth, Colonel Benjamin C. Christ; Pennsylvania Roundhead Volunteers, Colonel David Leasure; Michigan Eighth, Colonel William M. Fenton; New York Seventy-ninth, Lieutenant-Colonel William H. Nobles.

THIRD BRIGADE.—General Horatio Gates Wright. New Hampshire Fourth, Colonel Thomas J Whipple; Connecticut Sixth, Colonel James L. Chatfield; Connecticut Seventh, Colonel A. A. Terry; Maine Ninth, Colonel Richworth Rich.

UNCLASSIFIED REGIMENTS.—Third Rhode Island, Colonel Brown; Massachusetts Twenty-first, Colonel Morse; New York Engineer Volunteer battalion, Colonel W. Serrill.

distinguished for the prudence and firmness with which he acted in averting a war with the Mississippi tribes of the Sioux. On the formation of the Fifth Artillery he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, a portion of which was engaged in the Bull Run fight, under the name of Sherman's, and subsequently Ayres' battery. He was made a brigadier-general May 17, 1861.

The expedition sailed under the most favorable auspices. The frigate Wabash, having on board Commodore Dupont and General Sherman and his staff, led the van and steamed for Hampton Roads at the break of a day upon which the sun shone with autumnal clearness. The ramparts of Fortress Monroe, at the early hour of five o'clock in the morning, were crowded with soldiers, watching the movement of the flag-ship as she led off, followed by the fleet of gun-boats and transports. Hearty hurrahs greeted each vessel as it assumed its appropriate position. The military bands on the transports struck up a succession of tunes, and the departure was animated with the cheerful excitement of the moment and the hopeful expectation of the future.

Oct. 29.

The course of the great expedition, with its numerous men-of-war, transports, and other vessels, and large force of troops, was watched with eager interest throughout the country. The object of the enterprise excited the impatient curiosity of all, and gave rise to various speculations. Though a studious secrecy was affected by those controlling the movements of the expedition, it soon became obvious that its aim had been disclosed, not only to the indiscreet newsmongers of the North, but to the vigilant enemy of the South.

Great results from this expedition were anticipated by the Unionists, while proportionate fears were entertained by the friends of the South. After it had sailed, a great storm arose, not unusual at the season, which, sweeping along the Atlantic coast, awakened the anxiety of the North in regard to the "Great Armada," as it was ominously termed. The first intelligence, coming from the enemy, seemed to confirm the anticipations of disaster. The fleet was reported to have been scattered by the storm, and many of the vessels lost at sea or driven upon a hostile shore. The subsequent news, still from the same source, was hardly more encouraging. The remnant of the expedition, it was stated by the Southern papers, had reached its destination, and had been unsuccessful in its attempt at invasion. It was now disclosed that the expedition was intended to operate against Port Royal, where the well-informed enemy had made formidable preparations for defence.

Port Royal is an inlet which opens into the Atlantic in latitude 32° 8′ north, distant fifty miles in a southeast direction from the harbor of Charleston, and fifteen miles northeast from the entrance through Tybee Inlet to the port of Savannah, in Georgia. The coast of the Carolinas and Georgia has a peculiar conformation, the original deposit of sand by the sea being divided into numerous islands by inlets from the ocean,

and bodies of water, termed, according to their extent, sounds, swamps, or creeks, through which the inland rivers find their way to the Atlantic. The numerous islands into which the coast is thus broken up, differ in fertility, according to their position. Those directly bordering the ocean are mere sandbanks, hardly above the level of the sea, and are barely capable of cultivation; but serve as natural defences to the inner islands, which they protect from the full influence of the Atlantic tides. The peculiar richness of soil of these inner islands, where is grown the best of rice and the famous Sea Island cotton, is thus accounted for:

"Along the coast of South Carolina, as in North Carolina and Georgia, stretches a low, narrow sand-bar—a kind of defensive outwork of the land, seldom inhabited except by lost Indians and runaway negroes, who subsist by hunting and fishing. At distant intervals there are shallow branches through which the quiet tide steals in twice a day, swelling the natural lagoons and damming the outlet of the fresh-water stream till the current is destroyed and turned back, and their flood dispersed far and wide over the debatable land of the Cypress Swamp. Then, when the heavy rains in the interior have swollen the rivers, their eddying currents deposit all along the edges of the sandy islands and capes the rich freight they have brought from the calcareous or granitic mountains in which they rise, with the organic waste of the great forests through which they flow. This is the soil of the rice and cotton plantations, which are always found in such parts of the tidal swamps adjoining the mainland, or the sandy islands, as are left nearly dry at the ebb of the water."*

Port Royal entrance is bounded on the right, on going in, by Edding's Island, and on the left by Hilton Head Island. Here the Broad River, after being joined by Beaufort River, empties. These bodies of water, though fed by inland streams, are greatly enlarged by influx from the ocean through the various inlets dividing the outer bars of sand. The whole region about Beaufort, bounded by the Atlantic, the Broad River, the Coosaw River, and St. Helena Sound, has an area of about twenty-five miles by fifteen, composed of over a dozen islands, separated from each other by rivers or creeks, as they are called.

The enemy having timely information of the object and approach of the great expedition, had made formidable preparations to defend the entrance of Port Royal.† They had constructed on either

* New York *World*.

† The following account of Port Royal, of Beaufort, and the neighboring country is from the New York *World:*

"The entrance to Port Royal is the best channel for ships through the bars in the whole range of ports below Norfolk. Within the roads, even over the bar, there are three and a half fathoms water, or twenty-one feet, and probably twenty-seven feet at high tide. The command of waters, too, which the possession of Port Royal entrance gives, is immense. Ships which draw fourteen or fifteen feet water may go in at Tybee and proceed through land to Beaufort, in Port Royal Islands; and from Beaufort, vessels of eight or nine feet water may go through land to Charleston. From Charleston, vessels drawing seven or eight feet water may go through land to the river Medway, in Georgia, which lies thirty miles south of Savannah.

"Port Royal Island, the chief of the group above mentioned, is surrounded by the Broad, Port Royal, Coosaw, and Beaufort rivers, and is about twelve miles long and

side strong fortifications. At Bay Point, on St. Philip's Island, on the right of the entrance, was Fort Beauregard. This work, constructed of sand and pal-

six wide. On the east side of the island, and about midway, stands the town of Beaufort, on Beaufort River, the approach of which does not admit vessels of over eleven feet draft. Beaufort is about ten miles from the sea, and sixteen miles from the Charleston and Savannah Railroad, and this important line is itself directly approachable by water through Broad River and St. Helena Sound and Combahee River. A force moving up the river from Beaufort, *via* Beaufort and Coosaw and Port Royal rivers, would strike the Charleston and Savannah Railroad at about midway between Charleston and Savannah, and about fifty miles from either city - a fact which renders obvious the immense strategic importance of that line. Beaufort District has an area of 1,540 square miles. The surface is low and level, and the soil sandy and alluvial, producing cotton, rice, etc., in great abundance. The annual yield of the district is about 50,000,000 pounds of rice, and 13,000 bales of Sea Island cotton, annually, altogether valued at upward of $5,000,000. It is one of the most densely populated portions of South Carolina. Its inhabitants, according to the census of 1860, numbered 40,014, divided as follows:

Whites	6,714
Free colored	800
Slaves	32,500
Total colored	33,300

"The region around Port Royal entrance and island has a strange and romantic history. It was, in fact, the first settled spot on the coast of North America. How interesting, in view of our expedition, to read the history of another expedition to the same locality, just three hundred years ago. The first colony was sent out by Admiral Coligni, a zealous Protestant, and then one of the Ministers of the Crown, who, at the time of the war between the French Protestants and Catholics, obtained permission of Charles IX. to plant a colony of Protestants in Florida —a name then applied also to a great part of the Southern coast. Command of two vessels was accordingly given to Jean Ribault, a 'man expert in sea cruises,' and in the spring of 1562 he landed on the Florida coast. Sailing northward, he discovered several rivers, one of which, from 'the fairness and largeness of its harbor,' he called the Port Royal River.

"The old chronicler, Landonniere, who accompanied the expedition, describes the scene in glowing colors. Splendid forests, shores festooned with rich grape clusters, birds of brilliant plumage, stags and deer in the luxuriant savannas. As the commander cast his eye across the waters of the beautiful river before him, says Landonniere, and measured the breadth of its mouth and the depth of its sounding, he persuaded himself that 'all the argosies of Venice could ride upon its bosom.' Accordingly, upon the island a few miles up Port Royal River, he erected, it is said, on the very spot where the town of Beaufort now stands, a pillar, with the arms of France, and a few days after built a fort, which, in honor of his king, Charles IX., he called 'Charles' Fort'—*Arx Carolina*—from which circumstance the country took the name of Carolina. Thus it was that on that very spot that, for the first time, three hundred years ago, on the North American coast, the flag of a civilized colony might be seen by the approaching mariner. But this first French colony did not flourish, and after sending out another to the same locality, the French, in 1567, gave up all idea of making settlements.

"* * * Early in the seventeenth century Lord Cardross led a colony from Scotland, and settled in Port Royal; but this place, claiming, from an agreement with the Lords Proprietaries, co-ordinate authority with the Governor and Grand Council of Charleston, it was compelled, with circumstances of outrage, to acknowledge submission. Settlement, however, does not seem to have progressed very rapidly, for in a tract, entitled, '*A New Description of that Fertile and Pleasant Province of Carolina, by John Archdale, Governor of the same*, 1707,' the following passage occurs: 'The principal place is Port Royal—please God it may be sealed with English and Scots in a considerable body, because it is a bold port, and also a frontier upon the Spaniard at Augustine. The Scots did, about twenty years since, begin a settlement with about ten families, but were distressed by the Spaniards. Oh! how might the Scots, that go now as Switzers to serve foreign nations, how might they, I say, strengthen our American colonies, and increase the trade of Great Britain, and enrich themselves at home and abroad!' In 1670, William Sayle was sent out as governor, and in his letter of instructions he was told to 'cause all the people of Port Royal to swear allegiance to our sovereign lord the King, and subscribe fidelity to the proprietors and the form of government established by them.'

"The town of Beaufort was founded about 1700. It was called Beauford, in honor of Prince Henry, Duke of Beauford, Lord Palatine. It is thus described just a century ago: 'Beaufort is the next most considerable place, though a small town, pleasantly situated on the south side of a sea island, named Port Royal, from its harbor, which is capacious and safe, and into which ships of a large size may sail.'

"Sir Charles Lyell, in his 'Travels in the United States,' says:

"'Beaufort, a picturesque town composed of an assemblage of villas, the summer residences of numerous planters, who retire here during the hot season, when the interior of South Carolina is unhealthy for the whites. Each villa is shaded by a verandah, surrounded by live oaks and orange trees.'"

metto logs, stood upon a sand-spit jutting out from the island. On the front, toward the sea, was a lunette, mounting twelve guns, to the right of which was a small salient with three, and to the left a small redan with two guns. A wide swamp gave a natural defence to the rear, and an artificial ditch, with a stockade, protected the front. The armament of the fort was sixteen guns in all, consisting of eight thirty-two pounders *en barbette*, one ten-inch columbiad for shell, one eleven-inch columbiad, two twenty-four pounders with smooth bores, one twenty-four pounder rifled, and three forty-two pounder guns in casemates. A large magazine for ammunition was constructed within the works, and an extensive wooden barrack outside, in the ear. The garrison was computed to amount to about five hundred men.

On the left of the entrance of Port Royal, on going in, there was Fort Walker. This was built upon a bluff eight feet high, on the island of Hilton Head. It was a regular work, with bastions and curtains, and required three months of negro labor to construct. Its position commanded the Port Royal entrance and the approach to the town of Beaufort by the Beaufort River. The enemy had mounted it with twenty-three guns, of excellent workmanship and great range. There were two ten-inch shell guns, one thirty-two pounder rifle cannon,* ten eight-inch columbiads, and three twenty-four pounders. On the land side, there was a redan crossing the entrance to the fort upon which the three twenty-four pounders were mounted; the rest of the cannon were all *en barbette*, arranged on carriages of the most approved construction. A ditch, fifteen feet wide and ten deep, protected with stockades, surrounded the work. Traverses and covered ways had been added to secure the garrison from exposure, and a shelter provided as a cover for sharpshooters. Three magazines had been built and filled with ammunition, several wells dug, containing a good supply of water, and every possible provision for the large garrison, said to number no less than thirteen hundred men.

When the first intelligence was received at the North, through the enemy's reports, of the disastrous effects of the storm upon the "Great Armada," and its subsequent attack in a crippled condition upon the formidable defences at Port Royal, there was great anxiety as to the result. A suspense for several days ensued, during which rumors still came from the enemy of disaster to the expedition. A dispatch-boat finally arrived with authentic statements, which disclosed the joyful intelligence of the success of the great enterprise. The fleet had, indeed, been exposed to a severe storm on the third day after sailing, off the coast of Hatteras. The vessels had been scattered; some had been forced to return to Fortress Monroe; some had been driven ashore, and all had been battered and much delayed by the gale. A victory, however, had, in

* On this there was found the inscription, "Presented to Brigadier-General Beauregard, by his friends in England, in haste."

spite of these disasters, crowned the perseverance and skill of the resolute naval chief, Commodore Dupont, to whose spirit, unappalled by misfortune, the glorious success of the enterprise was mainly due. His direct and modest official report contains the best account of his plan of operations and its successful accomplishment:

"From the reconnoissance of the 5th November we were led," says Dupont, "to believe that the forts on Bay Point and Hilton Head were armed with more than twenty guns each, of the heaviest calibre and longest range, and were well constructed and well manned; but that the one on Hilton Head was the strongest. The distance between them is two and two-tenths nautical miles—too great to admit of their being advantageously engaged at the same time, except at long shot. I resolved, therefore, to undertake the reduction of Hilton Head—or, as I shall hereafter call it, Fort Walker—first, and afterward to turn my attention to Fort Beauregard, the fort on Bay Point.

"The greater part of the guns of Fort Walker were presented upon two water fronts, and the flanks were but slightly guarded, especially on the north, on which side the approach of an enemy had not been looked for.

"A fleet of the enemy, consisting of seven steamers, armed, but to what extent I was not informed further than that they carried rifled guns, occupied the northern portion of the harbor, and stretched along from the mouth of Beaufort River to Skull Creek. It was high water on the 7th inst. at 11.35 A.M. by the tables of the Coast Survey.

"These circumstances, the superiority of Fort Walker and its weakness on the northern flank, the presence of the rebel fleet, and the flood-tide of the morning, decided the plan of attack and the order of battle.

"The order of battle comprised a main squadron, ranged in a line ahead, and a flanking squadron, which was to be thrown off on the northern section of the harbor to engage the enemy's flotilla, and prevent them raking the rear ships of the main line, when it turned to the southward, or cutting off a disabled vessel.

"The main squadron consisted of the frigate Wabash, Commander C. K. P. Rogers, the leading ship; the frigate Susquehannah, Captain J. S. Lardner the sloop Mohican, Commander S. W. Gordon; the sloop Seminole, Commander J. P. Gillis; the sloop Pawnee, Lieutenant-Commanding R. L. C. Wyman; the gun-boat Unadilla, Lieutenant-Commanding J. H. Stevens; the gun-boat Pembina, Lieutenant-Commanding J. P. Bankhead; and the sailing sloop Vandalia, Commander F. S. Haggerty, towed by the Isaac Smith, Lieutenant-Commanding W. A. Nicholson.

"The flanking squadron consisted of the gun-boat Bienville, Commander Charles Stedman, the leading ship; the gun-boat Seneca, Lieutenant-Commanding Daniel Ammen; the gun-boat Curlew, Lieutenant-Commanding P. G. Watmough; the gun-boat Penguin, Lieutenant-Commanding P. A. Budd; and

the gun-boat Augusta, Commander E. G. Parrott, the closing ship of that line.

"The plan of attack was to pass up midway between Forts Walker and Beauregard, receiving and returning the fire of both to a certain distance, about two and half miles north of the latter. At that point the line was to turn to the south round by the west, and close in with Fort Walker, encountering it on its weakest flank, and at the same time enfilading in nearly a direct line its two water faces. While standing to the southward the vessels of the line were to tide, which kept them under command, while the rate of going was diminished.

"When abreast of the fort the engine was to be slowed and the movement reduced to only as much as would be just sufficient to overcome the tide, to preserve the order of battle by passing the batteries in slow succession, and to avoid becoming a fixed mark for the enemy's fire. On reaching the extremity of Hilton Head, and the shoal ground making off from it, the line was to turn to the north by the east, and, passing to the northward, to engage Fort Walker with the port battery, nearer than when first on the same course. These evolutions were to be repeated. * * *

"The captains of the ships had been called on board and instructed as to the general formation of the lines and their own respective places.

"At 8 o'clock the signal was made to
Nov. get under way. At 8.10 the ship,
7. riding to the flood, tripped her anchor, and at 8.30 the ship turned and was headed in for the forts. At 9 o'clock the signal was made for 'close order.' At 9.26 the action commenced by a gun from Fort Walker, immediately followed by another from Fort Beauregard. This was answered at once from this ship and immediately after from the Susquehannah. At 10 o'clock the leading ship of the line turned to the southward and made signal to the Vandalia, which ship, in tow of the Isaac Smith, was dropping astern, and was exposed, without support, to the fire of Fort Beauregard, to join company. At 10.15 the signal was made for closer action, the Wabash slowly passed Fort Walker at distance, when abreast of 800 yards. At 11 o'clock the signal was made to get into the preserve stations, and at 11.15 to follow the motions of the Commander-in-chief.

"Standing to the northward, * * * the ship's head was again turned to the southward, and she passed the guns of Fort Walker at a distance less than 600 yards. (The sights were adjusted to 550 yards.) At 11.30 the enemy's flag was shot away.

"The second fire with the starboard guns of the Wabash and of Captain Lardner in the Susquehannah, my second in command, who always kept so near as to give me the entire support of his formidable battery, seems, at this short distance, to have discomfited the enemy. Its effect was increased by the shells thrown from the smaller vessels at the enfilading point. It was evident that the enemy's fire was becoming much less frequent, and finally it was kept up at

such long intervals and with so few guns as to be of little consequence.

"After the Wabash and Susquehannah had passed to the northward, and given the fort the fire of their port battery the third time, the enemy had entirely ceased to reply and the battle was ended.

"At 1.15 the Ottawa signalled that the works at Hilton Head were abandoned. This information was, a few minutes later, repeated by the Pembina. As soon as the starboard guns of this ship and the Susquehannah had been brought to bear a third time upon Fort Walker, I sent Commander John Rodgers on shore with a flag of truce. The hasty flight of the enemy was visible, and was reported from the tops. At 2.20 Captain Rodgers hoisted the flag of the Union over the deserted post. At 2.45 I anchored, and sent Commander C. R. P. Rodgers on shore with the marines and a party of seamen to take possession, and prevent, if necessary, the destruction of public property.

"The transports now got under way, and came up rapidly, and by nightfall Brigadier-General Wright's brigade had landed and entered upon the occupation of the ground.

"I have said in the beginning of this report that the plan of attack designed making the reduction of Fort Walker the business of the day. In passing to the northward, however, we had improved every opportunity of firing at long range upon Fort Beauregard. As soon as the fate of Fort Walker was decided, I dispatched a small squadron to Fort Beauregard to reconnoitre and ascertain its condition, and to prevent the rebel steamers returning to carry away either persons or property.

"Near sunset it was discovered that the flag upon this fort was hauled down, and that the fort was apparently abandoned.

"At sunrise the next day the American ensign was hoisted on the flagstaff of Fort Beauregard by Lieutenant-Commanding Ammen.

"The Pocahontas, Commander Percival Drayton, had suffered from the gale of Friday night so badly as not to be able to enter Port Royal until the morning of the 7th. He reached the scene of action about 12 o'clock, and rendered gallant service by engaging the batteries on both sides in succession." * * *

The whole loss of the Unionists was eight killed and twenty-three wounded.

The enemy sought to console themselves under defeat by undervaluing the importance of their loss, and over-estimating the spirit of their resistance.*

* "The battle of Port Royal will be remembered," says a writer in the Charleston *Courier*, "as one of the best fought and best conducted battles which have signalized the war in which we are engaged. If General Ripley had been appointed a general in command two months sooner, everything would have been in a better state of preparation But these two previous months were wasted in doing nothing for our defence. Within the time left for him, General Ripley did all that untiring energy and skill could accomplish, to put our coast in a state of preparation. The two islands of Hilton Head and Bay Point, with their extreme limits, constitute the two points which guard the entrance to Port Royal Sound, about three miles in width. On these two points forts were erected—Fort Walker on Hilton Head, and Fort Beauregard on Bay Point. The time we possessed enabled us to make them only earthworks, without any protection from shells or bombs.

"The island of Hilton Head was commanded by General Drayton. The officers immediately superintending the

"Our troops," said a writer in the Charleston *Courier*, "did their duty faithfully and bravely, and fought until to fight longer would have been sheer folly. Though encountering immense odds, no signs of cowardice marked their conduct.

artillery and conducting the fire of Fort Walker were Colonel Wagener, Major Arthur Huger, and Captain Yates, of the regular service, especially detailed by General Ripley to aid in directing the artillery. Colonel Dunovant commanded at Fort Beauregard, but he generally allowed Captain Elliott, of the Beaufort artillery, to direct and conduct the batteries of the fort. The day was beautiful—calm and clear, with scarcely a cloud in the heavens—just such a day as our invaders would have ordained, if they could, to carry on their operations. In such a sketch of the battle as, amid the excitement and the thousands of baseless rumors, we are enabled to present to our readers, a brief review of the earlier events of the memorable day will not be uninteresting.

"The great fleet of the enemy passed our bar on Sunday, the 3d inst., and on the following day was anchored off Port Royal entrance. About five o'clock on Monday afternoon, Commodore Tatnall, with his 'mosquito fleet,' ran out from the harbor, and made the first hostile demonstration. The immense armada of the invaders, numbering at that time thirty-six vessels, was drawn up in line of battle, and as our little flotilla steamed up to within a mile of them and opened its fire, the scene was an inspiring one, but almost ludicrous in the disparity of the opposing fleet. The enemy replied to our fire almost immediately. After an exchange of some twenty shots Commodore Tatnall retired, and was not pursued.

"About seven o'clock on Tuesday morning, several of the largest Yankee war steamers having come within range, the batteries of Forts Walker and Beauregard were opened, and the steamers threw a number of shells in over our works, inflicting no damage on Fort Walker, and but slightly wounding two of the garrison of Fort Beauregard. This engagement lasted, with short intervals, for nearly two hours, when the enemy drew off. The steamers made a similar but shorter reconnoissance on Wednesday evening, but without any important results. On the next day the weather was rough, and the fleet lay at anchor five or six miles from shore. During the day several straggling transports came up, swelling the number of vessels to forty-one. All Tuesday night, and all day Wednesday and Wednesday night, our men stood at their guns, momentarily expecting an attack, and receiving only such scanty rest and refreshment as chance afforded.

"Thursday dawned gloriously upon our wearied but undaunted gunners, and all felt that the day of trial had at last arrived. Scarcely had breakfast been dispatched, when the hostile fleet was observed in commotion. The great war steamers formed rapidly in single file, and within supporting distance of each other, the frigate Wabash, the flag-ship of Commodore Dupont, in the van. As the long line of formidable-looking vessels, thirteen in number, most of them powerful propellers, with a few sailing men-of-war in tow, swept rapidly and majestically in, with ports open, and bristling with guns of the heaviest calibre, the sight was grand and imposing. This was at half-past eight o'clock. Until the Wabash came within the range of and directly opposite our batteries on Hilton Head, all was still. Suddenly the fifteen heavy guns of Fort Walker, which had been aimed directly at the huge frigate, belched forth their simultaneous fire, and the action was begun.

"Almost immediately afterward, the batteries of Fort Beauregard, on the other side of the entrance, also opened their fire. The enemy at first did not reply; but as the second steamer came opposite to Fort Walker, the hulls of the first three were suddenly wrapped in smoke, and the shot and shell of three tremendous broadsides, making in all seventy-five guns, came crashing against our works.

"From this moment the bombardment was incessant and terrific; one by one the propellers bore down upon our forts, delivered their fire as they passed, until nine had gained the interior of the harbor, beyond the range of our guns. The Minnesota, still followed by the others, then turned round and steamed slowly out, giving a broadside to Fort Beauregard as she repassed. Then the battle was continued, the enemy's vessels sailing in an elliptical course, pouring one broadside into Bay Point, and then sweeping around to deliver the other against Hilton Head. This furious fire from 400 guns, many of them the eleven-inch Dahlgren pattern, and some even thirteen-inch bore (for a sabot of that diameter was found in Fort Beauregard), was maintained incessantly, and the roar of the cannonade seemed continuous.

"Meanwhile our garrisons were making a gallant defence. They kept up a vigorous and well-directed fire against their assailants, and, notwithstanding that their best gun was dismounted at the beginning of the action, they succeeded in setting fire to several of the ships. Whenever this happened, however, the enemy would haul off and soon extinguish the flames. The effect of our guns was in many instances plainly visible from the forts. Although the sides of the Wabash are of massive strength, several of her ports were knocked into one. Nor was she the only vessel upon which this evidence of the power of our fire could be seen. Many of the other steamers were likewise badly hulled.

"After some time spent in sailing round and delivering their broadsides in rotation, in the manner we have described, the enemy's steamers adopted another and more successful plan of attack. One of them took a position inside the harbor, so as to enfilade the batteries of Fort Walker, while several opened a simultaneous enfilading fire from the outside. Besides this terrific cross-fire, two of the largest steamers maintained the fire in front of the

Officers and soldiers exemplified the ancient character of the State, and deserve our profound gratitude and admiration."

fort. Thus three various converging streams of shot and shell were rained amongst the brave little garrison for hours. The vessels came up within a half mile of the shore, but nearly all our guns had by this time become dismounted, and were no longer able to reply with serious effect.

"Soon after eleven o'clock, the batteries of Bay Point were silenced. The fire of Fort Walker, as far as the guns that remained were concerned, was not a whit slackened until one o'clock. By that time the dreadful condition of the fort became too apparent to be disregarded longer. The guns lay in every direction, dismantled and useless; the defences were terribly shattered, the dead and dying were to be seen on every side, and still the iron balls poured pitilessly in.

"In this strait it was determined to abandon the fort. A long waste, about a mile in extent, and commanded by the enemy's guns, intervened between the garrison and the woods. Across this they were ordered to run for their lives, each man for himself, the object being to scatter them as much as possible, so as not to afford a target for the rifled guns of the fleet.

"The preparations for running this terrible gauntlet were soon made. Knapsacks were abandoned, but the men retained their muskets. Each of the wounded was placed in a blanket, and carried off by four men. The safety of the living precluded the idea of removing the dead. And thus the gallant little band quitted the scene of their glory and scampered off, each one as best he could, toward the woods. The retreat was covered by a small detachment, who remained in the fort for an hour after their comrades had left. Among those who remained were Captain Harmes, with six men; Lieutenant Milchers, with four men; and Lieutenant Bischoff, with four men. These worked three guns until about two o'clock, when they also quitted the post.

"The abandonment of Fort Beauregard was equally a necessity. The garrison were exhausted, and in momentary danger of being cut off. When Colonel Dunovant ordered a retreat, tears of mortification and indignation filled the eyes of Captain Elliott at the sad necessity. The retreat was admirably conducted, and rendered entirely successful by the prudent energy of Captain Hancket, one of General Ripley's aids, who had gotten together some twelve flats at Station Creek, by which the troops passed safely over to St. Helena Island. From there they passed to Beaufort Island, and reached the train at Pocotaligo without the loss or injury of a man. In this fort none were killed, and but five were wounded; and two of these were wounded by negligence in loading a cannon, by which hot shot was driven on the powder without the wet wad preceding it.

"The rest of the story is briefly told. Late Thursday night the garrison of Fort Walker had collected at the landing, in the hope of being able to reach Bluffton by water. Luckily several Confederate steamers were within hail. But here a ludicrous mistake occurred. The retreating troops imagined the little steamers to be Yankee gun-boats, while the crews of the steamers were convinced that the troops were a body of disembarked Yankees. Acting upon this double delusion, a deal of mutual reconnoitering was made, and it was only after a vast variety of strategic approaches that they reached the conclusion that it was 'all right.' A quick trip to Bluffton followed. Thence the troops marched to Hardeeville, seventeen miles distant. The road along which they dragged their exhausted frames was filled with a heterogeneous throng of fugitives of all conditions, carriages, carts, and conveyances, of every description, that could, by any possibility, be pressed into service. The spectacle was a sad one.

"Thus ended the defence of Port Royal. The mortification of the disaster is lessened by the consciousness that our troops deserved success.

"What injury we did the enemy we do not know. Our firing was, of course, less efficient than theirs. Our troops were volunteers theirs were picked artillerists; yet it is very remarkable how very few were killed or wounded amongst our troops.

The following memoranda found in the forts are interesting, as developments of the spirit of our Southern enemy:

"November 5. Private Murdock, B. V. A., concussion of the brain, slight.

"November 7 —Private Crews, W. S. G., fore-arm and arm torn off by hot shot accidentally.

"Amputation of the arm just below the anatomical neck.

"Private Crews, W. S. G., fore-arm torn badly; amputation.

"The above are the wounded left behind in charge of the enemy, and as they were not magnanimous enough to spare these poor fellows from the wounds necessitating the above operations, I hope they will not prove themselves doubly Goths and Vandals by neglecting them.

"E. B. Turnfold, Surgeon of Port."

"Bay Point, *Nov.* 7, 1861.

"Five o'clock P.M.—12th Regiment S. C. V., November 7, 1861.

"I am compelled to leave some poor fellows who can not be removed. Treat them kindly; let your motto be, '*ignaros mali miseros succurrere disco.*'

"After the other fort had fallen we preferred leaving our untenable position to assist in establishing the Southern Confederacy to better purposes than we can in Fort Lafayette. Stephen Elliott,

"Colonel Com'g S. C. V., Fort Beauregard."

CHAPTER LVIII.

The Expectations from the Expedition to Port Royal not realized.—The Enemy prepared.—The Troops unable to move with advantage.—Conciliatory Proclamation of General Sherman.—Its reception by the people of South Carolina.—Welcome from the Negroes.—Interviews with them.—Various reports of the conduct of the Slaves.—Plundering and destruction by the Negroes.—Devastation of Beaufort.—Picturesqueness of the city.—Tropical beauty.—Aristocratic luxury. Military order established in Beaufort.—Negroes indisposed to labor.—Cotton.—How much obtained.—Activity of Commodore Dupont.—Expedition to the Bay of St. Helena and Warsaw Sound.—The advantageous results.—Occupation of Tybee Island.—A circuitous route to Savannah.—An unsuccessful attempt to secure it.—A combined movement of the Naval and Military Forces at Port Royal.—Its success.

1861. SUCCESSFULLY as the great expedition to Port Royal had been conducted, it was not followed immediately by the strategic consequences and moral effects expected from it. South Carolina and Georgia had been early prepared for an invasion of their coasts, and by an excessive strain upon their resources had provided for their own defence, without calling for such aid from the Confederacy as to weaken, as was fondly hoped, its military force on the Potomac. Though the well-constructed works at Port Royal had fallen before the skilful attack of the naval portion of the great expedition, the troops which had been landed there were neither in numbers nor efficiency sufficiently strong to venture immediately upon a march into the interior, where the enemy had succeeded in mustering a formidable force to oppose them. Although the Confederacy had left the States of Georgia and Carolina to trust mainly to their own efforts for protection, it had sent to them one of its ablest officers, General Lee, of Virginia, to direct the operations for defence. He, accordingly, holding the chief command, so placed his troops as to secure the railroad communication between Savannah and Charleston, and constructed such hasty fortifications as he hoped might check the progress of the Federal gun-boats through the numerous channels which led from the sea into the interior. In spite of these preparations, the formidable gun-boats, as will be recorded, did succeed in advancing as far as the depth of those shallow waters would allow, and swept away all obstructions to their approach; but the Federal troops were forced to remain for a long time encamped at the island of Hilton Head, upon which they had landed, and in occupation of the forts they had taken, now respectively called by the names of Welles and Seward, in honor of the secretaries of state and the navy.

General Sherman sought by a conciliatory appeal to the inhabitants to revive their loyalty. In his "proclamation to

the people of South Carolina," he strove with gentle words to bring them back to the fold of the Union.*

The reception of this document, as described by an eye-witness, will illustrate the spirit of the people to whom it was addressed :

" Lieutenant Magner, of General Sherman's staff, accompanied by Dr. Bacon, of the Seventh Connecticut, was detailed by General Sherman this morning (November 13) to convey to the rebels, under a flag of truce, his proclamation, which was addressed to the loyal citizens of South Carolina, inviting them to return to their homes and promising them protection. The bearers of the flag were sent to Beaufort in the gun-boat Seneca, Captain Ammen, accompanied by the Pembina, Captain Bankhead, and the Isaac Smith, Captain Nicholson. The men were sent to quarters while going, as an attack was looked for at any moment; but the flotilla reached Beaufort without any hostile demonstration being made against it. The bearers of dispatches were placed ashore in the cutter under a flag of truce, accompanied by a negro, who was picked up while ascending the river, who, being acquainted with the country, was to act as guide. Mules were found, and, led by the negro, they proceeded into the country, and after penetrating about ten miles they were met by a Rev. Mr. Walker, a Baptist clergyman, formerly of Beaufort. To their inquiries whether there were any

* "In obedience to the orders of the President of these United States of America, I have landed on your shores, with a small force of national troops.

"The dictates of a duty which, under the Constitution, I owe to a great, sovereign State, and to a proud and hospitable people, among whom I have passed some of the pleasantest days of my life, prompt me to proclaim that we have come amongst you with no feelings of personal animosity, no design to harm your citizens, destroy your property, or interfere with any of your lawful rights, or your social and local institutions, beyond what the causes herein briefly alluded to may render unavoidable.

"Citizens of South Carolina! The civilized world stands appalled at the course you are pursuing; appalled at the crime you are committing against your own mother—the best, the most enlightened, and heretofore the most prosperous of nations. You are in a state of active rebellion against the laws of your country. You have lawlessly seized upon the forts, arsenals, and other property belonging to our common country, and within your own borders with this property you are in arms and waging a ruthless war against your constitutional government, and thus threatening the existence of a government which you are bound by the terms of the solemn compact to live under and faithfully support.

"In doing this you are not only undermining and preparing the way for totally ignoring your own political and social existence, but you are threatening the civilized world with the odious sentiment, that self-government is impossible with civilized man.

"Fellow-citizens, I implore you to pause and reflect upon the tenor and consequences of your acts. If the awful sacrifices made by the destruction of your property, the shedding of fraternal blood in battle, the mourning and wailing of widows and orphans throughout our land are insufficient to deter you from further pursuing this unholy war, then ponder, I beseech you, upon the ultimate, but yet not less certain result which its further progress must necessarily and naturally entail upon your once happy and prosperous State. Indeed, can you pursue this fratricidal war, and continue to imbrue your hands in the loyal blood of your countrymen, your friends, your kinsmen, for no other object than to unlawfully disrupt the confederacy of a great people—a confederacy established by your own hands—in order to set up, were it possible, an independent government, under which you can never live in peace, prosperity, or quietness?

"Carolinians, we have come among you as loyal men, fully impressed with our constitutional obligations to the citizens of your State. Those obligations shall be performed as far as in our power. But be not deceived; the obligations of suppressing armed combinations against the constitutional authorities is paramount to all others. If in the performance of this duty other minor but important obligations should be neglected, it must be attributed to the necessities of the case; because rights dependent on the laws of the State must be necessarily subordinate to military exigences, created by insurrection and rebellion.

"T. W. Sherman, Brig.-Gen. Com'g.

"Headquarters, E. C., Port Royal, S. C., *Nov.* 8, 1861."

rebel camps in the vicinity, he informed them that the camps they were looking after were a number of miles off, and advised them not to proceed farther, as he did not deem it prudent or safe. They were not quite satisfied with the information he gave, as his conduct was somewhat suspicious, and they inquired of the negro guide as to the distance. He informed them that it was about half a mile farther on. They concluded to proceed. They had gone about half a mile when they were met by two rebel officers, one of whom bore a white handkerchief upon an oar, which they had brought from a small boat in a creek close by, in which they had evidently come. They proved to be a first lieutenant and a second lieutenant from a Charleston company.

"The object of the mission was explained by the bearers of the flag, and they were politely informed that there were no loyal citizens in South Carolina, and that their mission was fruitless."

There was another class of inhabitants, however, the negro slaves, who were more ready to welcome the representatives of a powerful government, which they, in their innocent ignorance of constitutional obligations and political expedients, seemed to believe had thus presented itself, in its might and beneficence, to set them free. When they observed the landing of the troops, they flocked along the banks in great numbers, some bringing parcels and bundles, as if expecting the soldiers to take them at once to a home of freedom. "Every variety of negro and slave was represented," wrote a correspondent to a journal* whose sympathy, it is needless to say, is rather with the slave than his master. "I say negro and slave, for it is a melancholy fact that some slaves are apparently as white as their masters, and as intelligent. Darkies of genuine Congo physiques—and darkies of the genuine Uncle Tom pattern—darkies young and jubilant—darkies middle-aged and eager—and gray-haired, solemn-looking fellows—some appeared mystified, and some intelligent—the quadroon and the octoroon, possessing an undistinguishable tint of negro blood, mingled one drop with seven of Southern nativity and ancient family, formed, to speak mildly, an interesting scene.

"As fast as the contraband article came within reach, it was placed in the guard-house, an old frame building behind Fort Walker. Here quite a collection was made. They were huddling together, half in fear and half in hope, when a naval officer of the Bienville looked in upon them asking, 'Well, well, what are you all about?'

"'Dat's just what we'd like to find out, mas'r,' was the response.

"The officer assured them that they would be kindly taken care of, and, perhaps found something to do, and need not be alarmed.

"'Tank God for dat, mas'r,' was the reply.

"On drawing them into conversation, they said that they caught a great deal of fish in Port Royal harbor, fishing at night, after the plantation work was

* New York *Tribune*.

over. Two slaves were found reconnoitring about on their own account, and on being brought into camp, explained that they belonged to Mrs. Pinckney, of Charleston, and came down to 'see what de white people were all about.' They said that the white people all ran away when the ships came up, crying, 'Great God! Great God! Great God! the Yankees are coming; fire the boats.' Other slaves reported that 'when the white folks see the little boats coming up, dey laffed at dem, but when dey see de big checker-sided vessels comin', dey laffed on de oder side der moufs.'"

The correspondent of another newspaper, equally uniform in its advocacy of the rights of freedom, wrote:

"Early in the morning after the victory, the plantation negroes began to come into camp, and with the genuine African instinct for trade, each had provided himself with a turkey, a shoulder of bacon, or two shoulders and a brace of hams in the shape of a struggling porker, which he bore kicking and squealing under his arm. It was amusing to see the pertinacity with which the fellows would cling to their prize, even while waiting to be questioned under guard of a file of soldiers. The instant one was spoken to, the bit of a wide-awake, or the rimless crown of straw which did duty as a hat, would be jerked off with characteristic obsequiousness, the negro stand scraping and bowing, answering meanwhile his catechism as well as he could with the noisy and struggling beast distracting his attention.

"Several who came in brought wagons loaded with knapsacks and other accoutrements, which they had picked up on the way. All seemed ready to work, and those who were so fortunate as to have possessed themselves of some stray horse or a pair of plantation mules, found abundant occupation.

"Our troops were accompanied in their first reconnoissance into the island by Dr. J. J. Craven, of the third brigade, who reports the negroes on the plantations farther inland as almost wild with delight at the advent of our troops and the hasty flight of their masters, which they described with the utmost gusto.

"'O Lord! massa,' said one, 'we're so glad to see you. We'se prayed and prayed the good Lord that he would send yer Yankees, and we knowed you'se was coming.'

"'How could you know that?' asked Dr. Craven. 'You can't read the paper; how did you get the news?'

"'No, massa, we'se can't read, but we'se can listen. Massa and missus used to read, and sometimes they'se would read loud, and then we would listen so' —making an expressive gesture indicative of close attention at a key-hole. 'When I'se get a chance I'se would list'n, and Jim him would list'n, and we put the bits together, and we knowed the Yankees were coming. Bless the Lord, massa."

"Another stout fellow asserted that the good Lord had appeared to him in the shape of a 'Yankee,' who assured him that his hour of deliverance was at hand. The poor, trusting creatures never seemed to question that a war which

they had heard was all about them must mean their deliverance from a bondage with which they do not seem to have been sufficiently in love to follow the fortunes of their fleeing masters. A driver's whip which was picked up, and which the correspondent of the *Evening Post* now has in his possession, was shown one of them, and he was asked if he knew what it was.

"'Golly, massa!' said the negro, with a suspicious, sidelong look at the familiar whip he saw raised aloft, 'Guess dis nigger knows what dat dere is,' and he proceeded to explain the use to which it was applied.

"When some doubt was expressed as to the negro statements in regard to number, one of them answered:

"'We can't read, but we can count.'

"'How did you learn to count?'

"'Picking cotton, massa. We'se all got to count when we pick cotton, massa.'"

The negroes whom their masters had left behind in their hasty retreat from their plantations and homes, were for the most part disposed to consider the invasion as the opportunity for license, and seemed to have no idea of orderly freedom. The beautiful town of Beaufort,* a chosen resort of the wealthy possessors of the rich plantations of rice and Sea Island cotton, became a scene of devastation. Its broad avenues, bordered by trees of ancient growth, whose branches interlaced and formed a shade impenetrable by the rays of an almost tropical sun; its luxurious houses, shut out from light and curiosity by vine-covered verandahs and groves of orange and lemon, and surrounded by gardens of tropical plants and fruits—which, in a region where roses blossom in November, grow luxuriantly in the open air—made Beaufort a place of great attraction. To these external beauties was added that interior charm of social re-

* A newspaper correspondent gives the following account of Beaufort and the ravages committed by the negroes:

"Beaufort is a beautiful little village of 2,000 inhabitants, laid out with some regularity, with broad streets, finely shaded by trees of patriarchal growth, whose branches frequently interlace above, forming a shady bower, and protecting from the almost tropical sun pleasant walks and avenues. The houses are mostly of two stories, with a wide verandah in front, well shaded, and surrounded by gardens filled with rare flowers and plants, which exhale most delightful odors. Here we found in November roses in full bloom, and golden oranges and lemons gleaming among the green leaves. Indeed, nearly all the fruits of the tropics can be grown in the open air in this lovely climate. But in spite of all the beauties of nature, the profusion of fruits, the wealth of flowers, and the elegant residences of cultivated people, there was something inexpressibly melancholy about the village. On every hand we saw signs of the hasty flight of the inhabitants, and much more plain were the indications of the wanton destruction and ruthless plundering of houses by the slaves. It was too evident that their barbarous instincts had, for the time being, full sway. The village had felt their savage hands close at its very throat. With none to hinder or stop them, they held a perfect saturnalia for a day, and made the quiet streets of the village ring with their savage cries and wild orgies. The two remaining whites, trembling for their lives, kept close within their houses, and escaped being victims of the negroes' revenge. Five or six negroes had been shot by the whites because they refused to seek the woods with them. This maddened and infuriated the negroes to a pitch of frenzy that made them greedy for any act of retaliation, and murder would have been committed by them had not the whites kept out of the way. Captain Bankhead, of the Pembina, and the commander of the Unadilla, checked in a measure their excesses. But the work had been nearly completed before their arrival. While we passed through the streets we saw groups of slaves—men, women, and children—some from a distance, who had been engaged in plunder, as many of them had the plunder with them. They were ordered to disgorge, and obliged to place it where they stole it from."

finement which a long-established society of persons of wealth and culture alone can give to their homes. Such was the place which, abandoned by its white inhabitants, had fallen into the hands of the negroes, whose barbarous instincts, no longer restrained, converted the abodes of refined tranquillity and luxury into scenes of brutal revelry and reckless waste.

Beaufort, however, was soon wrested from the negroes by the Federal troops, and military order substituted for barbarous license. Though a rude soldiery may not be ordinarily desirable as occupants of a well-ordered home, the lordly inhabitants of Beaufort might with reason congratulate themselves that their abodes were not left in the keeping of their own servants, of whose fidelity they were wont to boast.

Though the negroes flocked about the camps to the number of some four or five thousand, and seemed in the best humor possible with the new-comers, they showed but little disposition to work for them. It was difficult to prevail upon them to gather the cotton which whitened the fertile plantations of Beaufort; they preferred, now that they were no longer in dread of the overseer's lash, to luxuriate in the spoils of their absent masters' dwellings, or to carry on a small and not laborious huckstering trade with the camps, where they were fond of lingering within sound of the drum and within sight of the military trappings which charmed their barbarous tastes. A few hundred bales of cotton were gathered, shipped and sold in New York for the benefit of the Government. The planters themselves, however, at every advance of the Federal force from the sea, as they abandoned their plantations, burned their rich harvests, and thus diminished the expected trophies of cotton.

Though the troops made little progress, the fleet, under the energetic command of Commodore Dupont, was active. Expeditions were sent to secure possession of the Bay of St. Helena, to the north of Port Royal, and of Warsaw Island, near the entrance from the sea to Savannah.*

* The result of these expeditions is stated in the official reports of their respective commanders addressed to Commodore Dupont Commander Rodgers, who commanded the expedition to Warsaw Island, reported as follows:

"UNITED STATES FLAG-SHIP WABASH,
"PORT ROYAL HARBOR, S. C., *Dec.* 6, 1861.

"SIR: On yesterday morning I left Tybee Roads before daylight with the steamers Ottawa, Seneca, and Pembina, and crossed the bar of Warsaw Sound at half-tide, not having less than eighteen feet of water upon it.

"We approached the fort on Warsaw Island within a mile, and seeing neither guns nor men, we did not fire, but I sent Lieutenant Barnes to it with a white flag. He found it an inclosed octagonal work, with platforms for eight guns on the water faces. The land forces were protected by abatis The work was well intrenched. The guns had been removed, the platforms cut, and the magazine blown up. From the freshness of the foot-prints and other signs, it appeared to have been abandoned very recently. Adjoining the fort are huts or sheds for a large garrison. Some lumber and bricks remain; everything else had been carried away.

"We immediately pushed on to Cabbage Island, where we had been led to look for another battery, but there was nothing of the kind there. We went to the mouth of the creek, through the Romilly Marsh, and to the mouth of Wilmington River.

"From the mouth of Wilmington River we observed a battery, bearing from us about north-west by west half west, and distant about three miles. It is on the river, and just above a house with a red cupola, which is one of the Coast Survey points of triangulation, and is about ten miles from Savannah. Between the house and the fort was a large encampment, but we could not count the tents. We counted five guns, apparently of large calibre

The results of these expeditions would be, it was supposed, of great advantage in the contemplated attempts upon the cities of Charleston and Savannah. The

on the face of the battery toward us. We could only see one gun upon the other face, but there may have been more. We were near enough to see the men on the ramparts and the glittering of their bayonets. We saw several small vessels; some of them in Romilly Marsh were in tow of a small steam-tug, but they were all beyond our reach.

"Upon Little Tybee Island we could see no earth-works, but could not get nearer to it than two miles because of the shoals. In coming out of Warsaw Sound at high tide we had not less than 21 feet of water on the bar.

"Returning to Tybee Roads at one o'clock, I landed and made a reconnoissance on foot with the marines of the Savannah and detachments of small-arm men from that ship and the Ottawa. Upon reaching the mouth of the Lazareth Creek, having no boats in which to cross, our progress was stopped. We waited until low tide, but the creek was unfordable. I was able, however, with the assistance of Lieutenant Luce, to obtain from the top of a tree the position in which a battery has been supposed to exist, and am satisfied that there is no battery there. The spar which was mistaken for a derrick is simply a place of lookout, and there was no appearance of any earth-work or position for guns. A battery at such a place would be of no use whatever. There may, however, have been a signal gun placed there, as the point upon which the spar is raised upon the south-eastern part of Little Tybee Island, and is a commanding point of observation.

"I have to thank Lieutenant-Commanding Stevens for the most earnest, cordial, and efficient co-operation; and also Lieutenants-Commanding Ammen and Bankhead, whose vessels were always in the right place, and always well handled. I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant, C. R. P. RODGERS, Com'd."

Commander Drayton—an active officer in the Federal service and a brother of the commander-in-chief of the South Carolina troops, to whom by the fatal chances of this unnatural strife he was now directly opposed in mortal conflict—commanded the expedition to the Bay of St. Helena. This is Commander Drayton's report:

"UNITED STATES STEAMER PAWNEE,
"PORT ROYAL HARBOR, *Nov.* 25, 1861.

"SIR: In obedience to instructions contained in your letter of the 24th instant I left this harbor at three o'clock A.M. of the 24th inst. in company with the Unadilla, Lieutenant-Commanding Collins, and the Pembina, Lieutenant-Commanding Bankhead, piloted by the Vixen, Captain Boutelle. We crossed this bar at half-past four o'clock, and that of St. Helena at half past nine o'clock—a steamer supposed to be the General Clinch being then off the Edisto River, which position she shortly left, and steamed up the river.

"I soon afterward came in sight of a fort on the point of Otter Island, into which, at the distance of a mile, I threw a few shells, as did the gun-boats, to discover if it were occupied. There being no answer, I sent a boat on shore to take possession, and found it to be a regular triangular work, with two faces toward the water, of 250 feet each, with bastions and a curtain on the land side—the whole surrounded by a ditch. The magazine had been blown up and everything carried away or destroyed, the only thing left being the fragments of an eighty-pound rifled gun, which had been burst. There was also on the outside a large quantity of timber and palmetto logs, which I left undisturbed, there being little or no probability of any one coming to remove it, and considering that, should we occupy the place, it would be required to finish the work.

"Having made the above examination, I continued up the Coosaw River with the gun-boats, piloted by Captain Boutelle. When just passing Morgan River, two miles from Otter Island, I came in sight of a fort directly ahead, and at the junction of Barnwell Creek with the Coosaw. When within a mile we threw a few shells into it, and there being no signs of occupation, and the negroes showing themselves in the neighborhood, I sent a boat on shore to take possession, and found it to be a redoubt, with a ditch on three faces, and a steep slope toward the water, above which the parapet was elevated thirty feet, its name being (as we found by papers picked up) Fort Hayward. The armament had consisted of only three guns—one rifle, which had been removed—and two eighteen pounders, which being of a very antiquated make, and spiked, I destroyed by breaking the trunions off.

"The next morning early I returned and removed to this vessel a quantity of intrenching tools which I found near the fort, together with a large sling cart and two siege carriages, which had not been much injured by the fire which had consumed sufficiently to render useless the other one and all the timbers. This being completed, I returned to Otter Creek Island, and found there the Vixen, which had preceded us for the purpose of bringing off an engineer, Lieutenant O'Rourke, who had been sent by General Sherman to join us at Coffin's Landing. He desired to make a drawing of the fort, and, as it was late, I anchored for the night, leaving again on the morning of the 27th with the gun-boats and Vixen (there not being water for the Pawnee) to ascend the Ashepoo River, as I understood that there was a military station a short distance up. After running a few miles I discovered a redoubt, and having, as before, satisfied myself that it was not occupied, I landed and found that, like the others, it was very carefully and scientifically built, with a deep ditch around it. Everything had been destroyed and carried away except a rifled twenty-four pounder and an old English eighteen pounder, both of which had been burst, and

possession of the Bay of St. Helena secured the command of large rivers communicating with the interior of South Carolina, and an excellent harbor near Charleston itself. The possession of Warsaw Inlet and Sound was no less important, as it gave the command of an entrance to the Savannah River, with a passage little inferior to that of Tybee. Tybee Island was subsequently seized and held by the Federal troops, without an attempt at resistance by the enemy beyond an occasional unavailing shot from Fort Pulaski.* This powerful

another eighteen pounder, which I destroyed. Having performed this duty, I continued up the river, thinking that I might find fortifications at Mosquito Creek, which offers the only inland channel of communication with Charleston. None had, however, been erected there, and I continued up the river to the plantation on Hutchinson Island, about twelve miles above Otter Island, which was as far as the vessels could go. Here were a large number of negroes, but no white men, although they told me there was a picket of soldiers about three miles beyond. At this time I heard heavy firing, and, as we all supposed it proceeded from the Pawnee, I hurried every one on board and returned down the river as quickly as possible, but on reaching that vessel was told that the sounds came from the direction of Beaufort.

"Then, with the Pawnee, got under weigh, and, accompanied by the other vessels, ran across the bay to Hunting Island River, where I landed and looked for the fortifications on the point of Hunting Island, but could not find the least appearance of there ever having been any there. The light-house had been recently blown up, and all the public property carried away. I had now examined all the points mentioned in your letter except Coffin's Landing, which had been visited by Lieutenant O'Rourke, on his way across, and he reporting that no works had been erected there, I did not think it worth the delay that would have been occasioned there. I left Hunting Island Harbor at seven o'clock this morning, and reached my anchorage here at meridian.

"With regard to the other inquiries that I was ordered to make, I would beg leave to say, that whenever practicable, the slaves have been removed, as on the northern side of the Ashepoo, where there is no communication with the Edisto. At all the plantations south of that a great many still remain at Hutchinson Island—not less, I think, than 120. Not a white man seems to be left anywhere outside the line of military occupation, which was higher than I was able to go with the vessels.

"The slaves are doing nothing, are very friendly, and assisted us voluntarily wherever we wanted their aid, and sometimes, as at Fort Hayward, worked very hard. I overheard one of them say that it was but fair they should do so for us, as we were working for them. The more intelligent among them told me that there was no packed cotton this year, and that not much more than half the cotton and scarcely any of the provision crop had been gathered. * * * * *

"I forgot to mention that, as far as we could make out, on our return down the river (the Ashepoo), they appeared to be burning houses in the direction of the South Edisto River, or on those plantations which must have still been in the possession of the whites, and the same thing seemed to be continued during the night.

"I can not finish without mentioning the obligations I am under to Captain Boutelle, for the skill and untiring energy he displayed in piloting us through those inland waters; and I think the people must have been a little surprised at seeing vessels of war passing at full speed up narrow and not over deep rivers, such as the Coosaw and Ashepoo. I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"DRAYTON, Commanding Pawnee."

* The following descriptions of Fort Pulaski and Fort Jackson are from the New York *Herald:*

"Fort Pulaski guards the city on its sea approaches. It is built on Cockspur Island, fourteen miles from Savannah, at the mouth of the Savannah River. The site of the fortification was selected by Major Babcock, of the United States Engineer Corps, about twenty-six years ago, but it was not till 1831 that the work of erecting the present massive masonry fortification was commenced in earnest. In that year Captain (now Quartermaster-General) Mansfield took charge of its construction. The fort was finished a few years ago, at a cost of $963,000. The fort is of pentagonal form, covering several acres. Its walls are forty feet high, and present two falls on the sea approach, with ranges of fire radiating at opposite angles The fort is embrasured on the front and channel side for one row of guns, under bomb-proof casemates, with an additional tier of guns open, or *en barbette* The salient points and flanking approaches on the rear of the work have no embrasures for heavy cannon, but are thoroughly covered by enfilading musketry loopholes, which renders a landing or escalading extremely hazardous to an enemy. The full armament of the fort will consist, on the lower tier, of sixty-five thirty-two pounders (iron pieces), and the upper tier of fifty-three twenty-four pounders, four eighteen-pounder flanking howitzers, one thirteen-inch mortar, twelve eight-inch columbiads, and seven ten-inch mortars —in all 150 guns. The columbiads are heavy and very destructive weapons of long range, and adapted to use spherical shot or shell. They are capable of an elevation of 180 degrees, and a vertical fire of five degrees, depressed

work, which at the commencement of the civil troubles had been appropriated by the secessionists of Georgia, gave them the command of the main entrance to Savannah through the mouth of the Savannah River. By Warsaw Sound, however, which Commodore Dupont had succeeded in securing, there is another means of reaching the Savannah River, and thence the city of Savannah itself. A stream termed St. Augustine Creek, which flows from the Savannah River, and widening into what is called the Wilmington River, empties into Warsaw Sound, and thus offers a circuitous route from the sea by which the city of Savannah can be reached without passing through the main entrance commanded by the formidable guns of Fort Pulaski. Commodore Dupont, availing himself of his gun-boats of light draft, had succeeded in approaching the Savannah River by the passage through St. Augustine Creek, in the rear of Fort Pulaski. His plan, however, of reaching the city itself, and cutting off the communication between it and Fort Pulaski, was most completely thwarted by the operations of the secessionists, who, through the incontinence of the Northern press, having timely information of their danger, were enabled to provide against it.

Jan. 27.

A combined operation of the naval and military forces from Port Royal met with more immediate success. The enemy had been endeavoring to shut up the Federal forces within Port Royal Island, where they had first landed and were encamped. For this purpose the South Carolinians had placed obstructions in Coosaw River and the other streams and creeks which separate the island from the mainland, had constructed batteries, the principal of which were at Seabrook, Boyd's Creek, and at Port Royal Ferry, and had so posted their troops as to concentrate a force of 2,500 or 3,000 men at either of these points. To thwart the designs of the enemy, Commodore Dupont and General Sherman agreed upon a combined expedition.

Commander C. R. P. Rodgers was appointed to the command of the naval forces, consisting of the gun-boats Ottawa, Lieutenant-Commanding Stevens; Pembina, Lieutenant-Commanding Bankhead; four armed boats carrying howitzers, under the charge of Lieutenants Upshur, Luce, and Irwin,

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to thirty-six degrees elevation. The interior of the fort is well supplied with massive furnaces for heating shot, officers' quarters, soldiers' barracks, and an immense supply of shot, powder, and muskets. A wide ditch surrounds the work, which, when dry, can be used by sharpshooters, or could, if necessary, at the approach of an enemy, be easily flooded. Beyond the ditch is a glacis, or inclined bank, which is enfiladed by the guns from the lower or casemate row of the fortification. The full war garrison of the fort is 800 men, but one-half that number could hold it successfully against a very large force. Vessels of any considerable size in beating up the channel to Savannah are obliged to approach within seventy yards of the fort, and at this point many guns of large calibre can be made to concentrate their fire. The fortification is pronounced by expert army engineers one of the strongest and most perfect of its kind on this continent. It covers a larger area than Fort Sumter, but has one tier of guns less.

"Fort Jackson.—This is a small work, built on a low marsh, four miles from Savannah, on a site near the bend of the river, and commands important points on the channel, on the interior line of fortifications. It is built of heavy brick masonry. Its armament consists of ten twenty-four pounders (iron guns), three field pieces, five eight-inch howitzers, one ten-inch mortar, and one eight-inch mortar. It cost the government $80,000. There is also an exterior line of fortification erected to protect the mouth of the Savannah on its sea approach at Tybee Island."

and Acting-Master Kempff, all of which were to enter the Coosaw by Beaufort River; the gun-boat Seneca, Lieutenant-Commanding Ammen, and the tug-boat Ellen, Acting-Master-Commanding Budd. The last two were to move up Beaufort River and approach the batteries at Seabrook and Port Royal Ferry by Whale Branch. The armed tug E. B. Hale, Acting-Master Foster, under the command of Lieutenant Barnes, was afterward dispatched to Commander Rodgers.

A land force of about 6,000 men—the Roundhead Regiment, Colonel Leasure; Eighth Michigan, Colonel Fenton; Fiftieth Pennsylvania, Colonel Christ; and the Seventy-ninth New York, Major Morrison; together with the Forty-seventh New York, Colonel Frazier; and the Forty-eighth New York, Colonel Perry—accompanied the expedition, all forming a brigade under the command of Brigadier-General Isaac J. Stevens. The result of the expedition is fully detailed in this report of the naval commander, submitted to Commodore Dupont:

"United States Flag-Ship Wabash,
"Port Royal Harbor, S. C., *Jan.* 3, 1862.

"Sir: I reached Beaufort at noon on the 31st of December, with the gun-boats Ottawa, Lieutenant-Commanding Stevens; and Pembina, Lieutenant-Commanding Bankhead; and the four large boats of this ship, each carrying a twelve-pound howitzer, under Lieutenants Upshur, Luce, and Irwin, and Acting-Master Kempff. At sunset Lieutenant Barnes, of this ship, joined me with the armed steamer E. B. Hale, Acting-Master-Commanding Foster. In order that no intimation might be given to the enemy of our approach, these vessels remained at Beaufort until after dark, when they ascended the river to a point about two miles from the Coosaw, where we anchored to await daylight. At four the next morning I moved on with the launches, and at daylight joined General Stevens, at the head of his column, and at the appointed place of rendezvous.

"The troops having all embarked, we crossed the Coosaw, and at eight A.M. the first detachment of volunteers landed, under cover of our boat guns, at Haywood's plantation, and with them went the two light howitzers of the Wabash, to serve as a section of light artillery, under Lieutenant Irwin, of this ship. At sunrise Lieutenant-Commanding Stevens succeeded in getting the Ottawa through the difficult passage of the Brick-yard, and in joining me in front of the column, the Pembina and E. B. Hale arriving shortly afterward. We proceeded to the next landing, at Adams' plantation, where the remaining troops were ordered to disembark. On our way up we threw a few shells into what seemed an outpost of the enemy, near a long embankment.

"Anchoring the gun-boat at ten o'clock so as to cover the route of the advancing column and the second point of debarkation, where also our launches were stationed, I went up in the Hale to within range of the battery at Port Royal Ferry, at which Lieutenant Barnes threw a few shot and shell, dislodging a body of troops

stationed in the adjoining field, but eliciting no response from the battery.

"At half past one P.M., General Stevens being ready to move, the gun-boats shelled the woods in front of his skirmishers, and then advancing we threw a rapid fire into the fort at Port Royal Ferry, and anchored in front of it at two forty P.M., the Ottawa passing between the heads of the two causeways. The enemy had succeeded in taking off all their guns save one, but I could not learn whether any except field pieces had been removed on the day of attack. We found a quantity of eight-inch shells and thirty-pounder rifled shells in the magazines.

"At half-past two the Seneca, Lieutenant-Commanding Ammen, and the Ellen, Master-Commanding Budd, the other vessels which you had placed under my orders, having passed from Broad River through Whale Branch, came within signal distance, and their commanders came on board the Ottawa, having assisted in the destruction of the works at Seabrook; but their vessels were prevented by the lowness of the tide from joining me. The Ellen came up at eight o'clock, and the Seneca the next morning.

"Immediately after the Ottawa had anchored, the ferry was reopened, and the Pennsylvania Roundheads passed over and occupied the fort, where they were joined, about four o'clock, by General Stevens' advance guard. The enemy appearing in force and in line of battle upon the right of our troops, at fifteen minutes past four o'clock the Ottawa moved down the river a short distance with the Pembina and opened fire with eleven-inch and Parrott guns, their shells falling among the enemy's troops with great effect, driving them into the woods and clearing the flank of our column, where the skirmishers had been engaged and the enemy had opened fire from a field battery of several pieces. Soon after sunset we ceased firing for a while, and the enemy sent a flag of truce to one of our advanced posts, to ask permission to carry off their killed and wounded. Just then the gun-boats reopened, and before General Stevens' messenger could convey his reply, that the firing should cease for an hour, to enable the enemy to carry off their wounded, the officer who had brought the flag had galloped off. At sunset I landed our heavy howitzer, directing Lieutenant Upshur to place it in battery with the guns already on shore under Lieutenant Irwin, there being no artillery with the brigade but that of the Wabash. At the same time Lieutenant Luce, with the second launch and its rifled gun, and Lieutenant Barnes, with the Hale, were sent to the lower landing to protect the boats and steamer in which our troops had crossed, and superintend their removal to the ferry, which was accomplished about midnight.

"At sunrise we re-embarked our boat guns. At thirty minutes past nine o'clock on the morning of the 2d, the enemy again appearing in the wood, we opened a hot fire of shot and shells from the Ottawa, Seneca, Pembina, Ellen, and Hale, and after firing briskly for a time slackened the fire so as to drop a shot or

shell into the woods about once a minute. At forty minutes past nine o'clock our troops began to recross the ferry, and were all over by noon, our field guns having been landed, at the request of General Stevens, to cover the rear of the returning column. The enemy made no further demonstration. The scows which had been used in crossing were taken to our vessels, to be towed to Beaufort, and at two P.M. we got under way and moved down the Coosaw to a point near the Beaufort River, where we were compelled to wait for the morning's tide to pass through the Brickyard Channel. * * * *

"I have the honor to be, etc.,

"C. R. P. RODGERS, Commander.

"To Flag-Officer S. F. DUPONT, Commanding South Atlantic Blockading Squadron."

Lieutenant-Commanding Ammen, with the gun-boats Seneca and Ellen, meeting with but little resistance, thoroughly accomplished his work at Seabrook, driving the enemy from that quarter and destroying the fortifications.

CHAPTER LIX.

Inquietude about European Interference.—Want of Cotton.—Impatience of England and France.—Aversion of the United States to Interference.—Neutrality of Europe.—Official expressions of opinion.—Officiousness of M. Fould. —Offensive declaration of Lord John Russell.—Opinion of Mr. Gladstone.—The War denounced by the Foreign Press as Unjust and Ineffectual.—Separation of the States held in Europe to be final.—Basis of this opinion.—Influence of the Southern agents in Europe. Irritation in the United States in consequence.—Exultation at the Capture of Slidell and Mason.—Life of Slidell.—Political career and character.—Life of Mason.—Career and character.—Mission of Slidell and Mason.—Their escape from Charleston.—Reception in Havana.—On board the Trent.—The San Jacinto.—Her cruise.—After the Trent.—The Trent overhauled and brought to.—Capture of Slidell and Mason.—Arrival of the San Jacinto in the United States.—Mason and Slidell in Fort Warren

1861. A NATURAL inquietude was felt from the very commencement of the civil war, lest the great powers of Europe might, when they found their commercial interests, which were so closely interwoven with those of the United States, disturbed by the conflict, seek an occasion for interference. The want of cotton to supply the great manufacturers of Europe with material for continued production of their fabrics, and consequently necessary means for the subsistence of their millions of workmen, would, none could deny, be felt more intensely, especially by France and England, with each day's duration of the war, and render them impatient to bring it to a close.

The United States, confident of its power soon to restore its authority throughout its whole domain, and with the natural self-respect of a great nation, was exceedingly averse to any interposition of foreign powers in its domestic quarrel. All suggestions of friendly mediation were proudly disdained, and all movements which bore the semblance of interfer-

ence were anxiously watched. Though the governments of France and England, directing their action in accordance with a discreet regard for the international rights of the United States, preserved a strict neutrality, there were many leaders of opinion in both countries who did not hesitate to express views of the civil quarrel exceedingly distasteful to the public sentiment of the North. Nor were these merely the speculations of publicists, whose liberty of opinion, when restrained by the ordinary proprieties of discussion, no American freeman would dispute, but were the enunciations of ministers of those very governments which professed a resolute adherence to the strictest neutrality.

Napoleon III., through his minister of finance, Monsieur Fould, had expressed, not *officially*, but *officiously*—to use a distinction borrowed from the French—his fear that the union was forever dissolved. Earl Russell, too, the foreign minister of England, had ventured, though not indeed in his official capacity, to indulge in the offensive epigrammatic declaration, that the North was fighting for dominion and the South for independence. The cautious and insinuating Mr. Gladstone, moreover, even while professing a tender regard for the Government of the United States, could not refrain from expressing the opinion that in its attempt to subdue its rebellious citizens, it had undertaken what was impracticable.

These authoritative if not official judgments were naturally unwelcome to a people who showed by their generous devotion to their cause their faith in its justice and confidence in its triumph. This perversion, as it was deemed, of the motives and premature conclusion as to the results of the war, found an exaggerated echo in portions of the foreign press, which, while disclaiming any feeling of sympathy with the slavery of the South, virtually advocated its cause by denouncing the North as waging an unjust and ineffectual war.

Public opinion in Europe, based chiefly upon the assumption that the separation of the seceding States was an ultimate rupture, beyond the possibility of reconstruction, was thus unfavorable to a war for the Union. The disfavor with which the action of the Federal Government was viewed by the European powers was attributed principally to a desire to check the progress of a great nation, which they feared was destined to attain a preponderating influence in the world, and to the injury they sustained by the interruption of those commercial relations which are essential not only to the sustenance, but to the political obedience of European operatives. Another cause—perhaps the most irritating to the Northern people—of the unfriendly feeling in Europe could be traced to the influence of the agents of the Southern Confederacy, who had been busily intriguing, since the commencement of the civil troubles, with the leaders of opinion in London and Paris. They had succeeded, by their artful expositions of the commercial advantage to Europe of direct and free trade with the South, in arousing the cupidity of the manufacturers of Manchester and Lyons, and

had thus created a strong interest in their favor. At the same time they had so exaggerated the resources of the Confederacy and the unity of sentiment of those in subjection to it, and proportionately so underestimated the power and loyalty of the North, as to create a belief that the suppression of the rebellion was not practicable, nor even desirable. The mischief produced by those intriguing agents of the Southern Confederacy will account for the satisfaction with which the people of the North received the intelligence of the capture of Slidell and Mason, the commissioners sent by Jefferson Davis to London and Paris.

John Slidell, though one of the most devoted adherents of the Southern slavery faction, and among the chief instigators of secession, is a native of the North. He was born in the city of New York in the year 1793. His father was a thriving tradesman, who, after accumulating a fortune as a tallow-chandler, became president of a bank. No man was more highly esteemed by his fellow-townsmen than he who was always spoken of as "honest old John Slidell." His son John having, at the age of one-and-twenty, been engaged in a duel, which ill accorded with the orderly associations of a staid tradesman's family, was forced to seek in the license of New Orleans society a more congenial sphere. He accordingly emigrated to that city, and, possessed of a good education and much cleverness, was, after perfecting himself in the study of the law, admitted to the bar. He met with rapid success, and was appointed by President Jackson the United States district attorney at New Orleans. He was repeatedly elected a member of the State Legislature, and finally a representative to the United States Congress, where, by his political tact and his skill in debate, he early acquired a commanding position.

When war with Mexico seemed imminent, Slidell was sent by President Polk as a special envoy to the Mexican government with the professed purpose of making an effort to prevent hostilities. His mission, however, proved of no avail, as, after a long discussion, he was refused an official acknowledgment.

A devoted adherent to the slavery interest of the South, and an earnest advocate for extending its domination by the acquisition of new territory, he was appointed by President Pierce United States minister to Central America, in the hope that by his characteristic skilfulness of intrigue he might further the Southern policy of the administration in that quarter.

On the appointment of Soulé as minister to Madrid, Slidell was chosen by the Legislature of Louisiana to succeed him in the U. S. Senate, to which he was subsequently re-elected for the term of six years. He was thus a senator during the administration of Buchanan, and was the master spirit of the conspiracy then formed for the dissolution of the Union. He had been offered by Buchanan the appointment of minister plenipotentiary to Paris, but declined it, as he preferred remaining at Washington, where his presence was necessary to the development of the plot against

the Federal authority. Possessed of great wealth, and surrounding himself in his luxurious home with every social attraction, he exercised great influence upon the facile society of the capital. He thus contrived to mould the public sentiment of Washington to his purposes socially, while politically he was promoting his designs, through his influence over Buchanan, who yielded his feeble will to his control without resistance. Lingering in Washington as long as he could intrigue with impunity, he did not leave the capital until the secession of Louisiana was beyond peradventure, when he took leave of the U. S. Senate in a defiant challenge to the sovereignty of the Union. He was soon after elected a member from Louisiana of the Congress of the Confederate States.

In personal appearance Slidell—with his portly person, defiant air, and intellectual head—is impressive; and he is universally recognized as a man of capacity. A master of political tact and intrigue, he is not over-scrupulous in the choice of means to attain the objects of his restless ambition. He is the brother of the clever author, the late Lieutenant Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, who is thought by many to have tarnished an otherwise spotless reputation by the execution of young Spencer, the son of the secretary of state, John C. Spencer, on the charge of being an instigator of a mutinous plot on board the brig Somers.

Trusting to his political shrewdness, social tact, and familiarity with the French language, Jefferson Davis appointed John Slidell to intrigue for the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, and otherwise promote its interests in Paris. With him was sent James Murray Mason, to perform the same part in London.

James Murray Mason was born in 1797, on Analostan Island, Fairfax County, in Virginia. His descent has been traced to George Mason, an English Cavalier who fought on the royal side during the civil war, and after the defeat of the king's troops at Worcester fled to America. Landing at Norfolk, he became a Virginia planter, and was the progenitor of the distinguished family of Masons, of whom James Murray Mason is one of the most notable descendants.

Mason, after a preliminary schooling at his Virginian home, and in Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, was sent to the University of Pennsylvania, where he graduated in 1818. He subsequently attended lectures on law at the College of William and Mary, in Williamsburgh, Virginia, and completed his studies under the direction of Benjamin Watkins Leigh, an eminent lawyer of Richmond.

In 1820 he was licensed to practice, and after several years' successful pursuit of his profession began his political career as a member of the House of Delegates of Virginia, to which he was first elected in 1826, and subsequently re-elected twice. In 1829 he was a delegate to the convention convoked for the revision of the State constitution. In 1837 he was chosen a member of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, but served only a single term. In 1847 he was elected by the

Legislature of Virginia to the United States Senate. For fourteen years he had been a senator, when, on the secession of his State, he abandoned the national service. For a long time he was an acknowledged leader in the Senate, and for many years was chairman of the committee on foreign affairs.

Mason was always among the most prominent defenders of slavery in the Senate. He was the chief author of the Fugitive Slave Bill, and on the Kansas-Nebraska, and all other questions involving slavery, he tenaciously defended the special claims of that institution. He was no less an advocate of the "State Rights" doctrine of Calhoun, and always insisted upon the right of secession. In September, 1855, he wrote: "But one course remains for the South—immediate, absolute, and eternal separation. Better, far better, to stand toward the Northern States as we stand to the rest of the world—enemies in war, in peace friends—than to remain halting under a common government, enemies in the guise of peace, or friends at war." Yet, soothed by the conciliatory attentions of New England, he could not refrain from complimenting an audience at Bunker Hill with this tribute to their patriotism: "I shall tell," he said, "in old Virginia, when I return to her hallowed land, that I found the spirit of Massachusetts as buoyant, as patriotic, as completely filled with the emotions that should govern patriotism, when I visited Bunker Hill, as it was when that battle was fought."

As early as in the spring of 1860, Mason, with a prescience of his future disloyalty, ventured to declare in the Senate, that "he recognized no allegiance to this Government; he recognized and acknowledged no allegiance to this Government—none whatever." He remained, however, in the Senate until his native State allied herself to the enemies of the United States. He then took a defiant farewell, and after serving a while as a member of the Confederate Congress at Richmond, accepted the appointment of Commissioner to London.

The first information which reached the North of the mission of Slidell and Mason was through vague allusions in the Southern papers. Subsequently, however, there came, through the same source, a direct statement of their appointment, and an exulting account of their departure, in spite of the vigilance of the Federal cruisers.

The *Mercury*, of Charleston, whence the Commissioners sailed, gave this full revelation of their escape:

"For some time past the papers of the interior have been indulging in sly hints as to the whereabouts of Messrs. Mason and Slidell. We have hitherto not made any allusion to their movements; but the causes which induced our reticence being removed, we may now, without indiscretion, narrate the facts of their embarkation. The Commissioners having resolved to make the venture of running the blockade of Charleston, after mature deliberation selected for the experiment the staunch and swift little steamer Theodora, which was, therefore, got ready for sea with all

Oct. 11.

dispatch. The preparations having been completed, they embarked a little before midnight on Friday, October 11th. The party of passengers who were starting on this very unusual and somewhat hazardous trip consisted of the following persons:

"Hon. J. M. Mason, of Virginia; Mr. McFarland, secretary to Mr. Mason; Hon. John Slidell, of Louisiana; Mrs. Slidell; Miss Mathilde Slidell; Miss Rosine Slidell; Mr. Eustis, secretary to Mr. Slidell; Mrs. Eustis, who is a daughter of Mr. Corcoran, the Washington banker; Colonel Le Mat, of Louisiana, the inventor of the grape-shot revolver, and two or three other gentlemen whom it will be best for the present not to name.

"The night was pitch dark, and about midnight a light rain commenced falling, which rendered the chances of being detected by the blockaders exceedingly slim. At one o'clock on Saturday morning, the hasty 'good-byes,' and 'God-speed-yous' having been said, the cables of the Theodora were loosened, and she glided down the harbor on her important mission. As the steamer passed Fort Sumter, every light on board was extinguished, and away she went, right through the fingers of the blockaders, far out at sea. On the evening of the 11th she reached Nassau in safety, where, had the opportunity been a favorable one, the Commissioners would have disembarked; but, on inquiring, they ascertained that the English steamer connecting with that point touched at New York. However gratifying a sight of New York might have been under other circumstances, the Commissioners determined in this instance to forego the pleasure. So the Theodora left Nassau and steamed away toward Cuba. On the 16th instant she arrived at Cardenas, where the Commissioners landed. The news that a Southern steamer had arrived, with Messrs. Mason and Slidell on board, which was telegraphed from Cardenas to Havana, was scarcely credited at the latter place. But when, on the 17th instant, the Theodora came up the harbor of Havana, displaying the Confederate flag, the quays were immediately thronged with thousands of wondering spectators, and a most cordial and enthusiastic reception was given to the adventurous little craft."

The two Commissioners and their *attachés* remained in Havana, where they were received with a partial welcome, and were even entertained by the British consul, though, it is said, not officially—and presented by him to the Captain-General of Cuba—until the 7th of November, when they embarked on board the British mail steamer Trent, for St. Thomas, **Nov.**
whence they expected to be trans- **7.**
ferred to another British mail steamer for Southampton, in England.

In the mean time, while the Commissioners were pursuing their voyage, the United States steamer San Jacinto, a first-class screw steam sloop, mounting fifteen guns, had arrived in the West Indies from the African coast, where she had been one of the vessels of the usual squadron on that station. Captain Charles Wilkes had assumed command of the San Jacinto at Fernando Po, where he had been awaiting her arrival. In the course of

his cruise in the West Indies, where he was on the look-out for privateers, he learned at Cienfuegos, from the newspapers, that the Theodora had run the blockade at Charleston and arrived at Havana, after landing the Confederate Commissioners, with their families and secretaries, at Cardenas. Captain Wilkes determined at once to intercept the Theodora on her return to Charleston, and accordingly, having taken on board hurriedly a sufficient quantity of coal for a short cruise, left Cienfuegos on the 26th of October, and arrived at Havana on the 28th. Here he found that he was too late for the Theodora, as she had already returned to Charleston. The Commissioners, however, were still in Havana, and having heard of their intention to take passage in the British mail packet Trent for St. Thomas, *en route* for England, Capt. Wilkes "conceived the bold plan of intercepting the English steamer, and in the event of these persons being on board, to make them prisoners." The San Jacinto was accordingly filled up with coal "in great haste," and provisioned, and took her departure from Havana on the 2d of November.

Nov. 2. After proceeding to Key West in search of the Powhatan, to aid him in his object, but failing to find her, Captain Wilkes, "nothing daunted, fully resolved to undertake the boldy conceived enterprise alone." On the morning of the 5th of November the San Jacinto left Key West, and running to the north side of the island of Cuba, touched at Sagua La Grande, where Captain Wilkes telegraphed to the American consul-general, Mr. Schufeldt, at Havana, for information as to the day of sailing of the Trent, but received no response. The San Jacinto now steamed for the Old Bahama Channel, situated about twenty miles east of the north side of Cuba, two hundred and forty miles from Havana, and nearly ten from the light-house of Paradon La Grande. As the channel contracts there to the width of fifteen miles, and was directly in the course of the Trent, there was not much probability of missing her. During the night of the 7th of November, having reached this channel, the San Jacinto laid off and on, with all her batteries loaded, and the bulwarks around the pivot gun on the forecastle removed. At the same time Captain Wilkes issued an order to Lieutenant D. M. Fairfax, the executive officer of the ship, to have two boats ready manned and armed to board the English packet as soon as she should be hove to under the guns of the San Jacinto. The Lieutenant was, moreover, ordered, in case, on boarding the Trent, he found Messrs. Slidell, Mason, Eustis, and McFarland among the passengers, to make them prisoners and send them immediately on board the San Jacinto, while to their families he was instructed by the Captain to offer, in his name, his cabin, in case they should resolve upon going to the United States. Captain Wilkes closed his order with the remark: "I trust that all those under your command, in executing this important and delicate duty, will conduct themselves with all the delicacy and kindness which become our naval service."

The second and third cutters of the ship were accordingly manned, armed, and kept in readiness for the service con-
Nov. 8. templated, of which Lieut. Fairfax was to have the conduct. Thus prepared, the coming of the Trent was anxiously watched. She finally made her appearance at about noon on the 8th of November. Everything was made ready; the men were beat to quarters, and as soon as the British steamer was within reach, every gun on the starboard of the San Jacinto was trained upon her. A shot from the pivot gun was now discharged across her bow. The Trent hoisted English colors, but "showed no disposition to slacken her speed or heave to." The San Jacinto responded by unfurling the United States flag, and waiting until the Trent was close upon her, fired a shell across her bow, which brought her to. Captain Wilkes now hailed her, and saying he would send a boat, ordered Lieutenant Fairfax to board her. The Lieutenant accordingly went in the second cutter, while the third cutter remained alongside of the San Jacinto in readiness to follow in case it were wanted. The proceedings of Lieutenant Fairfax are best detailed in his own report to Captain Wilkes, of the strict truthfulness of which his honorable character is the surest proof.

"U. S. Steamer San Jacinto,
At Sea, *Nov.* 12.

"At 1.20 P.M. on the 8th inst., I repaired," wrote Lieut. Fairfax, "alongside of the British mail packet in an armed cutter, accompanied by Mr. Houston, second assistant engineer, and Mr. Grace, the boatswain. I went on board the Trent alone, leaving the two officers in the boat, with orders to wait until it became necessary to show some force. I was shown up by the first officer to the quarter-deck, where I met the captain and informed him who I was, asking to see his passenger list. He declined letting me see it. I then told him that I had information of Mr. Mason, Mr. Slidell, Mr. Eustis, and Mr. McFarland having taken their passage at Havana in the packet to St. Thomas, and would satisfy myself whether they were on board before allowing his steamer to proceed. Mr. Slidell, evidently hearing his name mentioned, came up to me and asked if I wanted to see him. Mr. Mason soon joined us, and then Mr. Eustis and Mr. McFarland, when I made known the object of my visit. The captain of the Trent opposed anything like a search of his vessel, nor would he consent to show his papers or passenger list. The four gentlemen above mentioned protested also against my arresting and sending them to the United States steamer near by. There was considerable noise among the passengers just about that time, and that led Mr. Houston and Mr. Grace to repair on board with some six or eight men, all armed. After several unsuccessful efforts to persuade Mr. Mason and Mr. Slidell to go with me peaceably, I called to Mr. Houston and ordered him to return to the ship with the information that the four gentlemen named in your order of the 8th inst. were on board, and force must be applied to take them out of the packet.

"About three minutes after, there was still greater excitement on the quarter-deck, which brought Mr. Grace with his armed party. I, however, deemed the presence of any armed men unnecessary, and only calculated to alarm the ladies present, and directed Mr. Grace to return to the lower deck, where he had been since coming on board. It must have been less than half an hour after I boarded the Trent when the second armed cutter, under Lieutenant Greer, came alongside (only two armed boats being used). He brought in the third cutter eight marines and four machinists, in addition to a crew of some twelve men. When the marines and some armed men had been formed just outside of the main-deck cabin, where these four gentlemen had gone to pack up their baggage, I renewed my efforts to induce them to accompany me on board. Still refusing to accompany me unless force was applied, I called in to my assistance four or five officers, and first taking hold of Mr. Mason's shoulder, with another officer on the opposite side, I went as far as the gangway of the steamer and delivered him over to Lieutenant Greer, to be placed in the boat. I then returned for Mr. Slidell, who insisted that I must apply considerable force to get him to go with me; calling in at least three officers, he also was taken in charge and handed over to Mr. Greer.

"Mr. McFarland and Mr. Eustis, after protesting, went quietly into the boat. They had been permitted to collect their baggage, but were sent in advance of it under charge of Lieutenant Greer. I gave my personal attention to the luggage, saw it put in a boat, and sent in charge of an officer to the San Jacinto.

"When Mr. Slidell was taken prisoner, a great deal of noise was made by some of the passengers, which caused Lieutenant Greer to send the marines into the cabin. They were immediately ordered to return to their former position outside. I carried out my purpose without using any force beyond what appears in this report.

"The mail agent, who is a retired commander in the British navy, seemed to have a great deal to say as to the propriety of my course; but I purposely avoided all official intercourse with him. When I was finally leaving the steamer he made some apology for his rude conduct, and expressed, personally, his approval of the manner in which I carried out my orders. We parted company with the Trent at 3.20 P.M."

The San Jacinto now returned with its prisoners to the United States, arriving at Sandy Hook on the 18th of November. Dispatches from the Secretary of the Navy met Captain Wilkes there, and in accordance with their instructions he immediately sailed for Boston, where the prisoners were placed in Fort Warren.

CHAPTER LX.

Joy on the Capture of Slidell and Mason.—Immoderate excitement.—Captain Wilkes in Boston.—A hero.—Banquet in Boston.—Immoderate praise of Wilkes.—His modest explanation of his conduct.—Universal applause of Wilkes' act.—Subsequent reflection.—Probable effect in Great Britain.—Public anxiety.—Congress and the Secretary of the Navy approve of the conduct of Wilkes.—Caution and Foresight of Mr. Seward.—Dispatch to Mr. Adams.—Great indignation in England on the arrival of the Trent.—Immediate preparations for war.—The Law Officers consulted.—Lord John Russell demands the surrender of Slidell and Mason.—Continued and increased excitement in England.—Increased anxiety in the United States.—Divided opinion.—Government resolves to give up Slidell and Mason.—The general relief.—Mr. Seward's dispatch.—Ingenious argument.

THE capture of Slidell and Mason was a source of universal satisfaction to the people of the North. Known, as they were, to be the chief among the instigators of secession, and the ablest and most unscrupulous of its political managers, it was not unnaturally considered, by those who loved the Union, a triumph to have arrested two of its archest enemies in their career of mischief. Exulting in a capture which was supposed to be important to its cause, the North allowed its sense of satisfaction to reveal itself in immoderate joy, without a due regard to the possible effect upon the relations with Great Britain of an event involving some of the grand questions of international law.

1861.

It was thus that the citizens of Boston, in the fervor of their delight, welcomed Captain Wilkes with his prisoners as if he had been a hero returning with the trophies of a great victory. The civic authorities of Boston received him publicly, and the mayor, in set phrase, told him, "We honor you as an eminent scientific navigator and explorer, as a gallant and meritorious officer of our navy, and for the sagacity, judgment, decision, and firmness which characterized your recent brilliant achievement, the effect of which upon the present rebellion may prove not less important than the glorious naval victories on the Southern coast." A banquet was subsequently given in Boston to the Captain and his first lieutenant, Fairfax, at which a judicial dignitary presided and civic magistrates assisted. Eulogistic speeches were uttered, in which the act of Captain Wilkes was immoderately praised as a deed of heroism, and its legality and policy inconsiderately assumed as unquestionable. The hero of the occasion modestly waived the personal praises as unmerited, and took the opportunity of explaining the motives of his conduct, which he seemed to think required justification.

"Before deciding on the course I adopted," he said, "I examined the authorities—Kent, Wheaton, and the rest—and satisfied myself that these 'Commissioners,' or 'Ministers,' as they styled them-

selves, had no rights which attach to such functionaries when properly appointed; and finding that I had a right to take written dispatches, I took it for granted that I had a right to take these 'Commissioners,' as the embodiments of dispatches. I therefore took it upon myself to say to those gentlemen that they must produce their passports from the General Government, and as they could not do that, I arrested them."

In the rest of the country the feeling was in accord with that which had been exhibited so demonstratively in the city of Boston. A common sentiment of delight was expressed at the capture of Slidell and Mason, and universal applause bestowed upon their captor.

To this first effervescence of feeling there ensued a calmer state of the public mind, which led to a reflection on the probable solution in Great Britain of a question to which that irritable government had been made a party, by the fact of the seizure of the Confederate Commissioners while under the cover of the British flag. It was, however, so easy to discover, in the arbitrary career of that domineering power, so many precedents of naval outrage, that public opinion at the North was persuaded without difficulty that England could not so repudiate her own conduct as to complain of an act supposed to be in harmony with it.

The intelligence of the effect in Great Britain of the seizure of the Confederate Commissioners was, notwithstanding, awaited with considerable anxiety, not so much from any disquietude about the legality of the act, as from the fear lest the British Government, suspected of an unfriendly disposition, might make it a pretext for interfering with a conflict which it was known to be anxious to bring to a close.

Though the popular exultation at the capture of Slidell and Mason, and applause of their captor, were officially re-echoed by Congress and the Secretary of the Navy, the more cautious Secretary of State seemed from the earliest moment to have been aware of the gravity of the international question involved in the act, and in a dispatch* to the **Nov. 30.**

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* DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, Nov. 30, 1861.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, ESQ., etc.:

SIR: Your confidential note of the 15th of November, not marked as a dispatch, has been submitted to the President, and I hasten to reply to it in time for the Wednesday's mail.

We are impressed very favorably by Lord Palmerston's conversation with you. You spoke the simple fact when you told him that the life of this insurrection is sustained by its hopes of recognition in Great Britain and France. It would perish in ninety days if those hopes should cease. I have never for a moment believed that such a recognition could take place without producing immediately a war between the United States and all the recognizing Powers. I have not supposed it possible that the British Government could fail to see this, and, at the same time, I have sincerely believed the British Government must, in its inmost heart, be as averse from such a war as I know this Government is.

I am sure that this Government has carefully avoided giving any cause of offence or irritation to Great Britain. But it seems to me that the British Government has been inattentive to the currents that seem to be bringing the two countries into collision. * * *

I infer from Lord Palmerston's remark, that the British Government is now awake to the importance of averting possible conflict, and disposed to confer and act with earnestness to that end. If so, we are disposed to meet them in the same spirit, as a nation chiefly of British lineage, sentiments, and sympathies—a civilized and humane nation, a Christian people.

Since that conversation was held, Captain Wilkes, in

American Minister at London prepared the way for its amicable solution.

On the arrival of the Trent in England, and the publication of the highly colored statements of its officers, the seizure of Slidell and Mason was denounced as an outrage, and the popular indignation greatly excited. The British Government, moreover, assuming that it had been wantonly insulted by the United States, made rapid and formidable preparations for war. The question of the seizure of the Confederate Commissioners having been formally submitted to the law officers of the Crown, who had pronounced it contrary to international law, Earl Russell, the secretary of foreign affairs, at once sent through the British minister, Lord Lyons, at Washington, a formal demand* for the surrender of Slidell and Mason.

the steamer San Jacinto, has boarded a British colonial steamer, and taken from her deck the two insurgents, who were proceeding to Europe on an errand of treason against their own country. This is a new incident unknown to and unforeseen, at least in its circumstances, by Lord Palmerston. It is to be met and disposed of by the two Governments, if possible, in the spirit to which I have adverted. Lord Lyons has prudently refrained from opening the subject to me, as I presume waiting instructions from home. We adhere to that course now, because we think it more prudent that the ground taken by the British Government should be first made known to us here, and that the discussion, if there be one, shall be had here. It is proper, however, that you should know one fact in the case, without indicating that we attach importance to it—namely, that in the capture of Messrs. Mason and Slidell on board a British vessel, Captain Wilkes having acted without any instruction from the Government, the subject is therefore free from the embarrassment which might have resulted if the act had been specially directed by us.

I trust that the British Government will consider the subject in a friendly temper, and it may expect the best disposition on the part of this Government.

Although this is a confidential note, I shall not object to you reading it to Earl Russell and Lord Palmerston, if you deem it expedient.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

* FOREIGN OFFICE, Nov. 30, 1862.

THE LORD LYONS, K.C.B., etc.:

MY LORD—Intelligence of a very grave nature has reached her Majesty's Government.

This intelligence was conveyed officially to the knowledge of the Admiralty by Commander Williams, agent for mails on board the contract steamer Trent.

It appears from the letter of Commander Williams, dated "Royal Mail Contract Packet Trent, at Sea, November 9," that the Trent left Havana on the 7th inst., with her Majesty's mail for England, having on board numerous passengers. Commander Williams states that shortly after noon on the 8th, a steamer having the appearance of a man-of-war, but not showing colors, was observed ahead. On nearing her, at fifteen minutes past one P. M., she fired a round shot from her pivot gun across the bows of the Trent, and showed American colors. While the Trent was approaching her slowly, the American vessel discharged a shell across the bows of the Trent, exploding half a cable's length ahead of her. The Trent then stopped, and an officer with a large armed guard of marines boarded her; the officer demanded a list of the passengers; but compliance with this demand being refused, the officer said he had orders to arrest Messrs. Mason, Slidell, McFarland, and Eustis, and that he had sure information of their being passengers of the Trent. While some parley was going on upon the matter, Mr. Slidell stepped forward and told the American officer that the four persons he had named were standing before him. The commander of the Trent and Commander Williams protested against the act of taking by force out of the Trent these four passengers, then under the protection of the British flag. But the San Jacinto was at that time only two hundred yards from the Trent, her ship's company at quarters, her ports open and tompions out. Resistance was therefore out of the question, and the four gentlemen before named were forcibly taken out of the ship. A further demand was made that the commander of the Trent should proceed on board the San Jacinto; but he said he would not go unless compelled forcibly likewise, and this demand was not insisted upon.

It thus appears that certain individuals have been forcibly taken from on board a British vessel, the ship of a neutral Power, while such vessel was pursuing a lawful and innocent voyage—an act of violence which was an affront to the British flag and a violation of international law.

Her Majesty's Government, bearing in mind the friendly relations which have long subsisted between Great Britain and the United States, are willing to believe that the United States naval officer who committed the aggression was not acting in compliance with any authority from his government, or that, if he conceived himself to be so authorized, he greatly misunderstood the

In the mean while, before this grave dispatch could reach its destination and an answer be returned, the popular excitement in England continued to intensify. The British Government at the same time was sanctioning the public agitation by its increased activity in warlike preparation, which it did not lessen even after being assured by the dispatch of Mr. Seward,* that the seizure of Slidell and Mason had not been authorized by the American Government, and of its conciliatory disposition.

This apparent exhibition of hostile feeling on the part of the British Government and people was received in the United States partly with anxiety lest a foreign war should complicate our domestic troubles, and partly with a defiant resolution to maintain the position assumed by force of arms. Opinion was thus divided while the demand of Great Britain was under consideration by our Government. When, finally, the resolution was taken to give up Slidell and Mason, and the announcement made to the public by the publication of the correspondence between the two Governments, there was a general feeling of relief. This may be accounted for partly by the discreet courtesy of Earl Russell's dispatch, partly by the ingenious answer of Mr. Seward, who had contrived to show that the demand of England was only in accordance with American views of international law, but chiefly by the satisfaction of evading the complication of a foreign war which might have prevented the success of the great cause of restoring the Union to which the national heart was so intensely devoted.*

instructions which he had received. For the Government of the United States must be fully aware that the British Government could not allow such an affront to the national honor to pass without full reparation, and her Majesty's Government are unwilling to believe that it could be the deliberate intention of the Government of the United States unnecessarily to force into discussion between the two Governments a question of so grave a character, and with regard to which the whole British nation would be sure to entertain such unanimity of feeling. Her Majesty's Government, therefore, trust that when this matter shall have been brought under the consideration of the Government of the United States, it will, of its own accord, offer to the British Government such redress as alone could satisfy the British nation, namely:

The liberation of the four gentlemen and their delivery to your lordship, in order that they may again be placed under British protection, and a suitable apology for the aggression which has been committed.

Should these terms not be offered by Mr. Seward, you will propose them to him.

You are at liberty to read this dispatch to the Secretary of State, and if he shall desire it, you will give him a copy of it. I am, etc., RUSSELL.

* See dispatch of Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams, of Nov. 1, before quoted.

* This is the memorable dispatch of Mr. Seward addressed to Lord Lyons, the British minister, in answer to the demand of the English Government:

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
"WASHINGTON, *December 26th*, 1861.

"MY LORD: Earl Russell's dispatch of November the 30th, a copy of which you have left with me at my request, is of the following effect, namely, that a letter of Commander Williams, dated royal mail contract boat Trent, at sea, November 9th, states that that vessel left Havana on the 7th of November with her Majesty's mails for England, having on board numerous passengers.

"Shortly after noon, on the 8th of November, the United States war steamer San Jacinto, Captain Wilkes, not showing colors, was observed ahead. That steamer, on being neared by the Trent, at one o'clock fifteen minutes in the afternoon, fired a round shot from a pivot gun across her bows and showed American colors. While the Trent was approaching slowly toward the San Jacinto she discharged a shell across the Trent's bows, which exploded at half a cable's length before her. The Trent then stopped, and an officer with a large armed guard of marines boarded her.

"The officer said he had orders to arrest Messrs. Mason, Slidell, McFarland, and Eustis, and had sure information that they were passengers in the Trent. While some par-

Although there were points in the reply of Mr. Seward to which the British Government might, if not pacifically disposed, take exception, there was little

ley was going on upon this matter, Mr. Slidell stepped forward and said to the American officer that the four persons he had named were standing before him. The commander of the Trent and Commander Williams protested against the act of taking these four passengers out of the Trent, they then being under the protection of the British flag. But the San Jacinto was at this time only two hundred yards distant, her ship's company at quarters, her ports open and tompions out, and so resistance was out of the question.

"The four persons before named were then forcibly taken out of the ship. A further demand was made that the commander of the Trent should proceed on board the San Jacinto, but he said he would not go unless forcibly compelled likewise, and this demand was not insisted upon. Upon this statement Earl Russell remarks that it thus appears that certain individuals have been forcibly taken from on board a British vessel, the ship of a neutral power, while that vessel was pursuing a lawful and innocent voyage; an act of violence which was an affront to the British flag, and a violation of international law.

"Earl Russell next says that her Majesty's Government, bearing in mind the friendly relations which have long subsisted between Great Britain and the United States, are willing to believe that the naval officer who committed this aggression was not acting in compliance with any authority from his government, or that if he conceived himself to be so authorized, he greatly misunderstood the instructions which he received.

"Earl Russell argues that the United States must be fully aware that the British Government could not allow such an affront on the national honor to pass without full reparation, and they are willing to believe that it could not be the deliberate intention of the Government of the United States unnecessarily to force into discussion between the two Governments a question of so grave a character, and with regard to which the whole British nation would be sure to entertain such unanimity of feeling.

"Earl Russell, resting upon the statement and the argument which I have thus recited, closes with saying that her Majesty's Government trust that when this matter shall have been brought under the consideration of the Government of the United States, it will, of its own accord, offer to the British Government such redress as alone could satisfy the British nation, namely, the liberation of the four prisoners taken from the Trent, and their delivery to your lordship, in order that they may again be placed under British protection, and a suitable apology for the aggression which has been committed. Earl Russell finally instructs you to propose these terms to me if I should not first offer them on the part of this Government.

"This dispatch has been submitted to the President.

"The British Government has rightly conjectured, what it is my duty to state, that *Captain Wilkes, in conceiving and executing the proceeding in question, acted upon his own suggestions of duty, without any direction, or instruction, or even foreknowledge of it, on the part of this Government. No directions had been given to him, or any other naval officer, to arrest the four persons named, or any of them on the Trent, or on any other British vessel, at the place where it occurred or elsewhere.*

"The British Government will justly infer from these facts that the United States not only have had no purpose, but even no thought of forcing into discussion the question which has arisen, or any other which could affect in any way the sensibilities of the British nation.

"It is true that a round shot was fired by the San Jacinto from her pivot gun when the Trent was approaching; but as the facts have been reported to this Government, the shot was, nevertheless, intentionally fired in a direction so obviously divergent from the course of the Trent as to be quite as harmless as a blank shot, while it should be regarded as a signal. So, also, we learn that the Trent was not approaching the San Jacinto slowly when the shell was fired across her bows, but, on the contrary, the Trent was, or seemed to be, moving under a full head of steam, as if with a purpose to pass the San Jacinto.

"We are informed, also, that the boarding officer (Lieutenant Fairfax) did not board the Trent with a large armed guard, but he left his marines in his boat when he entered the Trent. He stated his instructions from Captain Wilkes to search for the four persons named, in a respectful and courteous though decided manner, and he asked the captain of the Trent to show his passenger list, which was refused. The Lieutenant, as we are informed, did not employ absolute force in transferring the passengers, but he used just so much as was necessary to satisfy the parties concerned that refusal or resistance would be unavailing.

"So, also, we are informed that the captain of the Trent was not at any time, or in any way, required to go on board the San Jacinto.

"These modifications of the case, as presented by Commander Williams, are based upon our official reports.

"I have now to remind your lordship of some facts which doubtlessly were omitted by Earl Russell with the very proper and becoming motive of allowing them to be brought into the case on the part of the United States in the way most satisfactory to this Government.

"These facts are that, at the time the transaction occurred, an insurrection was existing in the United States, which this Government was engaged in suppressing by the employment of land and naval forces; that, in regard to this domestic strife, the United States considered Great Britain as a friendly power, while she has assumed for her-

doubt, as the Secretary had complied with the demand for the surrender of the captured persons, that his action would be accepted as satisfactory. As soon.

self the attitude of a neutral; and that Spain was considered in the same light, and had assumed the same attitude as Great Britain.

"It had been settled by correspondence that the United States and Great Britain mutually recognized as applicable to this local strife these two articles of the declaration made by the Congress of Paris in 1856, namely, That the neutral or friendly flag should cover enemy's goods not contraband of war, and that neutral goods, not contraband of war, are not liable to capture under an enemy's flag.

"These exceptions of contraband from favor were a negative acceptance by the parties of the rule hitherto everywhere recognized as a part of the law of nations, that whatever is contraband is liable to capture and confiscation in all cases.

"James M. Mason, and ——— McFarland are citizens of the United States, and residents of Virginia.

"John Slidell, and George Eustis are citizens of the United States, and residents of Louisiana.

"It was well known at Havana, when these parties embarked on the Trent, that James M. Mason was proceeding to England in the affected character of a Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James, under a pretended commission from Jefferson Davis, who had assumed to be President of the insurrectionary party in the United States, and McFarland was going with him in a like unreal character of Secretary of Legation to the pretended mission.

"John Slidell, in similar circumstances, was going to Paris as a pretended Minister to the Emperor of the French, and George Eustis was the chosen Secretary of Legation for that simulated mission.

"The fact that these persons had assumed such characters has been since avowed by the same Jefferson Davis in a pretended message to an unlawful and insurrectionary Congress. It was, as we think, rightly presumed that these ministers bore pretended credentials and instructions, and such papers are, in the law, known as dispatches. We are informed by our consul at Paris that these dispatches, having escaped the search of the Trent, were actually conveyed and delivered to emissaries of the insurrection in England.

"Although it is not essential, yet it is proper to state, as I do also upon information and belief, that the owner and agent, and all the officers of the Trent, including the commander, Williams, had knowledge of the assumed characters and purposes of the persons before named when they embarked on that vessel.

"Your lordship will now perceive that the case before us, instead of presenting a merely flagrant act of violence on the part of Captain Wilkes, as might well be inferred from the incomplete statement of it that went up to the British Government, was undertaken as a simple, legal, customary, and belligerent proceeding by Captain Wilkes to arrest and capture a neutral vessel engaged in carrying contraband of war for the use and benefit of the insurgents.

"The question before us is, whether this proceeding was authorized by, and conducted according to, the law of nations.

"It involves the following inquiries:

"1st. Were the persons named, and their supposed dispatches, contraband of war?

"2d. Might Captain Wilkes lawfully stop and search the Trent for these contraband persons and dispatches?

"3d. Did he exercise that right in a lawful and proper manner?

"4th. Having found the contraband persons on board, and in presumed possession of the contraband dispatches, had he a right to capture the persons?

"5th. Did he exercise that right of capture in the manner allowed and recognized by the law of nations?

"If all these inquiries shall be resolved in the affirmative, the British Government will have no claim for reparation.

"I address myself to the first inquiry, namely:

"Were the four persons mentioned, and their supposed dispatches, contraband?

"Maritime law so generally deals, as its professors say, *in rem.*, that is, with property, and so seldom with persons, that it seems a straining of the term contraband to apply it to them. But persons as well as property may become contraband, since the word means, broadly, 'contrary to proclamation, prohibited, illegal, unlawful.' All writers and judges pronounce naval or military persons in the service of the enemy contraband.

"Vattel says: 'War allows us to cut off from an enemy all his resources, and to hinder him from sending ministers to solicit assistance.' And Sir William Scott says: 'You may stop the embassador of your enemy on his passage. Dispatches are not less clearly contraband, and the bearers or couriers who undertake to carry them, fall under the same condemnation.'

"A subtlety might be raised whether pretended ministers of a usurping power, not recognized as legal by either the belligerent or the neutral, could be held to be contraband. But it would disappear on being subjected to what is the true test on all cases, namely: the spirit of the law. Sir William Scott, speaking of civil magistrates who were arrested and detained as contraband, says:

"'It appears to me on principle to be but reasonable that, when it is of sufficient importance to the enemy that such persons should be sent out on the public service, at the public expense, it should afford equal ground of forfeiture against the vessel that may be let out for a purpose so intimately connected with the hostile operation.'

therefore, as it was known that Mason and Slidell were to be surrendered, all fear of further quarrel with Great Britain on that score was allayed. Few cared

"I trust that I have shown that the four persons who were taken from the Trent by Captain Wilkes, and their dispatches, were contraband of war.

"The second inquiry is, whether Captain Wilkes had a right by the law of nations to detain and search the Trent?

"The Trent, though she carried mails, was a contract or merchant vessel, a common carrier, for here maritime law knows only three classes of vessels—vessels of war, revenue vessels, and merchant vessels The Trent falls within the latter class. Whatever disputes have existed concerning a right of visitation or search in time of peace, none, it is supposed, has existed in modern times about the rights of a belligerent in time of war to capture contraband in neutral and even friendly merchant vessels, and of the right of visitation and search, in order to determine whether they are neutral, and are documented as such according to the law of nations.

"I assume in the present case, what, as I read in the British authorities, is regarded by Great Britain herself as true maritime law, that the circumstance that the Trent was proceeding from a neutral port to another neutral port does not modify the rights of the belligerent power.

"The third question is, whether Captain Wilkes exercised the right of search in a lawful and proper manner. If any doubt hung over this point, as the case was presented in the statement of it adopted by the British Government, I think it must have already passed away before the modifications of that statement which I have already submitted.

"I proceed to the fourth inquiry, namely: Having found the suspected contraband of war on board the Trent, had Captain Wilkes a right to capture the same? Such a capture is the chief, if not the only recognized object of the permitted visitation and search. The principle of the law is, that the belligerent exposed to danger may prevent the contraband persons or things from applying themselves, or being applied to the hostile uses or purposes designed. The law is so very liberal in this respect, that when contraband is found on board a neutral vessel, not only is the contraband forfeited, but the vessel, which is the vehicle of its passage or transportation, being tainted, also becomes contraband, and is subjected to capture and confiscation.

"Only the fifth question remains, namely: Did Captain Wilkes exercise the right of capturing the contraband in conformity with the law of nations? It is just here that the difficulties of the case begin. What is the manner which the law of nations prescribes for disposing of the contraband when you have found and seized it on board of the neutral vessel?

"The answer would be easily found if the question were—What shall you do with the contraband vessel? You must take or send her into a convenient port and subject her to a judicial prosecution there in admiralty, which will try and decide the questions of belligerency, neutrality, contraband, and capture. So, again, you will promptly find the same answer if the question were—What is the manner of proceeding prescribed by the law of nations in regard to the contraband, if it be property or things of material or pecuniary value?

"But the question here concerns the mode of procedure in regard, not to the vessel that was carrying the contraband, nor yet to the contraband things which worked the forfeiture of the vessel, but to contraband persons.

"The books of law are dumb. Yet the question is as important as it is difficult. First, the belligerent captor has a right to prevent the contraband officer, soldier, sailor, minister, messenger, or carrier from proceeding on his unlawful voyage, and reaching the destined scene of his injurious service. But, on the other hand, the person captured may be innocent, that is, he may not be contraband.

"He therefore has a right to a fair trial of the accusation against him. The neutral state that has taken him under its flag is bound to protect him if he is not contraband, and is therefore entitled to be satisfied upon that important question. The faith of that state is pledged to his safety, if innocent, as its justice is pledged to his surrender, if he is really contraband.

"Here are conflicting claims involving personal liberty, life, honor, and duty. Here are conflicting national claims, involving welfare, safety, honor, and empire. They require a tribunal and a trial. The captors and the captured are equals; the neutral and the belligerent state are equals.

"While the law authorities were found silent, it was suggested at an early day by this Government that you should take the captured persons into a convenient port and institute judicial proceedings there to try the controversy. But only courts of admiralty have jurisdiction in maritime cases, and these courts have formulas to try only claims to contraband chattels, but none to try claims concerning contraband persons. The courts can entertain no proceedings and render no judgment in favor or against the alleged contraband men.

"It was replied, all this is true; but you can reach in these courts a decision which will have the moral weight of a judicial one, by a circuitous proceeding. Convey the suspected men, together with the suspected vessel, into port, and try there the question whether the vessel is contraband. You can prove it to be so by proving the suspected men to be contraband, and the court must then determine the vessel to be contraband.

"If the men are not contraband, the vessel will escape condemnation. Still, there is no judgment for or against

to test the logic of Mr. Seward's arguments, or to discuss the proprieties of his language. To a discriminating judgment, however, Mr. Seward seemed to

the captured persons. But it was assumed that there would result from the determination of the court concerning the vessel a legal certainty concerning the character of the men. This course of proceeding seemed open to many objections. It elevates the incidental inferior private interest into the proper place of the main paramount public one, and possibly it may make the fortunes, the safety, or the existence of a nation depend on the accident of a merely personal and pecuniary litigation.

"Moreover, when the judgment of the prize court upon the lawfulness of the capture of the vessels is rendered, it really concludes nothing, and binds neither the belligerent state nor the neutral upon the great question of the disposition to be made of the captured contraband persons. That question is still to be really determined, if at all, by diplomatic arrangement or by war.

"One may well express his surprise, when told that the law of nations has furnished no more reasonable, practical, and perfect mode than this of determining questions of such grave import between sovereign powers. The regret we may feel on the occasion is nevertheless modified by the reflection that the difficulty is not altogether anomalous.

"Similar and equal deficiencies are found in every system of municipal law, especially in the system which exists in the greater portions of Great Britain and the United States. The title to personal property can hardly ever be resolved by a court without resorting to the fiction that the claimant has lost, and the possessor has found it; and the title of real estate is disputed by real litigants under the names of imaginary persons.

"It must be confessed, however, that while all aggrieved nations demand, and all impartial ones concede, the need of some form of judicial process in determining the characters of contraband persons, no form than the illogical and circuitous one thus described exists, nor has any other yet been suggested. Practically, therefore, the choice is between that judicial remedy, or no judicial remedy whatever.

"If there be no judicial remedy, the result is that the question must be determined by the captor himself on the deck of the prize vessel. Very grave objections are against such a course. The captor is armed, the neutral is unarmed. The captor is interested, prejudiced, and perhaps violent; the neutral, if truly neutral, is disinterested, subdued, and helpless.

"The tribunal is irresponsible while its judgment is carried into instant execution. The captured party is compelled to submit, though bound by no legal, moral, or treaty obligation to acquiesce. Reparation is distant and problematical, and depends at last on the justice, magnanimity, or weakness of the state in whose behalf and by whose authority the capture was made.

"Out of these disputes, reprisals and wars necessarily arise, and these are so frequent and destructive that it may well be doubted whether this form of remedy is not a greater social evil than all that could follow if the belligerent right of search were universally renounced and abolished forever. But carry the case one step farther.

"What if the state that has made the capture unreasonably refuses to hear the complaint of the neutral, or to redress it! In that case the very act of capture would be an act of war, of war begun without notice, and possibly entirely without provocation.

"I think all unprejudiced minds will agree that, imperfect as the existing judicial remedy may be supposed to be, it would be, as a general practice, better to follow it than to adopt the summary one of leaving the decision with the captor, and relying upon diplomatic debates to review his decision. Practically it is a question of choice between law, with its imperfections and delays, and war, with its evils and desolations.

"Nor is it ever to be forgotten that neutrality, honestly and justly preserved, is always the harbinger of peace, and is therefore the common interest of nations, which is only saying that it is the interest of humanity itself.

"At the same time it is not to be denied that it may sometimes happen that the judicial remedy will become impossible as by the shipwreck of the prize vessel, or other circumstances, which excuse the captor from sending or taking her into port for confiscation. In such a case the right of the captor to the custody of the captured persons, and to dispose of them, if they are really contraband, so as to defeat their unlawful purposes, can not reasonably be denied.

"What rule shall be applied in such a case? Clearly the captor ought to be required to show that the failure of the judicial remedy results from circumstances beyond his control, and without his fault. Otherwise he would be allowed to derive advantage from a wrongful act of his own.

"In the present case, Captain Wilkes, after capturing the contraband persons and making prize of the Trent in what seems to us a perfectly lawful manner, instead of sending her into port, released her from the capture, and permitted her to proceed with her whole cargo upon her voyage.

"He thus effectually prevented the judicial examination which might otherwise have occurred. If now the capture of the contraband persons and the capture of the contraband vessel are to be regarded, not as two separable or distinct transactions under the law of nations, but as one transaction, one capture only, then it follows that the capture in this case was left unfinished or was abandoned.

"Whether the United States have a right to retain the chief public benefits of it, namely the custody of the

have detracted somewhat from the dignity of the position he had assumed, which was that of a statesman whose conduct was prompted by justice and

captured persons, on proving them to be contraband, will depend upon the preliminary question whether the leaving of the transaction unfinished was necessary, or whether it was unnecessary, and, therefore, voluntary. If it was necessary, Great Britain, as we suppose, must, of course, waive the defect, and the consequent failure of the judicial remedy.

"On the other hand, it is not seen how the United States can insist upon her waiver of that judicial remedy, if the defect of the capture resulted from an act of Captain Wilkes, which would be a fault on their own side.

"Captain Wilkes has presented to this Government his reasons for releasing the Trent.

"'I forbore to seize her,' he says, 'in consequence of my being so reduced in officers and crew, and the derangement it would cause innocent persons, there being a large number of passengers who would have been put to great loss and inconvenience, as well as disappointment, from the interruption it would have caused them, in not being able to join the steamer from St. Thomas to Europe.

"'I therefore concluded to sacrifice the interests of my officers and crew in the prize, and suffered her to proceed, after the detention necessary to effect the transfer of those Commissioners, considering I had obtained the important end I had in view, and which affected the interests of our country, and interrupted the action of that of the Confederates.'

"I shall consider first how these reasons ought to affect the action of this Government, and, secondly, how they ought to be expected to affect the action of Great Britain. The reasons are satisfactory to this Government, so far as Captain Wilkes is concerned. It could not desire that the San Jacinto, her officers and crew, should be exposed to danger and loss by weakening their number to detach a prize crew to go on board the Trent. Still less could it disavow the humane motive of preventing inconveniences, losses, and perhaps disasters to the several hundred innocent passengers found on board the prize vessel.

"Nor could this Government perceive any ground for questioning the fact that these reasons, though apparently incongruous, did operate in the mind of Captain Wilkes, and determined him to release the Trent. Human actions generally proceed upon mingled and sometimes conflicting motives. He measured the sacrifices which this decision would cost. It manifestly, however, did not occur to him that beyond the sacrifice of the private interests (as he calls them) of his officers and crew, there might also possibly be a sacrifice even of the chief and public object of his capture, namely, the right of his Government to the custody and disposition of the captured persons.

"This Government cannot censure him for this oversight. It confesses that the whole subject came unforeseen upon the Government, as doubtless it did upon him. Its present convictions on the point in question are the results of deliberate examination and deductions now made, and not of any impressions previously formed.

"Nevertheless, the question now is, not whether Captain Wilkes is justified in what he did, but what is the present view of the Government as to the effect of what he has done. Assuming now, for argument's sake only, that the release of the Trent, if voluntary, involved a waiver of the claim of the Government to hold the captured persons, the United States could, in that case, have no hesitation in saying that the act which has thus already been approved by the Government, must be allowed to draw its legal consequences after it.

"It is of the very nature of a gift or a charity that the giver cannot after the exercise of his benevolence is past, recall or modify its benefits.

"We are thus brought directly to the question, whether we are entitled to regard the release of the Trent as involuntary, or whether we are obliged to consider that it was voluntary. Clearly, the release would have been involuntary had it been made solely upon the first ground assigned for it by Captain Wilkes, namely, a want of a sufficient force to send the prize vessel into port for adjudication.

"It is not the duty of a captor to hazard his own vessel in order to secure a judicial examination to the captured party. No large prize crew, however, is legally necessary, for it is the duty of the captured party to acquiesce and go willingly before the tribunal to whose jurisdiction it appeals.

"If the captured party indicated proposes to employ means of resistance which the captor cannot, with probable safety to himself overcome, he may properly leave the vessel to go forward, and neither she nor the state she represents can ever afterwards justly object that the captor deprived her of the judicial remedy to which she was entitled.

"But the second reason assigned by Captain Wilkes for releasing the Trent differs from the first. At best, therefore, it must be held that Captain Wilkes, as he explains himself, acted from combined sentiments of prudence and generosity, and so that the release of the prize vessel was not strictly necessary or involuntary.

"Secondly.—How ought we to expect these explanations by Captain Wilkes of his own reasons for leaving the capture incomplete to affect the action of the British Government. The observation upon this point which first occurs is, that Captain Wilkes' explanations were not made to the authorities of the captured vessel.

"If made known to them, they might have approved and taken the release, upon the condition of waiving a judicial investigation of the whole transaction, or they

moral principle, when he confessed that, under different circumstances, he

might have refused to accept the release upon that condition.

"But the case is one not with them but with the British Government. If we claim that Great Britain ought not to insist that a judicial trial has been lost because we voluntarily released the offending vessel out of consideration for her innocent passengers, I do not see how she is to be bound to acquiesce in the decision which was thus made by us without necessity on our part and without knowledge of conditions or consent on her own.

"The question between Great Britain and ourselves, thus stated, would be a question, not of right and of law, but of favor to be conceded by her to us in return for favors shown by us to her, of the value of which favors on both sides we ourselves shall be the judge.

"Of course the United States could have no thought of raising such a question in any case.

"I trust I have shown, to the satisfaction of the British Government, by a very simple and natural statement of the facts and analysis of the law applicable to them, that this Government has neither meditated nor practised nor approved any deliberate wrong in the transaction to which they have called its attention; and, on the contrary, that what has happened has been simply an inadvertency, consisting in a departure by the naval officer, free from any wrongful motive, from a rule uncertainly established, and probably by the several parties concerned either imperfectly understood or entirely unknown.

"For this error the British Government has a right to expect the same reparation that we, as an independent state, should expect from Great Britain, or from any other friendly nation, in a similar case.

"I have not been unaware that, in examining this question, I have fallen into an argument for what seems to be the British side of it against my own country. But I am relieved from all embarrassment on that subject.

"I had hardly fallen into that line of argument, when I discovered that I was really defending and maintaining, not an exclusive British interest, but an old, honored, and cherished American cause, not upon British authorities, but upon principles that constitute a large portion of the distinctive policy by which the United States have developed the resources of a continent, and thus, becoming a considerable maritime power, have won the respect and confidence of many nations.

"These principles were laid down for us in 1804 by James Madison, when secretary of state in the administration of Thomas Jefferson, in instructions given to James Monroe, our minister to England.

"Although the case before him concerned a description of persons different from those who are incidentally the subjects of the present discussion, the ground he assumed then was the same I now occupy and the argu-

would have been actuated by the less honorable motives of policy and ex-

ments by which he sustained himself upon it have been an inspiration to me in preparing this reply.

"'Whenever,' he says, 'property found in a neutral is supposed to be liable, on any ground, to capture and condemnation, the rule in all cases is that the question shall not be decided by the captor, but be carried before a legal tribunal, where a regular trial may be had, and where the captor himself is liable to damages for an abuse of his power.'

"Can it be reasonable, then, or just, that a belligerent commander who is thus restricted and thus responsible in a case of mere property, of trivial amount, should be permitted, without recurring to any tribunal whatever, to examine the crew of a neutral vessel, to decide the important question of their respective allegiances and to carry that decision into execution by forcing every individual he may choose into a service abhorrent to his feelings, cutting him off from his most tender connections, exposing his mind and his person to the most humiliating discipline, and his life itself to the greatest danger? Reason, justice, and humanity unite in protesting against so extravagant a proceeding.

"If I decide this case in favor of my own Government, I must disallow its most cherished principles, and reverse and forever abandon its essential policy. The country can not afford the sacrifice.

"If I maintain those principles and adhere to that policy, I must surrender the case itself.

"It will be seen, therefore, that this Government could not deny the justice of the claim presented to us in this respect upon its merits.

"We are asked to do to the British nation just what we have always insisted all nations ought to do to us.

"The claim of the British Government is not made in a discourteous manner. This Government, since its first organization, has never used more guarded language in a similar case.

"In coming to my conclusion, I have not forgotten that if the safety of this Union required the detention of the captured persons, it would be the right and duty of this Government to detain them. But the effectual check and waning proportions of the existing insurrection, as well as the comparative unimportance of the captured persons themselves, when dispassionately weighed, happily forbid me from resorting to that defence.

"Nor am I unaware that American citizens are not in any case to be unnecessarily surrendered for any purpose into the keeping of a foreign state. Only the captured persons, however, or others who are interested in them, could justly raise a question on that ground.

"Nor have I been tempted at all by suggestions that cases might be found in history where Great Britain refused to yield to other nations, and even to ourselves,

pediency. "In coming to my conclusion, I have not forgotten," said the Secretary, "that if the safety of this Union required the detention of the captured persons, it would be the right and duty of this Government to detain them. But the effectual check and waning proportions of the existing insurrection, as well as the comparative unimportance of the captured persons themselves, when dispassionately weighed, happily forbid me from resorting to that defence." There was no necessity for thus prejudging a case which, as Mr. Seward himself acknowledged, had not arisen.

If conscience permitted, policy forbade the declaration that justice would only be done when interest did not oppose. In statesmanship a blunder has been said to be worse than a crime: this seemed like both.

claims like that which is now before us. Those cases occurred when Great Britain, as well as the United States, was the home of generations which, with all their peculiar interests and passions, have passed away. She could in no other way so effectually disavow any such inquiries, as we think she does now, by assuming as her own the grounds upon which we stood.

"It would tell little for our claims to the character of a just and magnanimous people if we should so far consent to be guided by the law of retaliation as to lift up buried injuries from their graves to oppose against what national consistency and the national conscience compel us to regard as a claim intrinsically right.

"Putting behind me all suggestions of this kind, I prefer to express my satisfaction that by the adjustment of the present case upon principles confessed to be American, and yet, as I trust, mutually satisfactory to both of the nations concerned, a question is finally and rightly settled between them which heretofore exhausting not only all forms of peaceful discussion, but also the arbitrament of war itself, for more than half a century alienated the two countries from each other, and perplexed with fears and apprehensions all other nations.

"The four prisoners in question are now held in military custody at Fort Warren, in the State of Massachusetts. They will be cheerfully liberated. Your lordship will please indicate a time and place for receiving them.

"I avail myself of this occasion to offer to your lordship a renewed assurance of my very high consideration.

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD."

CHAPTER LXI.

Seward's view of Wilkes' error.—Excessive courtesy of Wilkes.—Ungrateful return of Great Britain.—Seward's argument based upon newspaper opinion.—Dispatch of M. Thouvenel.—Fair statement of International Law.—Its influence upon the United States Government.—The effect in England of the surrender of Slidell and Mason.—Comments and Dispatch of Mr. Seward.—Response of Lord John Russell.—Cost to Great Britain. Loss to both countries.—Seward should have anticipated the demand of Great Britain.—Departure of Slidell and Mason. Passage on the Rinaldo.—Arrival in St. Thomas.—Arrival in England.—Their reception.—In Paris and London.

1861. MR. SEWARD, having assumed that the ground upon which Great Britain based its demand for the return of the Commissioners to the protection of its flag was the irregularity of removing their persons from the Trent, instead of seizing the vessel herself and carrying her into an American port for adjudication by the admiralty courts, had plausibly argued that Captain Wilkes had erred from excessive courtesy. This officer had thus, according to Mr. Seward, by voluntarily omitting a formality which nothing but necessity could fully justify, destroyed the claims of the United States Government to hold the captured persons. The generosity of Captain Wilkes in forbearing to seize the steamer, however commendable its motive, which was stated by himself to be "the derangement it would cause innocent persons, there being a large number of passengers who would have been put to a great loss and inconvenience," had thus caused him to commit an irregularity which prevented his Government from refusing the demand of Great Britain. This ingenious argument, while it awarded the right by law to the British Government, imputed to it an ungrateful return for an intended benefit.

Mr. Seward, however, had assumed as the basis of the English demand what had been the unauthorized speculation of the English press, and not the official statement of the English Government. Lord John Russell had, in his first dispatch demanding the restoration of Slidell and Mason, forborne to argue the question, and only declared their seizure to be "an act of violence which was an affront to the British flag and a violation of international law."

The dispatch* of Monsieur Thouvenel,

* Monsieur Thouvenel's dispatch to the French minister at Washington is a model of terse diplomatic expression, and a forcible exposition of the modern European doctrine of the rights of neutrals. It is here given in full:

"ADMINISTRATION OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
"POLITICAL DEPARTMENT, PARIS, *Dec.* 3, 1861.

"SIR: The arrest of Messieurs Mason and Slidell, on board the English packet Trent, by the American cruiser, has produced in France, if not the same emotion as in England, at least extreme astonishment and sensation. Public sentiment was at once engrossed with the lawfulness and the consequence of such an act, and the impression which has resulted from this has not been for an instant doubtful. The fact has appeared so much out of accordance with the ordinary rules of international law that it has chosen to throw the responsibility for it exclusively on the commander of the San Jacinto. It is not given to us to know whether this supposition is well

the minister of foreign affairs of France, sent by the order of the French Emperor with the beneficent intention of arresting war, contained an exposition

founded, and the Government of the Emperor has therefore also had to examine the question raised by the taking away of the two passengers from the Trent. The desire to contribute to prevent a conflict, perhaps imminent, between two powers for which it is animated by sentiments equally friendly, and the duty to uphold, for the purpose of placing the rights of its own flag under shelter from any attack, certain principles essential to the security of neutrals, have, after mature reflection, convinced it that it could not, under the circumstances, remain entirely silent.

"If, to our deep regret, the cabinet of Washington were disposed to approve the conduct of the commander of the San Jacinto, it would be either by considering Messrs. Mason and Slidell as enemies or as seeing in them nothing but rebels. In the one, as in the other case, there would be a forgetfulness extremely annoying of principles upon which we have always found the United States in agreement with us. By what title, in effect, would the American cruiser, in the first case, have arrested Messrs. Mason and Slidell? The United States have admitted, with us, in the treaties concluded between the two countries, that the freedom of the flag extends itself over the persons found on board should they be enemies of one of the two parties, unless the question is of military people actually in the service of the enemy. Messrs. Mason and Slidell were, therefore, by virtue of this principle, which we have never found any difficulty in causing to be inserted in our treaties of friendship and commerce, perfectly at liberty under the neutral flag of England. Doubtless it will not be pretended that they could be considered as contraband of war. That which constitutes contraband of war is not yet, it is true, exactly settled; the limitations are not absolutely the same for all the powers; but in what relates to persons, the special stipulations which are found in the treaties concerning military people define plainly the character of those who only can be seized upon by belligerents; but there is no need to demonstrate that Messrs. Mason and Slidell could not be assimilated to persons in that category.

"There remains, therefore, to invoke, in explanation of their capture, only the pretext that they were the bearers of official dispatches from the enemy. But this is the moment to recall a circumstance which governs all this affair, and which renders the conduct of the American cruiser unjustifiable. The Trent was not destined to a point belonging to one of the belligerents; she was carrying to a neutral country her cargo and her passengers; and, moreover, it was in a neutral port that they were taken. If it were admissible that, under such conditions, the neutral flag does not completely cover the persons and merchandise it carries, its immunity would be nothing more than an idle word. At any moment the commerce and the navigation of the third powers would have to suffer from their innocent and even their indirect relations with the one or the other of the belligerents. These last would no longer find themselves as having only the right to exact from the neutral entire impartiality, and to interdict all intermeddling on his part in acts of hospitality; they would impose on his freedom of commerce and navigation restrictions which modern international law has refused to admit as legitimate, and we should, in a word, fall back upon vexatious practices, against which, in other epochs, no power has more earnestly protested than the United States

"If the cabinet of Washington would only look on the two persons arrested as rebels, whom it is always lawful to seize, the question, to place it on other ground, could not be solved, however, in a sense in favor of the commander of the San Jacinto. There would be, in such case, misapprehension of the principle which makes a vessel a portion of the territory of the nation whose flag it bears, and violation of that immunity which prohibits a foreign sovereign, by consequence, from the exercise of his jurisdiction. It certainly is not necessary to recall to mind with what energy, under every circumstance, the Government of the United States has maintained this immunity, and the right of asylum which is the consequence of it. Not wishing to enter upon a more deep discussion of the question raised by the capture of Messrs. Mason and Slidell, I have said enough, I think, to settle the point that the cabinet at Washington could not, without striking a blow at the principles which all neutral nations are alike interested in holding in respect, nor without taking the attitude of contradiction of its own course up to this time, give its approbation to the proceedings of the commander of the San Jacinto. In this state of things it evidently should not, according to our views, hesitate about the determination to be taken.

"Lord Lyons is already instructed to present the demand for satisfaction which the English cabinet is under the necessity of reducing to form, and which consists in the immediate release of the persons taken from on board the Trent, and in sending explanations which may take from this act its offensive character toward the British flag. The Federal Government will be inspired by a just and exalted feeling in deferring to these requests. One would search in vain to what end, for what interest it would hazard to provoke by a different attitude a rupture with Great Britain. For ourselves we should see in that fact a deplorable complication, in every respect, of the difficulties with which the cabinet at Washington has already to struggle, and a precedent of a nature seriously to disquiet all the powers which continue outside of the existing contest. We believe that we give evidence of loyal friendship for the cabinet of Washington by not permitting it to remain in ignorance, in this condition of things,

of the question which probably was a fair statement of the principles of the international law of modern Europe. This came with better grace from France —always liberal in its views of neutral rights—than from England, whose principles and conduct relative to neutrality had been so selfish and arbitrary.

Mr. Seward, though, as he declared, the President had decided upon the disposition to be made of the subject before he had received this paper of Monsieur Thouvenel, must have been confirmed in the policy, if not the justice, of acceding to the British demand, by this authoritative exposition of the French* view of the question.

The arrival in England of intelligence of a favorable solution to the question of giving up the Southern Commissioners, which had so agitated the nation, caused there a very general feeling of relief. It was evidently not the desire of the British people to wage war with the United States, and the Government, now that the danger of a conflict had passed, seemed disposed to avoid all further chances of dispute.

The dispatch, however, of Mr. Seward was commented upon with considerable severity by the press, and its doctrines officially denied acceptance by Earl Russell in a response addressed to Lord Lyons and submitted to the Secretary of State.*

of our manner of regarding it. I request you, therefore, sir, to seize the first occasion of opening yourself frankly to Mr. Seward, and, if he asks it, send him a copy of this dispatch. Receive, sir, the assurance of my high consideration. THOUVENEL."

* The Austrian, Prussian, Russian, and other Governments sent dispatches of similar import.

* FOREIGN OFFICE, *Jan.* 23, 1862.

MY LORD: I mentioned in my dispatch of the 10th instant, that her Majesty's Government differed from Mr. Seward in some of the conclusions at which he had arrived, and that I should state to you on a future occasion wherein these differences consisted. I now proceed to do so.

It is necessary to observe that I propose to discuss the questions involved in this correspondence solely on the principles of international law. Mr. Seward himself, speaking of the capture of the four gentlemen taken from on board the Trent, says: "The question before us is whether this proceeding was authorized by and conducted according to the law of nations." This is, in fact, the nature of the question which has been, but happily is no longer, at issue. It concerned the respective rights of belligerents and of neutrals. We must therefore discard entirely from our minds the allegations that the captured persons were rebels, and we must consider them only as enemies of the United States at war with its Government, for that is the ground on which Mr. Seward ultimately places the discussion. It is the only ground upon which foreign Governments can treat it.

The first inquiry that arises, therefore, is as Mr. Seward states it, "Were the persons named, and their supposed dispatches, contraband of war?"

Upon this question her Majesty's Government differs entirely from Mr. Seward.

The general right and duty of a neutral power to maintain its own communications and friendly relations with both belligerents can not be disputed. "A neutral nation," says Vattel (Vattel, book iii., chap. 7, sec. 118), "continues, with the two parties at war, in the several relations nature has placed between nations. It is ready to perform toward both of them all the duties of humanity, reciprocally due from nation to nation." In the performance of these duties, on both sides, the neutral nation has itself a most direct and material interest, especially when it has numerous citizens resident in the territories of both belligerents; and when its citizens, resident both there and at home, have property of great value in the territories of the belligerents, which may be exposed to danger from acts of confiscation and violence if the protection of their own Government should be withheld. This is the case with respect to British subjects during the present civil war in North America.

Acting upon these principles, Sir William Scott, in the case of the Caroline -[The Caroline (Chr. Rob., 461), cited and approved by Wheaton ("Elements," part iv., chap. 3, sec. 22)]—during the war between Great Britain and France, decided that the carrying of dispatches from the French ambassador, resident in the United States, to the Government of France by a United States merchant ship

Little remains to complete the narrative of this remarkable event, which had cost Great Britain an expenditure of ten millions of dollars, for .prepara-

was no violation of the neutrality of the United States in the war between Great Britain and France, and that such dispatches could not be treated as contraband of war:

"The neutral country," he said, "has a right to preserve its relations with the enemy, and you are not at liberty to conclude that any communication between them can partake, in any degree, of the nature of hostility against you. The enemy may have its hostile projects to be attempted with the neutral state, but your reliance is on the integrity of that neutral state, that it will not favor nor participate in such designs, but, as far as its own counsels and actions are concerned, will oppose them. And if there should be private reasons to suppose that this confidence in the good faith of the neutral state has a doubtful foundation, that is matter for the caution of the Government, to be counteracted by just measures of preventive policy; but it is no ground on which this court can pronounce that the neutral carrier has violated his duty by bearing dispatches, which, as far as he can know, may be presumed to be of an innocent nature, and in the maintenance of a pacific connection." And he continues, shortly afterward, "It is to be considered also, with regard to this question, what may be due to the convenience of the neutral state; for its interest may require that the intercourse of correspondence with the enemy's country should not be altogether interdicted. It might be thought to amount almost to a declaration, that an ambassador from the enemy shall not reside in the neutral state if he is declared to be debarred from the only means of communicating with his own. For to what useful purpose can he reside there without the opportunities of such a communication? It is too much to say that all the business of the two states shall be transacted by the minister of the neutral state resident in the enemy's country. The practice of nations has allowed to neutral states the privilege of receiving ministers from the belligerent states, and the use and convenience of an immediate negotiation with them."

That these principles must necessarily extend to every kind of diplomatic communication between government and government, whether by sending or receiving ambassadors or commissioners personally, or by sending or receiving dispatches from or to such ambassadors or commissioners, or from or to the respective governments, is too plain to need argument; and it seems no less clear that such communication must be as legitimate and innocent in their first commencement as afterward, and that the rule can not be restricted to the case in which diplomatic relations are already formally established by the residence of an accredited minister of the belligerent power in the neutral country. It is the neutrality of the one party to the communication, and not either the mode of the communication or the time when it first takes place, which furnishes the test of the true application of the principle. The only distinction arising out of the peculiar circumstances of a civil war and of the non-recognition of the independence of the *de facto* government of one of the belligerents, either by the other belligerents or by the neutral power, is this—that "for the purpose of avoiding the difficulties which might arise from a formal and positive solution of these questions diplomatic agents are frequently substituted, who are clothed with the powers and enjoy the immunities of ministers, though they are not invested with the representative character, nor entitled to diplomatic honors." (Wheaton, "Elements," part iii, chap. 1, sec. 5.) Upon this footing Messrs. Mason and Slidell, who are expressly stated by Mr. Seward to have been sent as pretended Ministers Plenipotentiary from the Southern States to the Courts of St. James and of Paris, must have been sent, and would have been, if at all, received, and the reception of these gentlemen upon this footing could not have been justly regarded, according to the law of nations, as a hostile or unfriendly act toward the United States. Nor indeed is it clear that these gentlemen would have been clothed with any powers, or have enjoyed any immunities, beyond those accorded to diplomatic agents not officially recognized.

It appears to her Majesty's Government to be a necessary and certain deduction from these principles, that the conveyance of public agents of this character from Havana to St. Thomas on their way to Great Britain and France, and of their credentials or dispatches (if any) on board the Trent, was not and could not be a violation of the duties of neutrality on the part of that vessel, and, both for that reason and also because the destination of these persons and of their dispatches was *bona fide* neutral, it is in the judgment of her Majesty's Government clear and certain they were not contraband.

The doctrine of contraband has its whole foundation and origin in the principle which is nowhere more accurately explained than in the following passage of Bynkershoek. After stating in general terms the duty of impartial neutrality, he adds:

"Et sane id, quod modo dicebam, non tantum ratio docet, sed et usus, inter omnes fere gentes receptus. Quamvis enim libera sint cum amicorum nostrorum hostibus commercia, usu tamen placuit, ne alterutrum his rebus juvemus, quibus bellum contra amicos nostros instruatur et foveatur. Non licet igitur alterutri advehere ea, quibus in bello gerendo opus habet; ut sunt tormenta arma, et quorum præcipuus in bello usus, milites. ° ° ° Optimo jure interdictum est, ne quid eorum hostibus subministremus; quia his rebus nos ipsi quodammodo videremur amicis nostris bellum facere." (Bynkershoek, "Quæst. Jur. Publ.," lib. i., cap. 9.)

The principle of contraband of war is here clearly ex-

tions of war, and inflicted upon her people as well as upon those of the United States incalculable damage, from its fatal influence upon their commercial and

plained, and it is impossible that men, or dispatches, which do not come within that principle, can in this sense be contraband. The penalty of knowingly carrying contraband of war is, as Mr. Seward states, nothing less than the confiscation of the ship; but it is impossible that this penalty can be incurred when the neutral has done no more than employ means usual among nations for maintaining his own proper relations with one of the belligerents. It is of the very essence of the definition of contraband that the articles should have a hostile, and not a neutral destination. "Goods," says Lord Stowell (the 'Imina,' 3 Chr. Rob., 167), "going to a neutral port cannot come under the description of contraband, all goods going there being equally lawful. The rule respecting contraband," he adds, "as I have always understood it, is that articles must be taken *in delicto*, in the natural prosecution of the voyage to an enemy's port." On what just principle can it be contended that a hostile destination is less necessary, or a neutral destination more obnoxious, for constituting a contraband character in the case of public agents or dispatches than in the case of arms and ammunition?

Mr. Seward seeks to support his conclusion on this point by a reference to the well-known dictum of Sir William Scott in the case of the Caroline, that "you may stop the ambassador of your enemy on his passage" (The Caroline, 6 Chr. Rob, 468); and to another dictum of the same judge, in the case of the Orozembo, that civil functionaries, "if sent for a purpose intimately connected with the hostile operations [The Orozembo, 6 Chr. Rob., 434, may fall under the same rule with persons whose employment is directly military.]"

These quotations are, as it seems to her Majesty's Government, irrelevant. The words of Sir W. Scott are in both cases applied by Mr. Seward in a sense different from that in which they were used. Sir William Scott does not say that an ambassador, sent from a belligerent to a neutral state, may be stopped as contraband while on his passage on board a neutral vessel belonging to that or any other neutral state; nor that, if he be not contraband, the other belligerent would have any right to stop him on such a voyage. The sole object which Sir William Scott had in view was to explain the extent and limits of the doctrine of the inviolability of ambassadors, in virtue of that character, for he says:

"The limits that are assigned to the operations of war against them, by Vattel and other writers on these subjects, are, that you may exercise your right of war against them wherever the character of hostility exists. You may stop the ambassador of your enemy on his passage; but when he has arrived, and has taken upon him the functions of his office, and has been admitted in his representative character, he becomes a sort of middle man, entitled to peculiar privileges, as set apart for the protection of the relations of amity and peace, in maintaining which all nations are in some degree interested."

There is certainly nothing in this passage from which an inference can be drawn so totally opposed to the general tenor of the whole judgment as that an ambassador, proceeding to the country to which he is sent, and on board a neutral vessel belonging to that country, can be stopped on the ground that the conveyance of such an ambassador is a breach of neutrality, which it must be if he be contraband of war. Sir William Scott is here expressing not his own opinion merely, but the doctrine which he considers to have been laid down by writers of authority upon the subject. No writer of authority has ever suggested that an ambassador proceeding to a neutral state on board one of its merchant ships is contraband of war. The only writer named by Sir William Scott is Vattel (Vattel, lib. iv., cap. 7, sec. 85), whose words are these:

"On peut encore attaquer et arreter ses gens (*i. e.*, gens de l'ennemi) partout où on a la liberté d'exercer des actes d'hostilité. Non seulement donc on peut justement refuser le passage aux Ministres qu'un ennemi envoye à d'autres Souverains; on les arrete même, s'ils entreprennent de passer secretement et sans permission dans les lieux dont on est maître."

And he adds as an example the seizure of a French ambassador when passing through the dominions of Hanover, during war between England and France, by the King of England, who was also sovereign of Hanover.

The rule, therefore, to be collected from these authorities is, that you may stop an enemy's ambassador in any place of which you are yourself the master, or in any other place where you have a right to exercise acts of hostility. Your own territory, or ships of your own country, are places of which you are yourself the master. The enemy's territory, or the enemy's ships, are places in which you have a right to exercise acts of hostility. Neutral vessels, guilty of no violation of the laws of neutrality, are places where you have no right to exercise acts of hostility.

It would be an inversion of the doctrine that ambassadors have peculiar privileges to argue that they are less protected than other men. *The right conclusion is, that an ambassador sent to a neutral power is inviolable on the high seas as well as in neutral waters, while under the protection of the neutral flag.*

The other dictum of Sir William Scott, in the case of the Orozembo, is even less pertinent to the present question. That related to the case of a neutral ship which, upon the effect of the evidence given on the trial, was held by the court to have been engaged as an enemy's transport to convey the enemy's military officers, and

financial relations, greatly stirred their national prejudices, and nearly involved them in a conflict which would have wasted their mutual resources, and might

some of his civil officers whose duties were intimately connected with military operations, from the enemy's country to one of the enemy's colonies, which was about to be the theatre of those operations, the whole being done under color of a simulated neutral destination. But as long as a neutral government, within whose territories no military operations are carried on, adheres to its profession of neutrality, the duties of civil officers on a mission to that government and within its territory cannot possibly be "connected with" any "military operations" in the sense in which these words were used by Sir William Scott, as, indeed, is rendered quite clear by the passages already cited from his own judgment in the case of the Caroline.

In connection with this part of the subject, it is necessary to notice a remarkable passage in Mr. Seward's note, in which he says, "I assume, in the present case, what, as I read British authorities, is regarded by Great Britain herself as true maritime law, that the circumstance that the Trent was proceeding from a neutral port to another neutral port does not modify the right of the belligerent capture." If, indeed, the immediate and ostensible voyage of the Trent had been to a neutral port, but her ultimate and real destination to some port of the enemy, her Majesty's Government might have been better able to understand the reference to British authorities contained in this passage. It is undoubtedly the law, as laid down by British authorities, that if the real destination of the vessel be hostile (that is, to the enemy or the enemy's country), it cannot be covered and rendered innocent by a fictitious destination to a neutral port. But if the real terminus of the voyage be *bona fide* in a neutral territory, no English, nor, indeed, as her Majesty's Government believe, any American authority can be found which has ever given countenance to the doctrine that either men or dispatches can be subject, during such a voyage and on board such a neutral vessel, to belligerent capture as contraband of war. *Her Majesty's Government regard such a doctrine as wholly irreconcilable with the true principles of maritime law, and certainly with those principles as they have been understood in the courts of this country.*

It is to be further observed that packets engaged in the postal service, and keeping up the regular and periodical communications between the different countries of Europe and America and other parts of the world, though in the absence of treaty stipulations they may not be exempted from visit and search in time of war, nor from the penalties of any violation of neutrality, if proved to have been knowingly committed, are still, when sailing in the ordinary and innocent course of their legitimate employment, which consists in the conveyance of mails and passengers, entitled to peculiar favor and protection from all governments in whose service they are engaged. To detain, disturb, or interfere with them, without the very gravest cause, would be an act of a most noxious and injurious character, not only to a vast number and variety of individual and private interests, but to the public interests of neutral and friendly governments.

It has been necessary to dwell upon these points in some detail, because they involve principles of the highest importance, and because, if Mr. Seward's argument were acted upon as sound, the most injurious consequences might follow.

For instance, in the present war, according to Mr. Seward's doctrine, any packet ship carrying a Confederate agent from Dover to Calais, or from Calais to Dover, might be captured and carried to New York In case of war between Austria and Italy, the conveyance of an Italian minister or agent might cause the capture of a neutral packet plying between Malta and Marseilles, or between Malta and Gibraltar, the condemnation of the ship at Trieste, and the confinement of the minister or agent in an Austrian prison. So in the late war between Great Britain and France, on the one hand, and Russia on the other, a Russian minister going from Hamburg to Washington, in an American ship, might have been brought to Portsmouth, the ship might have been condemned, and the minister sent to the Tower of London. So also a Confederate vessel of war might capture a Cunard steamer on its way from Halifax to Liverpool, on the ground of its carrying dispatches from Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams.

In view, therefore, of the erroneous principles asserted by Mr. Seward, and the consequences they involve, her Majesty's Government think it necessary to declare that they would not acquiesce in the capture of any British merchant ship in circumstances similar to those of the Trent, and that the fact of its being brought before a prize court, though it would alter the character, would not diminish the gravity of the offence against the law of nations which would thereby be committed.

Having disposed of the question, whether the persons named and their supposed dispatches were contraband of war, I am relieved from the necessity of discussing the other questions raised by Mr. Seward—namely, whether Captain Wilkes had lawfully a right to stop and search the Trent for these persons and their supposed dispatches; whether that right, assuming that he possessed it, was exercised by him in a lawful and proper manner; and whether he had a right to capture the persons found on board.

The fifth question put by Mr. Seward—namely, whether Captain Wilkes exercised the alleged right of capture in the manner allowed and recognized by the law of nations, is resolved by Mr. Seward himself in the negative.

I cannot conclude, however, without noticing one very singular passage in Mr. Seward's dispatch.

Mr. Seward asserts that "if the safety of this Union re-

have blasted forever the hopes of re-establishing that union upon which the North relies for its future national greatness. As we believe that the position of Slidell and Mason, whether in prison at Fort Warren or in the saloons of Paris and London, was of little import to the interests of the rebellion, we do not hesitate in avowing the opinion, that Mr. Seward would have better preserved the dignity of the nation by anticipating the demand of Great Britain and sending back the captives immediately on their arrival in the United States.

The British gun-boat Rinaldo being ordered by Lord Lyons to proceed to Provincetown, Mass., awaited there the transfer of the two Commissioners and their secretaries from Fort Warren to the protection of the British flag, which was effected on the first day of January. The tug-boat Starlight received them at the fort and conveyed them to the British vessel, which sailed immediately for Halifax. A severe storm blew the Rinaldo off the coast of America, and she was obliged to change her course for Bermuda. Thence the Commissioners were taken to St. Thomas, where they embarked on board the English steamer La Plata, and arrived at Southampton, in England, on the 29th of January. A large crowd of the curious gathered on the dock to catch a glimpse of these troublesome personages, but "no demonstration was made on their landing." Mr. Slidell, having joined his family, proceeded to Paris, and Mr. Mason to London, their respective fields of future intrigue.

Jan. 1. 1862.

quired the detention of the captured persons, it would be the duty of this Government to detain them." He proceeds to say that the waning proportions of the insurrection, and the comparative unimportance of the captured persons themselves, forbid him from resorting to that defence. Mr. Seward does not here assert any right founded on international law, however inconvenient or irritating to neutral nations. He entirely loses sight o the vast difference which exists between the exercise of an extreme right and the commission of an unquestionable wrong. His frankness compels me to be equally open, and to inform him that Great Britain could not have submitted to the perpetration of that wrong, however flourishing might have been the insurrection in the South, and however important the persons captured might have been.

Happily, all danger of hostile collision on this subject has been avoided. It is the earnest hope of her Majesty's Government that similar dangers, if they should arise, may be averted by peaceful negotiations conducted in the spirit which befits t..e organs of two great nations.

I request you to rea l this dispatch to Mr. Seward, and give him a copy of it. I am, etc., RUSSELL.

CHAPTER LXII.

Extent and conformation of the Southern coast.—A plan for the obstruction of Harbors.—Stone Fleet.—Sailing of Stone Fleet.—Composition.—Plan of operation.—Charleston Harbor obstructed.—Intentions in regard to Savannah.—Forestalled by the Enemy.—Effect in Europe.—The Stone Fleet pronounced barbarous.—The English Press.—Protest of Lord John Russell.—His Dispatch.—The *Moniteur* on the Stone Fleet.—The false views of the American Press.—Explanation of Secretary Seward.—Stone Fleets justified by example of Great Britain.—Cases cited.—Alexandria and Boulogne.—Extraordinary Dispatch of Lord Herbert.—Ingenuity and disingenuousness of the British Press.—A distinction without a difference.—Two Naval Expeditions.—Expedition to Ship Island.—Arrival of General Phelps.—Description of Ship Island.—Phelps' first enterprise.—An impolitic Proclamation.—Movements to Biloxi.—Reinforcements.—Departure of General Butler.—Capture of Cedar Keys.—A great gain by a small Expedition.—Future designs.

THE immense extent and peculiar conformation of the Southern coast
1861. of the United States induced the Government, in order to render the blockade more effective, to close some of the numerous channels—through bayous, creeks, and small streams—by which the enemy's and foreign vessels were enabled to elude the vigilance of the Federal cruisers. After the capture of Forts Hatteras and Clark, by the combined naval and military expedition under Commodore Stringham and General Butler, several old vessels, filled with stone, which had been towed there for the purpose, were sunk in Ocracoke Inlet, to interrupt the passage through that channel to and from Pamlico Sound. This was the beginning of a more systematic and extensive plan, which reached its full development in the "stone fleet," a part of which, consisting of twenty-five vessels, sailed
Nov. from New Bedford on the 20th of
20. November. These were mostly old "whalers," no longer serviceable, and which having been purchased at prices varying from five hundred to five thousand dollars, were loaded with stone and dispatched to Port Royal. A number of other vessels of similar character were also bought, to be used for a like purpose. The whole number purchased by the Government was about sixty, at an aggregate expense of a hundred and sixty thousand dollars. Sixteen of the fleet which reached Port Royal were dispatched to the north and sunk in the main channel leading to Charleston Harbor. Through the bottom of each of these vessels had been passed a pipe, which was temporarily plugged. On reaching its destination, the plug was removed, and the water rushing in sunk the stone-laden hulks.*

° The operation in the channel leading to Charleston Harbor is thus described by one° who was present :

"In the course of the afternoon all the whalers arrived and were towed up toward the bar in a convenient Dec.
position to be taken over. About five o'clock the 21.

* Correspondent of the N. Y. *Tribune*.

V I R G I N I A

N O R T H C A R O L I N A

S O U T H C A R O L I N A

G E O R G I A

F L O R I D A

A T L A N T I C O C E A N

Pilot Knob
Wentworth
Yanceyville
Roxboro
Oxford
Warrenton
Halifax
Germantown
Greensboro
Yadkinville
Winston
Wilkesboro
Boone
Lenoir
Taylorsville
Lexington
Ashboro
Pittsboro
Raleigh
Salisbury
Concord
Morganton
Marion
Charlotte
Dallas
Albemarle
Carthage
Monroe
Wadesboro
Rockingham
Fayetteville
Smithfield
Washington
Newbern
Kenansville
Onslow
Elizabethtown
Whiteville
Smithville
Smiths Island
Cape Fear
Cape Lookout
Spartanburg
Yorkville
Unionville
Chesterville
Lancaster
Laurensville
Winnsboro
Newberry
Camden
Darlington
Marion
Sumterville
Conwayboro
Lexington
Edgefield
Long Bay
Winyaw Road
Georgetown Entrance
Cape Romain
Bulls Bay
Charleston
Charleston Bar
St. Helena Sound
Port Royal Entrance
Hilton Head I.
Tybee I.
Savannah
Warsaw Sound
Warsaw I.
Ossabaw I.
St. Catherines I.
Sapelo I.
Brunswick
Cumberland I.
Nassau
Jacksonville
Palatka
Lake George
New Smyrna

Scale of English Miles

10 20 30 40 50 100

West 81 Longitude from 80 Greenwich

Albemarle Sound
Roanoke Marshes
Pamlico Sound
Atlantic Ocean

... OF THE COAST
from Charleston
to Savannah
ENLARGED

J. Wells Del.

It was intended to have disposed of the rest of the stone fleet at Port Royal, by sinking them in the mouth of the Savannah River, but as the enemy, fear-

Ottawa came out, and towed first the Tenedos and then the Leonidas to their positions on the extreme right and left of the line. In a few minutes after anchoring, the crew of the Tenedos left her side in two boats, and we knew the ship was sinking. The process was much slower than had been expected. When the plug was removed, the water rushed in a stream from one side of the vessel to the other, but there was only a single hole, and when that was reached inside, it entered from the outside with greatly diminished force.

"The sinking of the fleet was intrusted to Capt. Charles H. Davis, formerly, from 1842 to 1849, chief of a hydrographic party on the Coast Survey, and ever since more or less intimately connected with it. It is remarkable that when, in 1851, an appropriation was made by the Federal Government for the improvement of Charleston Harbor, and, at the request of South Carolina, a commission of navy and army officers was appointed to superintend the work, Captain Davis was one of the commission, and for three or four years was engaged in these operations. The present attempt was of somewhat different character. The plan adopted by him may be easily understood by reference to a chart of the harbor, or by the following description: The entrance by the main ship channel runs from the bar to Fort Sumter, six miles, nearly south and north. The city is three miles beyond, bearing about N.W. The other channels are Sanford's, Swash, the North, and Maffit's, or Sullivan's Island, which need not be particularly described. Only the latter is practicable for vessels of any draught, but all serve more or less to empty the waters discharged by the Ashley and Cooper rivers. Over the bar, at the entrance of the main ship channel, is a narrow passage, through which vessels may carry eleven feet at low water; about seventeen at high water. The plan of Captain Davis for closing the harbor proceeded on the following principles:

"1st. The obstructions are to be placed on both sides of the crest of the bar, so that the same forces which have created the bar may be relied on to keep them in their places.

"2d. The bar is not to be obstructed entirely; for natural forces would soon open a new passage, since the rivers must discharge themselves by some outlet; but to be only partially obstructed, so that, while this channel is ruined, no old one, like Swash or Sanford, shall be improved, or a new one formed.

"3d. The vessels are to be so placed that on the channel course it shall be difficult to draw a line through any part of it that will not be intercepted by one of them. A ship, therefore, endeavoring to make her way out or in, cannot do it by taking the bearing of any point of departure, as she cannot sail on any straight line.

"4th. The vessels are to be placed checkerwise, and at some distance from each other, so as to create an artificial unevenness of the bottom, remotely resembling Hell Gate and Holmes' Hole, which unevenness will rise to eddies, counter currents and whirlpools, adding so seriously to the difficulties of navigation that it can only be practicable by steamers or with a very commanding breeze.

"With reference to the second, it may be added that no other channel now existing will be closed, at least for the present; for if such a plan were carried too far, the formation of a new channel would be inevitable. Moreover, for the purposes of the blockade, the obstruction of the main channel is entirely sufficient.

"The execution of the foregoing plan was begun by buoying out the channel and circumscribing within four points the space where the vessels were all to be sunk.

"The distance between the points from S.W. to N.E. is about an eighth of a mile; the breadth perhaps half as much. It will be understood that it was no part of the plan to build a wall of ships across, but to drop them at a little distance from each other, on the principles above stated, closing the channel to navigation, but leaving it open to the water.

"Work was resumed on Friday morning, the 20th, the Ottawa and Pocahontas bringing the ships to their stations. The placing them was an operation of considerable nicety, especially as some of the vessels were so deep as to be with difficulty dragged on the bar, except at high water. A graver hindrance to their exact location was found in the imperfection of the arrangement for sinking, several of the ships remaining afloat so long after the plug was knocked out that they swung out of position. They were, nevertheless, finally placed very nearly according to the plan. By half-past ten the last plug was drawn, and every ship of the sixteen was either sunk or sinking. Our expectations have been to some extent disappointed in the character of the expedition while it was in progress. None of the vessels wholly disappeared from sight, and those which heeled over farthest and were most under water, had subsided in a very deliberate manner. An impassable line of wrecks was drawn for an eighth of a mile between the points above indicated. All but two or three were careened. Some were on their beam ends, some down by the head, others by the stern, and masts, spars, and rigging of the thickly crowded ships were mingled and tangled in the greatest confusion. They did not long remain so. The boats which had been swarming about the wrecks, picking up stores, sails, and whatever was to be got, returning heavily laden, were ordered back to cut down the masts. As they fell the sound of heavy cannon echoed down the bay, and for the next two hours the crash of falling masts was accompanied by the same salute. The guns of Sumter were the requiem of the fleet. Some staunch old ships died very hard, settling

ing an attack, had already obstructed this entrance from the sea, the operation became unnecessary.

In Europe, these measures were denounced as a barbarous mode of warfare, and a sin against nature. The English press was especially virulent in its censure, and characterized the obstruction of Charleston Harbor, by the sinking of the "stone fleet," as an atrocious barbarity, almost unparalleled in the history of the world. The British Government, even, was induced to protest, through its representative at Washington, against the act. Earl Russell, in his dispatch, had declared that "such a cruel plan would seem to imply despair of the restoration of the Union, the professed object of the war; for it could never be the wish of the United States Government to destroy cities from which their own country was to derive a portion of its riches and prosperity. Such a plan could only be adopted as a measure of revenge and of irremediable injury against an enemy." His lordship moreover declared that "even as a scheme of embittered and sanguinary war, such a measure would not be justifiable. It would be a plot against the commerce of all maritime nations, and against the free intercourse of the Southern States of America with the civilized world."

The official organ of the French Government, the *Moniteur*, though generally so reticent, did not hesitate to characterize the "stone fleet" as a vindictive prosecution of the war, and a provocation to the indignation of the world.

European opinion on the subject, however, had been formed on the statements of the American press, which had misrepresented the purpose of the Federal Government, declaring, with unreflecting exultation, that the stone fleet was intended to destroy forever the harbors in which it was to be sunk.

An authoritative correction of the misapprehension of the objects and effects of the plan of obstruction was made by Mr. Seward directly to Lord Lyons, who thus stated it in the report of his conversation on the subject with the Secretary of State:

"Mr. Seward observed that it was altogether a mistake to suppose that this plan had been devised with a view to injure the harbors permanently. It was, he said, simply a temporary military measure adopted to aid the blockade. The Government of the United States had last spring, with a navy very little prepared for so extensive an operation, undertaken to blockade upward of three thousand miles of coast. The Secretary of the Navy had reported that he could stop up the 'large holes' by means of his ships, but that he could not stop up the 'small ones.' It had been found necessary, therefore, to close some of the numerous small inlets by sinking vessels in the channels. It would be the duty of the Government of the

very slowly, and still upright when they had felt the bottom. One ship out of the sixteen, the Robin Hood, with upright masts, stood solitary sentinel over the wrecks. As evening came on she was set on fire, and gave us as the crown of our novel experiment, the rare sight of a ship on fire at sea. The light-house on Morris Island was blown up by the rebels on the night of December 19, while the fleet was lying off the harbor."

United States to remove all these obstructions as soon as the Union was restored. It was well understood that this was an obligation incumbent on the Federal Government. At the end of the war with Great Britain, that Government had been called upon to remove a vessel which had been sunk in the harbor of Savannah, and had recognized the obligation and removed the vessel accordingly. Moreover, the United States were now engaged in a civil war with the South. He was not prepared to say that, as an operation in war, it was unjustifiable to destroy permanently the harbors of the enemy; but nothing of the kind had been done on the present occasion. Vessels had been sunk by the rebels to prevent the access to their ports of the cruisers of the United States. The same measure had been adopted by the United States in order to make the blockade complete. When the war was ended, the removal of all these obstructions would be a mere matter of expense; there would be no great difficulty in removing them effectually. Besides, as had already been done in the case of Port Royal, the United States would open better harbors than those which they closed.'

"I asked Mr. Seward whether the principal entrance to Charleston Harbor had not been recently closed altogether by vessels sunk by order of this Government; and I observed to him that the opening of a new port thirty or forty miles off, would hardly console the people of the large town of Charleston for the destruction of their own harbor.

"Mr. Seward said that the best proof he could give me that the harbor of Charleston had not been rendered inaccessible was, that in spite of the sunken vessels and of the blockading squadron, a British steamer, laden with contraband of war, had just succeeded in getting in."

There were those who were prepared to justify the design, even if it were intended perpetually to block up the harbors of the Southern coast, by the naval career of Great Britain, so abounding in precedents of unscrupulous warfare. An English writer* reminded his indignant countrymen that, "on the evacuation of the city and port of Alexandria and embarkation of the troops, in 1807, five vessels, laden with stone, were sunk in the narrow passage by which our (British) squadron, under the command of Admiral Lewis, had entered and then sailed; concluding that it would be the last exit of any vessel from the port—erroneously, however, as it has subsequently appeared."

To this remarkable precedent was added another,† which received the formal sanction of the British King and Government. It was given in this dispatch, marked "most secret," addressed by Lord Hobart to Sir N. S. Hammond, controller of the navy:

* *Galignani's Messenger*, Jan. 17.

† Sir Walter Scott, in his "Life of Napoleon," thus alludes to the Boulogne affair:

"England . . unable to get opportunities of assailing French vessels, was induced to have recourse to strange and, as it proved, ineffectual means of carrying on hostilities. Such was the attempt at destroying the harbor of Boulogne, by sinking in the roads ships loaded with stones."

"DOWNING STREET, *Feb.* 9, 1804.

"It being thought advisable, under the present circumstances of the war, that an attempt should be made for carrying into execution the project suggested in the inclosed paper *for choking up the entrance into the harbor of Boulogne;* and the success of such an enterprise depending in a great measure upon the secrecy and dispatch with which the preparations may be made, I have the King's command to signify to you that you take these preparations under your immediate control, and that you communicate confidentially with Mr. ——, supplying him with *such funds and giving him such orders for the purchase of vessels, and providing the materials* which you may judge necessary for accomplishing the object in view. As soon as the vessels shall be sufficiently laden, you will give instructions that they should proceed with all possible expedition to the Downs, where further orders will proceed from Lord Keith. HOBART."

To these precedents might be added others, some of which occurred upon the very coast against the obstructions on which England seemed, with a not unnatural regard for its own interests in an illegal trade, so intensely indignant. The English writers who had denounced the stone fleet as indicating principles of barbarity worthy only of East India pirates, strove to parry those thrusts which brought home to themselves similar acts. Their ingenuity of fence is manifest in such verbal *tours de maître* as the following:

"We confess we are infinitely astonished," said the London *Morning Post,** "to find a contemporary journal indirectly palliating the destruction of the port of Charleston by the precedent of our having proposed to sink ships, in 1804, in front of the harbor of Boulogne. Can it be necessary to draw out in words the obvious distinction between military and commercial ports—between a harbor widened and defended for the express purpose of the conquest and subjugation of England, and a harbor valuable to its own country merely in fostering the commerce of all the maritime nations of Europe? To block up permanently the mouth of the Garonne, and to destroy thereby the port of Bordeaux, would have been the corresponding barbarity, though it is one which no European Government ever imagined. But for England to have destroyed the port of Boulogne in 1804, even if she had done so, would have been simply equivalent to the blowing up of Sebastopol by Turkey and her allies in 1856."

This distinction between military and commercial did not then, if ever it did, apply to the port of Boulogne, to Alexandria, in Egypt, or to those harbors of which Savannah, it is believed, was one that the English attempted to "choke up" during their war with America.

The control of the Federal Government over the coasts of the enemy was still further extended by the success of two minor naval expeditions. A force of nineteen hundred men, consisting of the Massachusetts Twenty-sixth Nov. 26.

* Supposed to be a semi-official organ of Lord Palmerston.

and the Connecticut Ninth Regiment, with Captain Manning's battery of artillery, rendezvoused at Fortress Monroe, and thence sailed in the steam-transport Constitution to Ship Island. This expedition was under the temporary command of Brigadier-General W. Phelps, during the absence of General Butler, who remained at the North to further the ultimate purposes of the enterprise. General Phelps arrived at Ship Dec. 3. Island on the evening of the 3d of December. It had been in the occupation of the Federal Government since September, when the enemy had abandoned it to a small naval force, which took possession of the island and a half-finished fort upon it. On his arrival, General Phelps accordingly found the United States vessels of war, the Massachusetts and R. L. Cuyler, in the harbor with several prizes, and a hundred and seventy sailors under a naval lieutenant, garrisoning the incomplete fortification at the west end of the island. Phelps landed his force, notwithstanding the marshy ground was little favorable for occupation. "The land," said the General in his report, "is in no respect suitable for a camp, especially in view of such instructions as one of the regiments present particularly needs. Should the stay here be of long continuance, huts with floors will be necessary."

Ship Island is situated in longitude 89°, a little north of latitude 30°, within the domain of the State of Mississippi. It is about sixty miles from New Orleans, nearly the same distance from the North-East Pass, at the mouth of the Mississippi River, forty miles from Mobile, and ninety from Fort Pickens. It lies between Horn Island, on the east, and Cat Island, on the west, and is distant about five miles from each. Some ten or twelve miles to the north, on the mainland of Mississippi, are the towns of Biloxi, Pascagoula, and Mississippi City. These towns are favorite summer resorts for the wealthy planters and merchants of the Gulf States, and not being easily approached in consequence of a bar off their shores, were places of refuge for the enemy's small vessels.

Ship Island is somewhat undulating, and extends in a slight curve about seven miles east-north-east and west-south-west. At West Point (the western end), where the fort is placed, the island is little more than an eighth of a mile wide; and is a mere sand spit, utterly barren of grass or foliage of any kind. The eastern end, or East Point, is about three-quarters of a mile in width, and is well wooded with pine, cedar, and live oak.

The whole island contains somewhat less than two square miles of territory. Excellent water can be obtained in unlimited supply by sinking a barrel anywhere in the saturated soil.

There is a natural pasturage upon which a few cattle can thrive tolerably, but most of the island is left free to the alligators and such reptiles as abound in the swamps and lagoons of that region.

A brick building, a few scattered huts, and a stone light-house are the only evidences of a civilized occupation.

The island possesses a very superior harbor, into which vessels drawing nineteen feet can be carried at low water. It is situated north of the west end of the island. The anchorage ground, with a depth of water equal to that on the bar, is five miles long, and averages three and a quarter miles in width. The harbor is safe from the most dangerous storms in the Gulf—those from the eastward and southward—and might be easily entered during these storms without a pilot, if good light-houses were placed in proper positions. The rise and fall of the tide is only from twelve to fourteen inches.

General Phelps' first step, after landing his force, was to issue a proclamation, which was singularly ill-adapted to the presumed purpose of conciliating the insurgents of Mississippi and Louisiana. His next was to proceed to Biloxi, on the mainland, where he landed a considerable force and took possession of a small fort abandoned by the enemy on his approach. Biloxi, however, was not at that time permanently held by the Federal troops. Dec. 31.

Large reinforcements were subsequently sent to Ship Island, and finally General Butler himself departed to assume the command there. Feb. 20, 1862.

The expedition to the coast of Florida, though less imposing, was more fruitful of immediate advantage. This was accomplished by a single vessel: the United States steamer Hatteras, Commander George F. Emmons. This active officer succeeded in destroying a number of the enemy's small vessels, seizing a fort, and obtaining possession of Cedar Keys, without meeting with the least resistance. Jan. 5, 1862. This is the name given to a group of islands situated on the west coast of Florida, within the Gulf of Mexico. By the occupation of Cedar Keys, the western terminus of the Florida Railroad, which crosses the State from the Gulf of Mexico to the Atlantic Ocean, the enemy were forced to make the long circuit of the whole peninsula to keep up their communications between the opposite coasts. The forts having been dismantled, one or two active cruisers were thought sufficient to retain the command of this important point until, in the course of future operations, it might be utilized for a greater enterprise.

CHAPTER LXIII.

Successor of General Fremont in Missouri.—General Hunter.—His opinions of Fremont.—New masters, new laws.—A Veteran.—Reluctant obedience.—Change of plans.—Life of Hunter.—Military experience.—Attached to Lincoln.—Misfortunes of a Presidential Tour.—Rewards for personal service.—The Army in Missouri ordered to retreat.—Direction of the Retreat.—Return of the Enemy under Price and McCulloch.—Checked by the Unionists.—Lexington and Springfield re-occupied by the Enemy.—General Hunter makes way for a Successor.—Major-General Halleck succeeds Hunter.—Hunter sent to Kansas.—Life of Halleck.—Military education.—A Lieutenant of Engineers.—Scientific studies.—A writer and lecturer.—Promotion.—Secretary of State of California.—Member of the Convention.—Assists in drafting the Constitution.—Resignation in the Army.—Settles in California.—A Lawyer in San Francisco.—Made a Major-General.—Appointed to the command of the West.—Character.—Great Expectations.—Halleck's first occupation.—Thwarting the machinations of the Rebellious.—Organizing and Disciplining.—Halleck's famous order, excluding Fugitive Slaves from the Camps.—Denounced by the Anti-Slavery Party.—The order explained by Halleck.—Stringent measures at St. Louis.—Expedition of General Pope.—Pope's success.—Its wondrous effects.—Halleck on bridge-burning.—Guerrilla warfare in Missouri.—A grand effort to clear Missouri of the Enemy.—Movements against Price.—Skirmishing before Springfield.—A Battle expected.—Disappointment.—Price retreats from Springfield.—Pursuit of Price.—The Enemy followed into Arkansas.—Hoisting the American Flag on the soil of Arkansas.—The Enemy make a stand at Sugar Creek.—Enemy defeated.

1861. Nov. 5. When Fremont was suddenly arrested in his hopeful career of conquest in Missouri, General Hunter, as the next in rank, succeeded to the chief command. The old proverb, "New masters, new laws," found another illustration in the complete change, by General Hunter, of the plan of campaign. The new leader had not concealed, even while serving under Fremont, his disagreement with his superior, whom he did not hesitate to denounce as incapable.

Hunter, a man of three-score years of age, a veteran officer and a rigid stickler for the formalities of the military art, forced to yield a reluctant obedience to a comparatively young and inexperienced chief, had been not unnaturally disposed to question the irregular vigor of the impulsive Fremont, while under his command. That the veteran Hunter, now being free to act on his own responsibility, should at once revise the plans of Fremont, was consistent with his want of reverence for a commander in whose reputed genius he could find no compensation for his comparative youth and ignorance of the military art.

Hunter himself had been schooled in the rigid discipline of the regular officer. Educated at West Point, he graduated in 1822, the twenty-fifth in a class of forty. He was immediately commissioned a second lieutenant of infantry, and rose to the rank of first lieutenant and captain of cavalry, when he resigned. In 1842 he re-entered the army as a paymaster, and was in this position with the rank of major when the recent civil war began. Attaching himself to Mr. Lincoln, he accompanied him on his way to Washington, but having met with an accident at Buffalo, where he was so hustled by the crowd that his collar-bone

became dislocated, he was unable to complete that eventful journey. On the accession of President Lincoln, Hunter was rewarded with a colonelcy of cavalry, and subsequently with a brigadier-generalship, in which rank he commanded a division of the advance at Bull Run, where he was wounded at the beginning of the battle.

As soon as Hunter assumed the command of the army in Missouri, he ordered it to fall back from the advanced position to which it had been led by the hopeful Fremont. Hunter's own division* and the divisions of Generals Pope and Sturgis, retired by the way of Warsaw, while those of Generals Sigel and Asboth, in advance, after moving a short distance to the south, for the purpose of covering the retirement of the main body from Springfield, returned to that place and thence fell back to Rolla.

The enemy, under Price and McCulloch, who had discreetly fled before Fremont toward the borders of Arkansas, now emboldened by the retreat of General Hunter, retraced their steps, and again occupying Lexington and Springfield, penetrated into the centre of Missouri, and resumed their ravages in that afflicted State. They were, however, checked by occasional spirited attacks of the Federal forces. Colonel Greensle drove the enemy out of Hinton, Texas County, and planted the national flag on the court-house. A detachment of a hundred and ten of the First Kansas cavalry, under Colonel Anthony,
Nov. 10. charged an encampment at Little Blue, in Western Missouri, and dispersed it. A party of the enemy, under Colonel Gordon, attacked the train Nov. 30. on the Platte County Railroad, when an escort* of Missouri cavalry, under Major Hugh, came to the rescue. The enemy were routed, leaving behind them seventeen killed and wounded and five prisoners. Five only of the Unionists were slightly wounded. The Federal troops, under Colonel Bowman, again put the enemy to flight at Salem. Fifteen were killed and wounded on our side, but the enemy lost thirty-nine in all. Other spirited skirmishes occurred, which rendered the enemy more cautious in their advance. No effectual attempt, however, was immediately made to prevent them resuming their former positions in the south-western part of the State.

General Hunter, after holding the chief command but a few days, was obliged to make way for a successor. This was Major-General Halleck, who had been appointed by the President to the command of the Western Nov. 10. Department, while to his predecessor, Hunter, was given the command of Kansas. General Halleck reached St. Louis on the 18th of November, and at Nov. 18. once began with great energy to organize the army, and rigorously to prosecute the military administration of his department.

Henry Wager Halleck was born in the State of New York in the year 1818. He entered the Military Academy at West Point in the year 1835, and graduated in 1839, ranking the second of his class. Brigadier-General Stevens, of Oregon, was the competitor who



won the first place. In accordance with his high position at the academy, young Halleck was brevetted a second lieutenant of the *corps d'élite* of engineers, and retained at West Point as an assistant professor of engineering for a year. In 1841 he gave to the world the result of his scientific studies in a work on "Bitumen—its Uses." In January, 1845, he was promoted to a first lieutenantcy; and in the same year, such was his repute as an accomplished student of his art, that he was selected by the committee of the Lowell Institute, at Boston, as one of its annual lecturers. The subject of his course was "military science and art." These lectures were subsequently published, with the addition of a long essay on the "Justifiableness of War." This work is considered a creditable proof of his knowledge and research. It contains much useful information on the military art, and is replete with historical illustrations.

During the Mexican war, Halleck was rewarded for his services with the brevet rank of captain. From 1847 to the close of 1849 he was secretary of state of the newly conquered territory of California, while under military administration. He also served as chief of the staff of Commodore Shubrick during his operations on the Pacific coast in 1847 and 1848. In 1849 he was elected a member of the convention which met at Monterey to form a constitution for the proposed State of California, and was appointed one of the committee to draft that paper. In July, 1853, he was promoted to the full rank of captain of engineers, but resigned in August of the succeeding year.

He now determined to settle permanently in California, where he established himself as a lawyer, and became partner in the well-known legal firm of Halleck, Billings & Co., of San Francisco. He was engaged in the successful prosecution of his new profession when he received the appointment to a major-generalship in the army. His commission dates from August 1, 1854, though Congress did not bestow it upon him until November, 1860, when he was selected to take the chief command of the Department of the West.

"General Halleck is in the vigor of life, being forty-three years of age. With his military knowledge and practical acquaintance with public as well as private business, he was singularly well adapted to the command of a department which required the skill of a strategist combined with the ability of a statesman. He possesses great energy of body and mind with remarkable promptitude in action and perseverance of effort. From a leader possessed of such qualities, the country naturally expects much, and it has an assurance in the good service General Halleck has already rendered, that its expectations will not be disappointed."

The chief occupation of Halleck, when he first assumed the command in Missouri, was to thwart the machinations of the rebellious, by some of whom he was surrounded in St. Louis, to discipline the troops under his command, enforce a stricter police within the camps, and

organize those combined naval [illegible] tary expeditions at St. Louis and Cairo,* on the Mississippi, and Paducah [illegible] Ohio, which have since, b[illegible] brilliant results, exercised so great [illegible] influence on the fate of the war.

General Halleck's [illegible] to exclude fugitive slaves from the Federal camps seemed to exhibit such a tenderness for the peculiar institution of the South, and such an indifference to the sympathy of some of the Northern people with its victims, that it was emphatically denounced by the enthusiastic advocates of liberty as a concession to slavery. The General, however, justified his order on the ground that the free communication of the slaves with the camps was inconsistent with good order and the safety of the army, and these negroes were suspected of carrying military information to the enemy.

Determined to check the active sympathy of the wealthy secessionists of St. Louis with the enemy, General Halleck ordered an assessment upon all such for the benefit of the Union refugees who had flocked into the city, on the retirement of the Federal army from the interior of the State. This having been resisted by a Mr. Engel, of St. Louis, a thriving merchant, who appealed to the civil courts, General Halleck ordered him to leave the Department of Missouri. He, at the same time, declared officially, that any attempt to interfere with the execution of an order from headquarters would be regarded and punished as a military offence. By these rigid measures, all expressions and acts of disloyalty within the immediate control of the Federal arms were effectually suppressed.

Though General Halleck was awaiting the full organization of his army before attempting to make a clean sweep of the enemy from the State of Missouri, he was determined to keep the marauding bands of secessionists in check. He accordingly dispatched General Pope from Sedalia, with a considerable force, to disperse the enemy's encampments in Western Missouri. The result is told in this official report of General Pope:

"HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT CENTRAL MISSOURI, OTTERVILLE, *Dec.* 23, 1861.

"CAPTAIN: I have the honor to state that, having replaced by troops from Lamine the garrison of Sedalia, I marched from that place on Sunday, the 15th instant, with a column of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, numbering about 4,000 men. The first brigade was commanded by Colonel J. C. Davis, Indiana Volunteers; the second by Colonel F. Steele, Eighth Iowa Regiment. The object of the movement was to interpose between Price's army on the Osage and the recruits, escort, and supplies on their way south from the Mississippi River. This body of the enemy was represented to be between four and six thousand strong, with a large train of supplies.

Dec. 17.

"I encamped on the 15th eleven miles southwest of Sedalia. That the enemy might be thoroughly misled as to the destination of the expedition, it was

* Cairo and Paducah, though the former is in Illinois and the latter in Kentucky, were included in the department under the command of Halleck.

given out that the movement was upon Warsaw, and the troops pursued the road to that place several miles beyond Sedalia. I threw forward on Clinton four companies of the First Missouri cavalry, under Major Hubbard, with orders to watch any movement from Osceola, to prevent any reconnoissance of our main column, and to intercept any messengers to the enemy at Osceola. On the 16th I pushed forward by forced march twenty-seven miles, and with my whole force occupied, at sunset, a position between the direct road from Warrensburg to Clinton, and the road by Chillowee, which latter is the road heretofore pursued by returning soldiers and by recruits. Shortly after sunset, the advance, consisting of four companies of Iowa cavalry, under Major Torrence, captured the enemy's pickets at Chillowee, and learned that he was encamped in force (about 2,200) six miles north of that town.

"After resting the horses and men for a couple of hours, I threw forward ten companies of cavalry and a section of artillery, under Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, Seventh Missouri Regiment, in pursuit, and followed with my whole force, posting the main body between Warrensburg and Rose Hill, to support the pursuing column. I, at the same time, reinforced Major Hubbard with two companies of Merrill's horse, and directed him, in order to secure our flank in the pursuit, to push forward as far as possible toward Osceola. This officer executed his duty with distinguished ability and vigor, driving back and capturing the pickets and one entire company of the enemy's cavalry, with tents, baggage, and wagons. One of the pickets and two wagons were captured within the lines of Rains' division, encamped north of the Osage River.

"The column under Lieutenant-Colonel Brown continued the pursuit vigorously all night of the 16th, all day of the 17th, and part of the night of the same day, his advance guard consisting of Foster's company of Ohio cavalry and a detachment of thirty men of the Fourth regular cavalry, occupying Johnstown in the course of the night. The enemy began to scatter as soon as the pursuit grew close, disappearing in every direction in the bushes and by every bye-path, driving their wagons into farm-yards remote from the road, and throwing out their loads. As these wagons were all two-horse wagons of the country, and had been, in fact, taken by force from the farm-houses, it was impossible to identify them. When our pursuit reached Johnstown, about midnight on the 17th, the enemy, reduced to about 500, scattered completely, one portion fleeing precipitately toward Butler, and the other toward Papinsville.

"The main body of my command moved slowly toward Warrensburg, awaiting the return of the force under Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, which proceeded from Johnstown to scour the country south of Grand River to the neighborhood of Clinton. In these operations, sixteen wagons, loaded with tents and supplies, and one hundred and fifty prisoners were captured. The enemy's force was thoroughly dispersed.

"On the morning of the 18th, Lieutenant-Colonel Brown's forces rejoined the command. Knowing that there must still be a large force of the enemy north of us, I moved forward slowly, on the 18th, toward Warrensburg, and, when near that town, the spies and scouts I had sent out before marching from Sedalia, in the direction of Lexington, Waverly, and Arrow Rock, reported to me that a large force was moving from the two latter places and would encamp that night at the mouth of Clear Creek, just south of Milford.

"I posted the main body of my command between Warrensburg and Knob Noster, to close all outlet to the south between those two points, and dispatched seven companies of cavalry (five of the the Ohio First and two of the Fourth regular cavalry), afterward reinforced by another company of regular cavalry and a section of artillery, all under command of Colonel J. C. Davis, Indiana Volunteers, to march on the town of Milford, so as to turn the enemy's left and rear and intercept his retreat to the northeast, at the same time directing Major Marshall, with Merrill's regiment of horse, to march from Warrensburg on the same point, turning the enemy's right and rear, and forming junction with Colonel Davis.

"The main body of my command occupied a point four miles south, and ready to advance at a moment's notice, or to intercept the enemy's retreat south. Colonel Davis marched promptly and vigorously with the forces under his command, and at a late hour in the afternoon came upon the enemy encamped in the wooded bottom land on the west side of Blackwater, opposite the mouth of Clear Creek. His pickets were immediately driven in across the stream, which was deep, miry, and impassable, except by a long, narrow bridge, which the enemy occupied in force, as is believed, under Colonel Magoffin.

"Colonel Davis brought forward his force, and directed that the bridge be carried by assault. The two companies of the Fourth regular cavalry being in advance, under the command respectively of Lieutenant Gordon and Lieutenant Amory, were designated for that service, and were supported by the five companies of the First Iowa Cavalry. Lieutenant Gordon, of the Fourth Cavalry, led the charge in person, with the utmost gallantry and vigor, carried the bridge in fine style, and immediately formed his company on the opposite side. He was promptly followed by the other companies. The force of the enemy posted at the bridge retreated precipitately over a narrow open space into the woods, where his whole force was posted. The two companies of the Fourth Cavalry formed in line at once, advanced upon the enemy, and were received with a volley of small-arms, muskets, rifles, and shot guns. One man was killed and eight wounded by this discharge. With one exception, all belonged to Company D, Fourth Cavalry, Lieutenant Gordon.

"Lieutenant Gordon himself received several balls through the cap. Our forces still continuing to press forward, and the

enemy finding his retreat south and west cut off, and that he was in presence of a large force, and at best could only prolong the contest a short time, surrendered at discretion. His force, reported by colonel commanding, consisted of parts of two regiments of infantry and three companies of cavalry, numbering in all 1,300 men, among whom there were three colonels (Robinson, Alexander, and Magoffin), one lieutenant-colonel (Robinson), one major (Harris), and fifty-one commissioned company officers. About five hundred horses and mules, seventy-three wagons heavily loaded with powder, lead, tents, subsistence stores and supplies of various kinds, fell into our hands, as also a thousand stand of arms.

"The whole force captured, with their train, were marched into the camp of the main body, reaching there about midnight. Many arms were thrown away by the enemy, in the bushes and creek, when he surrendered, and have not yet been found.

"It was impossible to furnish any accurate account of the number of prisoners, arms, or horses when I telegraphed, as they surrendered just at dark, and were brought into camp at a late hour of the night. The weather was bitterly cold, and the troops marched as early as possible the next morning for Sedalia and Otterville. As the prisoners and arms were at once sent down to St. Louis, I have not yet had the opportunity of making an accurate count of them. The numbers, as stated, were reported to me by Colonel Robinson, their commander, by Colonel J. C. Davis, and by Major Torrence, Iowa Cavalry.

"The forces under Colonel Davis behaved with great gallantry, and the conduct of Colonel Davis himself was distinguished.

"I desire to present to your special notice Colonel J. C. Davis, Indiana Volunteers; Major Hubbard, First Missouri Cavalry, and Lieutenant Gordon, Fourth regular cavalry. Both officers and men behaved well throughout.

"Within five days, the infantry composing this expedition have marched one hundred miles, the cavalry more than double that distance—have swept the whole country of the enemy west of Sedalia as far as Rose Hill, to a line within fifteen miles of the Osage—have captured nearly fifteen hundred (1,500) prisoners, twelve hundred (1,200) stand of arms, nearly one hundred (100) wagons, and a large quantity of supplies.

"The march alone would do credit to old soldiers, as it gives me pleasure to state that it has been performed with cheerfulness and alacrity. The troops re-occupied their camps at Sedalia and Otterville just one week after they marched out of them. * * *

"I am, Captain,

"Your obedient servant,

"JOHN POPE,

"Brigadier-General Commanding.

"To Captain J. C. KELTON, A. A. G., Department of Missouri."

The effect upon the enemy of the success of General Pope's expedition was momentarily very great. General Price's camp at Springfield was seized with a

sudden panic, and a large portion of his disorganized army fled in dismay, destroying the bridges behind them. This destruction of bridges by the disorderly bands of secessionists throughout the State was promptly met by a determination, on the part of General Halleck, to execute all those caught and found guilty of the barbarous act. Some of the perpetrators having been seized, General Halleck resolved upon their execution. This led to a protest, on the part of General Price, who claimed for them the rights of military prisoners. General Halleck, however, answered firmly with the declaration, that bridge-burners, while not acting immediately under a duly organized military command, in the course of regular warfare, were not entitled to be treated as soldiers, and that they would be held as criminals.

General Pope's successful expedition was soon followed by other spirited attacks upon the enemy. Colonel Birge, Dec. 28. with a battalion of sharp-shooters and two hundred cavalry under Col. Glover, attacked the enemy encamped near Mount Zion Church, Broome County, and completely routed them.

"The rebels lost in killed, wounded, and missing not less than one hundred and fifty. Ninety horses were taken, and a load of arms, saddles, and all their camp equipage. Our loss, eight or nine killed and about twenty-five wounded."*

Again, two hundred of the First Iowa Cavalry, a hundred and fifty of the 1862. First Wisconsin Cavalry, under Major Hubbard, and some Ohio Cavalry, numbering in all four hundred and Jan. 8. fifty troopers, attacked the enemy's camp of a thousand men, posted on Silver Creek. After a struggle of an hour the enemy fled, leaving seven dead on the field, forty prisoners, and all their camp equipage and stores. The whole Federal loss amounted only to four killed and three wounded.*

General Halleck, having finally succeeded in establishing order in a department which he had found in a state of confusion from the loose administration of his predecessor, in checking manifestations of disloyalty within the scope of his military rule, and in organizing and disciplining his army, was prepared to make a grand effort to clear Missouri of the enemy, and to restore the State to the Federal authority.

General Price, presuming on the long delayed advance of the Union troops, had concentrated at Springfield a force estimated at 12,000 men, and pushed his picket guards fifteen miles beyond to the north and east. He was, moreover, in expectation, as it was rumored, of being strengthened by large reinforcements under General McIntosh, from Arkansas.

There was a combined movement of the Federal troops with the view of concentrating at Lebanon. The divisions of Colonel Asboth and General Sigel moved at the beginning of February from Rolla, in that direction. Generals Davis, Curtis, and Prentiss had, with their respective forces, marched for the same point.

* St. Louis Democrat.

* The guerrilla character which the war in Missouri assumed at this time, makes it impracticable to trace all its operations in detail.

General Price, in command of the enemy at Springfield, seemed greatly alarmed at this combined movement, and is said to have harangued his troops, declaring that they were surrounded, and must decide either to surrender or fight. They resolved to fight.

The weather was exceedingly unfavorable for a rapid march, but the various divisions of the Federal army, though delayed by the swollen streams and the miry roads, continued steadily to advance, and reaching Lebanon formed together and prepared to move forward to Springfield.

General Curtis, who commanded in chief, formed his army in three divisions, placing the right under Colonel Jefferson C. Davis, the centre under General Sigel, and the left under General Carr. Feb. 11. Thus formed, the army marched forward toward Springfield. On the day after setting out, the advance guard came into collision with the enemy. During the first skirmish, nine of the secessionists were killed, while the Unionists had bu[illegible]ne man slightly wounded. Feb. 12. The second affair, which occurred in the evening, was somewhat more severe: 300 of the enemy attacked the Federal picket guards, but were driven back with a loss of thirty. This was supposed to be an offer of battle, and accordingly General Curtis advanced a force of cavalry and infantry, with a battery which was mounted upon a hill, to command the road by which it was supposed the enemy were about to advance from Springfield. The guns having opened fire, and no response being made, the troops which had been thrown forward were withdrawn, leaving, however, a strong guard. During the night nothing occurred while the Federal army was resting on its arms, expectant of an attack, but a skirmishing fire between the pickets. At three o'clock in the morning the Unionists moved forward in line of battle, and at the break of day the third division with the Fourth Iowa Regiment in advance, entered Springfield and took possession of the town without resistance. Feb. 13. General Price had retreated with his army but a few hours before, leaving only his sick, some six hundred or more, behind.*

* The appearance of their quarters, which the enemy had evidently hoped to occupy for the winter, is thus described by a correspondent of the New York *Herald*:

"The winter quarters erected in Springfield by Price's army, and which they abandoned in complete order, will accommodate 10,000 men without being over-crowded. They consist of log and board structures, the former well chinked with mud and clay, and the latter built generally tight and comfortable. Most of them have a flooring of boards, and are all furnished with substantial brick fire-places and chimneys, some of the largest buildings hav[illegible] two or three. Berths are arranged in tiers, like th[illegible] steamboats and sleeping cars, and every portion of [illegible] is [illegible]fully economized. Some of these habitations [illegible] ro[illegible] with raw hides, and there are numerous chairs seated with the same material. In some of the camps these buildings are promiscuously dropped down, while in others they are arranged in streets and lanes, according to the highest style of urban regularity. The appearance of the cantonment attests the haste of departure. There are cooking utensils containing the remains of the last meal, porkers lying dead on the ground with the fatal gash in their throats and the knife lying beside them, sheep partially flayed and disembowelled, dough mixed in the pans or poured on the ground, with the "ripple marks" still freshly distinct, and whisky bottles whence the last drink has been drained, but in which the scent of the Bourbon is lingering still. The people of Springfield and the rebel sick left behind say that they were deficient in tents, blankets, and clothing, and that they will suffer sadly from thus being driven from their comfortable quarters to bivouac in the open air. They fully expected to remain here the entire winter."

General Curtis, without delay, followed in pursuit of the retreating enemy and sent out at the same time scouting parties of cavalry to capture any bands of the secessionists that might be straggling from their main body. It was thus that Brigadier-General Price, the son of General Sterling Price, was captured at Warsaw, together with several other officers belonging to the staff of the rebel chief, and 500 recruits under their charge.

General Curtis moved on with great speed toward the Arkansas border, whither the enemy were hastening. Coming up with the rear guard of Price, several skirmishes ensued, in the course of which a few on both sides were killed and a large number of the enemy's stragglers taken prisoners. Curtis continued his pursuit, following the enemy into Arkansas. Here, however, General Price, having been reinforced by General Ben McCulloch, made a stand at Sugar Creek, and "was defeated," said General Halleck, in his brief telegraphic dispatch, after a short engagement, and again fled. Many rebel prisoners were taken, and the arms which Price's men threw away in their flight; but the enemy claimed to have won the advantage, stating that their loss was but 100, while that of the Union army was treble the number.

Feb. 18.

Feb. 20.

Thus Missouri was effectually cleared of the main force of the enemy, and apparently forever secured to the Union, while to the success of the Federal arms in that State was added the triumph of having once more hoisted the United States flag upon the soil of Arkansas.